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1817-1819

ANNALS

OF

IRELAND,

ECCLESIASTICAL, CIVIL AND MILITARY,

From the 19*th of March,* 1535,

to the 12 *of July,* 1691.

BY

THE REV. JOHN GRAHAM, M.A.

CURATE OF THE CHAPEL OF TAMLAGHT O'CRILLY, IN THE DIOCESE OF DERRY.

" Hoc illud est præcipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illustri posita monumento, intueri, inde tibi; tuæque reipublicæ, quod imitere capias; inde fœdum inceptu, fœdum exitu quod vites." TIT. LIV.

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TO

THE PROTESTANTS

OF

THE UNITED EMPIRE

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

THESE ANNALS

ARE

HUMBLY AND RESPECTFULLY

DEDICATED,

BY THEIR FAITHFUL AND

DEVOTED SERVANT,

JOHN GRAHAM.

enone, in the County of Londonderry,
November 5th, 1816.

PREFACE.

THIS Chronicle of Ireland, from the Reformation to the Revolution, is offered to the consideration of the Public, as the first eighty numbers of it originally appeared in the Dublin Journal, under the title of "Annals of Irish Popery, by John De Falkirk," at a time when a Compendium of Priest Taafe's false and traiterous History of Ireland was published and circulated through that country, by a member of the "Catholic Board," and when the true reformed faith of this realm was assailed by the Popish demagogues of Ireland, with a degree of violence, which threatened the extirpation of the professors of it, and proved to demonstration the necessity of maintaining those laws, which the wisdom of our ancestors, taught by dear-bought experience, had enacted for the preservation and extension of it. The reader will find in the following pages a more exact, circumstantial, and satisfactory account than has hitherto appeared, of the first and most interesting stage of the warfare which commenced in Ireland, with the massacre of the British settlers, and the destruction of all their habitations, churches, towns, and improvements, with very few exceptions, on the 23d October, 1641. Sir John Temple's work on this subject contains an account of the transactions of little more than two months after the breaking out of the rebellion, as he concludes it with the arrival of Sir Simon Harcourt and the English forces in Dublin, on the last day of December, in the same fatal year. The substance of his work is given in this compilation as far as it goes. The authenticity of this melancholy narrative is indisputable, for Sir John Temple's character for

integrity and talents was well known to the public; and holding the high offices of Master of the Rolls and Privy Counsellor, he had opportunities of making extracts from the very originals, or authentic copies of the voluminous examinations taken by the Commissioners appointed to ascertain the sufferings of the Protestants of Ireland at this disastrous period. The dispatches and letters from suffering gentlemen in the several provinces, representing to the Lords, Justices and Council, the sad condition of their affairs, lay open to his inspection; and from all these important documents, he tells us, he has, for the benefit of the age in which he lived, and *for the use of generations unborn,* communicated, in his History of the Irish Rebellion, so much as he conceived necessary for public information, and consistent with his trust as a Privy Counsellor.

Lord Clarendon's "*History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in Ireland*—the Earl of Clanrickard's "*Memoirs,*"—Doctor Borlase's *History of the dismal effects of the Irish Insurrection,*" and Sir Richard Cox's "*Hibernia Anglicana,*" have been all out of print for many years, and, together, with their large size and high price, which confined them to the libraries of the learned and wealthy, they are liable to the following objections:

The Earl of Clarendon's treatment of the affairs of Ireland appears to have been but cursory, for which the noble author apologized to the public, by observing that a full relation of all material passages from the beginning of the rebellion, including his own administration, would be found in the "*Memoirs*" of the Earl of Clanrickard, which work, though dignified with the title of "Memoirs," is but a voluminous and uninteresting collection of letters, warrants, orders, and other loose and incoherent state papers, in which the anonymous publisher discovers a strong inclination to lay most of the bloodshed of these dismal times at the door of the English Protestants—a disposition, which has since been evinced by Dr. Curry, Mr. Plowden, and other Popish writers, in their attempts to justify the

sanguinary persecutions of 1641.—Dr. Edmund Borlase published his History in defence of the administration of his father, Sir John Borlase, who was the colleague of Sir William Parsons, at the breaking out of the rebellion, and he is accused, in Dr. Nalson's Collections, of having misrepresented King Charles the First and his ministers in it, and bestowed some unmerited praises on certain parliamentary rebels. Sir Richard Cox's "*Hibernia Anglicana*" was published at London in the year 1689, when Ireland was the seat of war and desolation under the tyrannical government of the bigotted and unfortunate King James the Second. An extraordinary curiosity in inquiring after the affairs of this country prevailed in England at this time, which *induced* the author to hasten the publication of his second volume, in which the transactions of the period comprised in the present volume occupy but sixty pages, and it was recommended to the press, early in the year 1690, by two Secretaries of State.

Such encouragements as these are said to have pushed the work a little too fast forward, so that it came into the world in somewhat of a looser dress than was at first intended by the compiler of it.*

From these different authors, with Harris's enlarged edition of Sir James Ware's works,—the Histories of Sanderson, Rapin, Warner, Leland, and some later writers—and from the Biographers of the learned and truly patriotic prelates, Archbishop Usher and Dr. William Bedel, Bishop of Kilmore, the collector of these Annals has formed what he hopes will be considered an useful and authentic compendium of the History of Ireland, during a period of all others most awfully instructive to the succeeding Governors and Legislators of this part of the British empire.

* See Bishop Vichdson's Irish Historical Dictionary.

The future historian will find in this work a great number of important facts, which have been hitherto but little known; he may use it as an index, *with the addition of accurate dates*, to direct him to topics, authorities, and sources of intelligence which might otherwise escape his notice; and the Political Economist will also discover in it a direct and satisfactory solution of the important question, *what has retarded the prosperity of Ireland, and frustrated all the efforts of the British nation to civilize and improve it, for the last three hundred and fifty years?*

ANNALS OF IRELAND,

ECCLESIASTICAL, CIVIL AND MILITARY.

" *History bears and requires Authors of all sorts, and we must look for bare matter in some writers, as well as fine words in others.*"
(Preface to Gibson's Edition of Camden's Britannia. London, 1695.)

A. D. 1535, *March* 19. GEORGE BROWNE, a Friar of the Augustinian Order, was advanced to the Archiepiscopal See of Dublin. While he was Provincial of his Order in England, he advised the people to make their applications to Christ alone, for which doctrine he was much taken notice of. He was the first of the clergy that embraced the Reformation in Ireland. (*Ware*, vol. i. p. 348.)

September 30. Archbishop Browne wrote to the Lord Cromwell, informing him, that Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh, and his Priests, had sent two messengers to Rome, and that it was feared O'Neal would be ordered by the Pope to oppose the introduction of the Reformation. He stated, " That the Island had " been for a long time held in ignorance by the Romish Re- " gulars; and that the Seculars were as ignorant as the peo- " ple, being not able to say Mass, or pronounce the words, " not knowing what they themselves said in the Romish " tongue." (*Ware*, vol. i. p. 349.)

1538, *March* 30. The Archbishop of Dublin wrote again to the Lord Cromwell, complaining, that the relics and images of both his cathedrals took off the attention of the common people from the true worship; but that the Prior and the Dean found them so profitable, that they took no notice of his commands to remove them. He desired a more explicit order for the removal of these nuisances, and that the Chief Governors might be obliged to assist him in it. He acquainted him, that the Prior and Dean had written to Rome to be encouraged, and shewed the danger of delaying the work until the arrival of the mandate they expected. That the Duke of

Norfolk had combined with the Archbishop of Armagh to oppose the Reformation, and that the Pope had granted great indulgences for rebellion, for the defence and propagation of the faith. *(Ibid.* 349.)

ADDENDA.

April 22. On this day the City of Dublin, which was at first governed by a Provost, and afterwards by a Mayor and Bailiffs, obtained their Bailiffs to be changed into Sheriffs; and John Reaves and Robert Eyons were the two first Sheriffs that were chosen or appointed for that city, *Sir Richard Cox's Hibernia Anglicana*, vol. i. p. 284.)

In this year the Lord Deputy Saintleger was sent for to England, and carried with him O'Connor and O'More as prisoners; but upon their submission they were received into favour, and honoured with a pension of one hundred pounds per annum, out of the Exchequer, during their lives, which O'More enjoyed not very long, for he died within the year, suddenly at London. *(Ibid.)*

28. The Pope and Cardinals of Rome wrote a letter to O'Neal, of Ulster, encouraging him to repress heresy and the enemies of his Holiness; assuring this turbulent Chieftain, that while the Mother Church had such a princely son as he, she should never fall, but have more or less a footing in Britain in spite of fate. *(Ware*, vol. i. p. 350.)

On Whitsun Eve, Sir Edward Bellingham, who had been sent into England with an account of the submission of the County of Kildare, was now sent back Lord Deputy,—he landed at Dalky, and two days after, he received the sword at Christ Church, according to custom. He was a zealous Protestant and a brave soldier. As soon as he was settled, he marched into Leix and Offaly against Cahir, O'Connor, and others, that were brewing new treasons there, and forced them to submit. He brought the country to that degree of subjection, that he is said to be the first man, since King Edward the Third's time, that enlarged the English borders beyond the pale. From Offaly the Lord Deputy marched to Delvin, against Mac Coughlan, whose country he totally destroyed. *(Hibernia Anglicana*, vol. ii. p. 284.)

June 21. The Archbishop of Dublin caused a Franciscan Friar to be apprehended, and on his person was found the letter of the Pope and Cardinals to O'Neal. The Ambassador was put in the pillory, and afterwards into prison; but it being rumoured that he was to be hanged, he laid violent hands on himself. N. B. This historical record was not quoted in the

deliberations of the Popish Convention, on the application to the Spanish Cortes.

September 1. The Archbishop of Dublin, about this time, accomplished his determined purpose to remove all superstitious relics from his two cathedrals in Dublin, and in their room placed the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, in gilt frames. *(Robert Ware's Romish Fox.)*

About the end of this year, one Forrest, a Friar, and a great correspondent with Rome, was executed in London, and his library and papers being searched, the following letter was found, together with an account of vast sums, which he had expended for the Church of Rome and her designs :—

" BROTHER,

" We behold how the King is changed from a Christian to " an Heretic, and how he has robbed Christ's Vicar of his " rights and privileges, by placing himself in his Holiness's " seat there, as supreme over the Catholic Church within the " realm. It was the late damned Assembly of Lords and " Commons that furthered his designs, otherwise he would " not, nor durst he assume it to himself. We have thought " of these passages, and do agree, that there is no way to " break this Tyrant's neck but one. Puff him up in his " pride, and let our friends say unto him, that it is beneath so " mighty a Monarch as he to advise with Parliaments, but to " act all in person, and that it behoved his Majesty to be chief " actor himself.

" If he assumes this, it will take off great blemishes from " the nation, which the Church holds them guilty of, and do " our business; for then the people (it being contrary to their " laws,) will fall from him; also, the Catholic party of his " Council will be too strong for the Heretics, and then the " common sort will be able to declare his tyranny.

" This is to be contrived with the Church's best Members, " and cautiously, because it is observed, that the Parliaments " of England have hindered the Church in most of the Kings' " reigns, otherwise she had held her party better than she " has now.

" You have our Convent's hearty prayers for your guide.

" THOS. POWELL.

" *From St. Francis, at Paris,*

" *1st Jan.* 1536."

(Hunting the Romish Fox—Dublin, 1683, *by Rob. Ware.)*

As the Reformation proceeded in England, so the Popish zeal and superstition increased in Ireland, and the pale itself began to be disturbed with it, for Richard Fitz Eustace, and

Alexander, his brother, sons of the Viscount Baltenglass, were busy forming a rebellion in the County of Kildare; but the presence of the Lord Deputy (without blows,) brought them to a submission, and stifled this infant conspiracy in the cradle; and it was well it did; for this rebellious distemper was very infectious, and in a little time would have spread over the whole kingdom. The Lord of Baltenglass himself was a little tainted with it; but by the means of Sir Edward Bellingham (when Lord Deputy) the Viscount was pardoned. (*Cox's Hibernica Anglicana*, vol. i. p. 284.)

November 18. Cormack Roe O'Connor, who had been proclaimed a traitor, came to Dublin, and with tears in his eyes, begged pardon of the Lord Deputy and Council, in Christ Church, and had it; but, being of a turbulent spirit, he soon after relapsed into rebellion, and being taken by the Earl of Clanrickard, he was sent to Dublin, and hanged; so true is that observation of Cæsar Williamson,

" *Nec gentem ullam reperies, cui peccare et flere, magis na-*
" *turale est.*"

1541. In this year Robert Waucop, titular Archbishop of Armagh, introduced the Jesuits into Ireland by the favour and countenance of Pope Paul III.—John Codur was the first of the society that went thither, (*O'Sullivan's Catholic History of Ireland*, p. 79,) and was followed by Alphonsus, Salmeron, &c. &c.; and the observing reader will easily perceive the dismal and horrible effects of that mission, which hath ever since embroiled Ireland even at this day.—(*Hib. Anglicana*, vol. i. p. 272.)

The Priory and Convent of Christ's Church, Dublin, was changed into a Deanery by Henry VIII. at this time.

1542, *September* 1. O'Rourke, of Brefny, submitted to the King.

December 3. Archbishop Dowdall was consecrated Primate of Ireland. He was a learned man, and as zealous against the Reformation as his predecessor Primate Cromer had been. He was however contented to take his advancement from King Henry VIII. and could never obtain a provision from the Pope, who had promoted another man to the Primacy of Ireland.

1543. M'Donel and M'William submitted to the King.

1544. Archbishop Brown erects three Prebends in Christ's Church, viz. St. Michael's, St. Michan's, and St. John's. (*Ware*, vol. i. p. 691.)

1545. Henry VIII. granted the territory of the Abbey of St. Thomas to William Brabazon, ancestor to the Earl of Meath. (*Harris's History of Dublin.*)

This year the Council of Trent assembled.

1546. King Henry VIII. dies, January 28th.

April 1. Sir William Brabazon was sworn Lord Justice. In his time happened a strange and unnatural action, for Bryan, Lord of Upper Ossory, sent his own son, Teig, to Dublin, a prisoner, where he was executed.

In the month of July this year, Patrick O'More and Bryan O'Connor, with joint forces, invaded the County of Kildare, and burned Athy. But the Lord Justice immediately pursued them; and leaving a garrison at Athy, he marched into Offaly, and made a fort at Dingen, (now Philipstown,) and forced O'Connor to fly into Connaught. But the necessities of the State obliged the King to coin brass, or mixed, money, and to make it current in Ireland by proclamation, to the great dissatisfaction of all the people, especially the soldiers. (*Hibernia Anglicana*, vol. i. p. 280.)

1550, *February.* King Edward VI. sent an order into Ireland for reading the Liturgy and Service in the Mother Tongue; which order was first observed in Christ's Church on Easter-day in the same year, in presence of the Lord Deputy, St. Leger, Archbishop Browne, and the Mayor and Bailiffs of the City of Dublin. Primate Dowdall bent all his force against receiving the Liturgy in English, but Dr. Edward Staples, Bishop of Meath, Dr. Robert Travers, Bishop of Leighlin, and Dr. John Coyn, or Quin, Bishop of Limerick, adhered to Archbishop Browne. (*Ware*, vol. i. p. 350.)

In this year the Liturgy of the Church of England was printed in Dublin by Humphry Bowel, and it was the first book published in Ireland. (*Harris's History of Dublin.*)

May 10. Arthur M'Gennis, was by provision of the Pope, constituted Bishop of Dromore, and confirmed therein by the King, a proof adduced by Sir Richard Cox of the slow progress of the Reformation in Ireland at this time. (*Hib. Ang.* vol. i. p. 288.)

September 3. Thomas Lancaster, a Protestant, was made Bishop of Kildare. (*Ibid.*)

No. II.

"*Semper Eadem is more emphatically descriptive of our Religion than our Jurisprudence.*"

(Mr. Plowden.)

1551, *February* 6. King Edward VI. sent the following order for the Liturgy of the Church of England to be read in Ireland in the English tongue:

EDWARD, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, &c. &c.

WHEREAS, our gracious Father, King Henry VIII. of happy memory, taking into consideration, the bondage and heavy yoke that his true and faithful subjects, sustained under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, as also the IGNORANCE the commonalty were in, how many FABULOUS STORIES AND LYING WONDERS misled our subjects in both our realms of England and Ireland, grasping thereby the means thereof into their hands, also DISPENSING WITH THE SINS OF OUR NATIONS, BY THEIR INDULGENCES AND PARDONS FOR GAIN, PURPOSELY TO CHERISH ALL ILL VICES, AS ROBBERIES, REBELLIONS, THEFTS, WHOREDOMS, BLASPHEMY, IDOLATRY, &c. He, our gracious Father, King Henry, of happy memory, hereupon dissolved all Priories, Monasteries, Abbeys, and other pretended religious houses, as being but nurseries for vice and luxury, more than for sacred learning; THEREFORE, that it might more plainly appear to the world, that those orders had kept THE LIGHT OF THE GOSPEL from his people, he thought it most fit and convenient, for the preservation of their souls and bodies, THAT THE HOLY SCRIPTURES SHOULD BE TRANSLATED, PRINTED, AND PLACED IN ALL PARISH CHURCHES WITHIN HIS DOMINIONS for his faithful subjects, to increase their knowledge of GOD and of our Saviour JESUS CHRIST.

WE THEREFORE, for the general benefit of our well beloved subjects' understandings, whenever assembled together in the said several parish churches, either to pray or hear prayer sread, that they may the better join therein in unity, hearts and voice, have caused THE LITURGY AND PRAYERS OF THE CHURCH to be translated into our mother tongue of this our realm of England, according to the assembly of Divines within the same for that purpose. WE THEREFORE will and command, as also authorize you, Sir Anthony St. Leger, Knight, our Viceroy of that our kingdom of Ireland, to give special notice to all our clergy, as well Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, as others our secular parish Priests within our said kingdom of Ireland, to perfect, execute, and obey this our royal will and pleasure accordingly. (*Hibernia Anglicana*, vol. i. p. 289.)

1551, *June* 6. Sir James Crofts having succeeded the Lord Deputy St. Leger in the government of Ireland, wrote an earnest letter to Primate Dowdall, exhorting him to comply with the King's wishes respecting the reformation of his people, pleading the example of our Lord's submission to Cæsar, and the confession and practice of the early Bishops of Rome in this particular. Dr. Staples, Bishop of Meath, was the bearer of this letter; but the project terminated in a fruitless dispu-

tation between him and the Primate, who, although he held his elevated situation in opposition to the Pope, was too strongly attached to the reigning superstition not to look with horror on the proposals made to him.

Soon after this conference, Archbishop Dowdall went into voluntary exile, where he remained until the death of King Edward VI. (*Ware*, vol. i. p. 351.)

November 10. Dr. Robert Waucop died in a Convent of Jesuits at Paris. Pope Paul III. conferred the Archbishopric of Armagh on him during the life of George Dowdall, who held it by donation from King Henry VIII. Waucop, though blind from his youth, was a learned man. We find that he assisted at the Council of Trent as a Legate from the Pope, from whence arose the German Proverb—

"*Legatus cœcus ad oculatos Germanos.*"

"*A blind Legate to the sharp-sighted Germans.*"*

Doctor Waucop was the first who introduced the Jesuits into Ireland. *See Note.*

1552, *September* 2. John Bale was consecrated Bishop of Ossory in Christ Church, Dublin, not without opposition from such of the Clergy as were still inclined to Popery. He had been a Carmelite Friar, but was converted from his errors by a British Nobleman, and became an eminent promoter of the Reformation. His zeal in this good cause was celebrated in a Latin Epigram, which has been thus translated :—

"*Platin hath much revealed, but Luther more ;*
"*Vergerius many things; but Bale hath tore*
"*Away the mask that Pope and Popery wore.*"

(Bishop Williams's account of the Persecutions of Bale—London, 1664.)

It is reported that in this year the Spaniards agreed to pay two thousand pounds per annum, for one and twenty years, for leave to fish on the Irish coast. (*Hib. Ang.* vol. i. p. 130.)

* This may remind the reader of Ambrose Fisher, author of a most learned and peculiarly argumentative defence of the Liturgy. He was blind. His book, dedicated to Sir Robert Filmer, was published by John Grant, 1630. The following mottoes appeared in the title page :

"*Cœcorum mens oculatissima.*"

Read him that never read for by this vise
The blind leads thee to church who has thine eyes.

Grant gives three Epitaphs upon him. In the first we read,

Octo tamen vixit, non vidit nec ulli
Mens oculata magis.

Fisher was buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey. (*See the Protestant Advocate*, vol. ii. p. 136.)

When the Sacrament was to be administered at the Consecration of this Prelate, he refused to communicate in the Wafer, or printed Paste, but caused a white Manchet to be set on the Altar. (*Manuscript Tracts in Marsh's Library.*)

December 28. Hugh M'Nealoge, of Clandecoy, made his submission to the Lords Justices, and swore allegiance, agreeing and covenanting by indenture, to forfeit all if ever he relapsed. Whereupon the King granted him the Abbey of Carrickfergus, and liberty to keep three secular Priests, as also the Castle of Belfast. (*Hib. Ang.* vol. i. p. 293.)

1553. Queen Mary restores the Popish Bishops in England, and recalls Archbishop Dowdall from exile to the Primacy of Ireland.

March 20. The Bishop of Ossory was attacked in his palace at Kilkenny, by some Popish Priests, accompanied by a ruffian named Barnaby Boulger. They killed five of his servants before his face, but he saved himself by shutting the iron gates of his castle, where he defended himself till the sovereign of Kilkenny rescued him with a body of 400 men. He afterwards escaped into England, in the disguise of a sailor, and never returned to his See.

April 29. Sir James Crofts was made Lord Deputy of Ireland. The first of the eleven articles of instruction to him and the council was, TO PROPAGATE THE WORSHIP OF GOD IN THE ENGLISH TONGUE, AND TO HAVE THE SERVICE TRANSLATED INTO IRISH FOR THOSE PARTS OF THE COUNTRY WHICH NEEDED it. (*Hibernia Anglicana*, vol. i. p. 290.)

1554, *March* 12. Archbishop Dowdall was, by letters patent, restored to his title of Primate of all Ireland, which King Edward had granted to George Browne, Archbishop of Dublin.

June 29. By virtue of a Commission issued to Primate Dowdall, and William Walsh, elect Bishop of Meath, empowering them to deprive married Bishops and Clergy, George Browne, Archbishop of Dublin, Edward Staples, Bishop of Meath, Thomas Lancaster, Bishop of Kildare, and Robert Travers, Bishop of Leighlin, were deprived of their Sees. If these persecuted Prelates had each of them kept a seraglio of harlots, the utmost punishment to which they were liable by the Popish canons was a slight penance, which might have been commuted for money; but for throwing off one of the chief marks of the apostacy of the latter times, for entering into the holy state of matrimony, they were deprived of their Sees, and degraded.

Marriage is said, by Saint Paul, to be honourable in all men. "No," says the Pope and his clergy, "there is a command

of the Church against the marriage of Priests." May we not reply to the Pope and his clergy, as our Lord did to the Scribes and Pharisees, in a parallel case, "Full well ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may keep your own tradition."

1555. Primate Dowdall having, in the preceding year, held a Provincial Synod, in Drogheda, for the re-establishment of the Romish Faith, and the celebration of Mass being received in Dublin, caused a Jubilee to be observed all over Ireland. (*Ware's Life of Dowdall.*)

1556. A second Provincial Synod was held this year by the Archbishop of Armagh, in Drogheda, in which he gave liberty to husbandmen and labourers to work on certain festivals; he left them, however, an hundred and eighty-four holidays in the year, the direct consequence of whose observance was an abominable licentiousness of manners, and a famine every three or four years.

In the month of May this year, 1556, the Cavanaghs and their accomplices invaded the north part of the county of Dublin, but the citizens repulsed them with great slaughter, and drove them into Powerscourt Castle which they pretended to defend, but upon the appearance of Sir George Stanley with supplies, they surrendered at mercy. Seventy-four of them were hanged at Dublin, and the rest were pardoned. But the Lord Deputy's enemies at court suggested to her Majesty that he had formerly made some rhymes ridiculing transubstantiation, and for that or some other reason he was soon recalled and Thomas Radcliff, Lord Fitzwalter, sent in his place. The new Lord Deputy, on Whitsunday and the Tuesday afterwards, took the usual oath *on a Mass Book* at the altar in Christ Church. The first article of the Queen's instructions to the Lord Deputy and Council, was, by their example and all good means possible, to advance the honour of God and the Catholic Faith, to set forth the honour and dignity of the Pope's Holiness and See, Apostolic of Rome, and from time to time, to be ready, with their aid and secular power, at the request of all spiritual ministers, TO PUNISH ALL HERETICS AND LOLLARDS, AND THEIR DAMNABLE SECTS, OPINIONS, AND ERRORS, and to assist the commissioners of the Legate, Cardinal Pole, which he designed to send into Ireland to visit the clergy. (*Hib. Ang.* vol. p. 303.)

1557, *June* 21. The Earl of Desmond made his submission; and on the 26th of the same month, the Lord Deputy was godfather to the Earl's son, whom he named James Sussex, and gave the child a chain of gold, and gave another chain and

a pair of gilt spurs to Dermot M'Carty, of Muskerry, whom he also knighted. (*Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 307.)

December 5. Hugh Curwin, Lord Chancellor, and Sir Henry Sidney, Treasurer at war, being appointed Lords Justices of Ireland, were on this day censed and sprinkled with holy water, and heard mass in Christ Church, when they were sworn into office and received the sword from Sir John Stanly, the Marshal. (*Ibid.* 306.)

1558, *August* 15. Primate Dowdall died in London, having gone thither to consult his party on the more effectual re-establishment of Popery in Ireland.

November 10. Sir Henry Sidney was sworn a Lord Justice of Ireland.

17. Queen Mary died; and it is observable that though she was a very zealous Papist, yet *the Irish were not quieter during her reign, than they were under her brother;* but on the contrary, their ANTIPATHY AGAINST ENGLISHMEN AND GOVERNMENT induced them to be as troublesome then as at other times, and prevailed with captain Philip O'Sullivan, in his Catholic History of Ireland, (page 81) to give this severe character of her reign. *Quæ tametsi Catholicam Religionem tueri et amplificare conata est, ejus tamen Præfecti et Conciliorii injurias Ibernis inferre non destiterunt.* (*Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 309.)

In a Compendium of Priest Taafe's History of Ireland, published in 1814, by one Lawless, a member of the late Popish board, is the following observation on Queen Mary's government of Ireland: (page 197.) "*The Irishman should be taught to remember that the monopoly of the colony either in the robes of* CATHOLICITY *or* PROTESTANTISM *was equally savage, equally relentless, and equally insatiable.*"

"Queen Mary having dealt severely with the Protestants in England about the latter end of her reign, signed a Commission for to take the same course with them in Ireland; and to execute the same with greater force, she nominates Dr. Cole one of the Commissioners. This Doctor coming with the Commission to Chester on his journey, the Mayor of that city hearing that her Majesty was sending a messenger into Ireland, and he being a Churchman, waited on the Doctor, who, in discourse with the Mayor, taketh out of a cloak-bag a leather box, saying unto him, "Here is a commission that shall lash "the Heretics of Ireland," (calling the Protestants by that title.) The good woman of the house being well affected to the Protestant religion, and also having a brother, named John Edmonds, of the same, then a citizen in Dublin, was much troubled at the Doctor's words; but watching her con-

venient time while the Mayor took his leave, and the Doctor complimented him down the stairs, she opens the box, takes the Commission out, and places in lieu thereof a sheet of paper, with a pack of cards wrapt up therein, the knave of clubs being faced uppermost. The Doctor coming up to his chamber, suspecting nothing of what had been done, put up the box as formerly. The next day, going to the water-side, wind and weather serving him, he sails towards Ireland, and landed, on the 7th of October, 1558, at Dublin. Then coming to the castle, the Lord Fitz-Walter, being Lord Deputy, sent for him to come before him and the Privy Council; who, coming in after he had made a speech relating upon what account he came over, he presents the box unto the Lord Deputy, who, causing it to be opened, that the Secretary might read the Commission, there was nothing save a pack of cards, with the knave of clubs uppermost; which not only startled the Lord Deputy and Council, but the Doctor, who assured them he had a Commission, but knew not it was gone; then the Lord Deputy made answer, "Let us have another Commission, and we will shuffle the cards in the mean while." The Doctor, being troubled in his mind, went away, and returned into England; and coming to the Court, obtained another Commission; but staying for a wind on the water-side, news came to him, that the Queen was dead, and thus God preserved the Protestants of Ireland."

Queen Elizabeth was so delighted with this story, which was related to her by Lord Fitz-Walter on his return to England, that she sent for Elizabeth Edmonds, whose husband's name was Mattershad, and gave her a pension of forty pounds during her life.—(See Cox's *Hibernia Anglicana*, or *History of Ireland*, &c. vol. ii. p. 308. *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. v. p. 568.)

Note.—"John De Monluck, Bishop of Valence, was sent Ambassador from France to the Governor of Scotland, and the Queen Dowager, on the marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots, to the Dauphin of France; and when said Ambassador was to return to France, it pleased the Queen Mother to send me with him, to be placed page of honour to the Queen her daughter, I being then fourteen years of age. But the said Bishop went first to Ireland, commanded thereto by the King his master's letter, to know more particularly the motions and likelihood of the offers by O'Neel, O'Donneel, O'Docart, (O'Dogherty,) and Callock, willing to shake off the yoke of England, and become subject to the King of France, providing that he would procure the Pope's gift of Ireland, and then send to their help two thousand hackbutiers, two

hundred light horsemen, and four cannon. We shipped for Ireland in the month of January, and were stormed by the way, in a little island called Sand Isle before Kantire, where we were compelled to tarry seventeen days, by reason of the storm.

" Thence we hoisted sail toward Ireland, but the storm was yet so extremely violent, that with great danger of the ship and our lives, we entered in at the mouth of Lough Feul (Lough Foyle) in Ireland, upon Shrove Tuesday, in the year 1545, for the skipper and mariners had lost all hopes of safety, having left their anchors behind them the night before.

" Ere we landed, we sent one George Paris, who had been sent to Scotland by the great O'Neel and his associates, who landed at the house of a gentleman who had married O'Docart's daughter, dwelling at the side of a lake, who came to our ship, and welcomed us, and conveyed us to his house, where we rested that night.

" The next morning O'Docart came there, and conveyed us to his house, which was a dark tower, where we had cold cheer, as herring and bisket, for it was Lent.

" There finding two English Gray Friars, who had fled out of England (for King Edward VI. was yet alive,) the said Friars perceiving the Bishop to look very kindly to O'Docart's daughter, who fled from him continually, they brought to him a woman who spoke English ; which harlot, being kept quietly in his chamber, found a little glass within a case standing in a window, for the coffers were all wet with the sea waves that fell into the ship during the storm, she believing it had been ordained to be eaten, because it had an odoriferous smell, therefore she licked it clean out, which put the Bishop in such a rage, that he cried out for impatience, discovering his harlotry and his choler in such a sort, as the Friars fled, and the woman followed. But the Irishman and his own servants did laugh at the matter, for it was a viol of the most precious balm that grew in Egypt, which Solyman, the Great Turk, had given in a present to the said Bishop, after he had been two years Ambassador for the King of France in Turkey, and was esteemed worth two thousand crowns.

" In the time we remained at O'Docart's house, his young daughter, who fled from the Bishop, came and sought me, wherever I was, and brought a Priest with her who would speak English, and offered if I would marry her, to go with me wheresoever I pleased. I gave her thanks, but told her that I was but young, and had no estate, and was bound to France.

"Now the Ambassador met in secret with O'Neel and his associates, and heard their offers and overtures. And the Patriarch of Ireland did meet him there, who was a Scotchman born, called Waucop, and was blind of both his eyes, and yet had been divers times at Rome, by his post.

"He did great honour to the Ambassador, and conveyed him to St. Patrick's Purgatory, which is like an old coal-pit which had taken fire, by reason of the smoke that came out of the hole.

"From O'Docart's house we went to the dwelling-house of the Bishop of Roy (Raphoe,) not far from the narrow frith that run through Lough Feul to the sea. The said Irish Bishop had also been at Rome, and there we rested other three weeks, waiting for an Highland bark, which James Machonel should have sent from Kintire, with his brother Angus, to carry us back to Dunbarton; which being come to us, we parted to a castle, which the said Machonel had in Ireland, and from that we embarked, and rested a night in the Island of Jura, and the next in the Isle of Bute." (*Sir James Melvil's Memoires, page* 8 *and* 9—*London*, 1683.)

No. III.

No Italian Priest
Shall tythe or toll in our dominions;
But as we UNDER HEAVEN are supreme head
So under HIM, that great supremacy
Where we do reign we will alone uphold
Without th' assistance of a mortal hand:
So TELL THE POPE, all reverence set apart
To him and his USURPED authority.

SHAKESPEAR.

Queen Elizabeth called an assembly of the Bishops and Clergy of England, to consider the best means of resisting the insidious and destructive influence of the Bishop of Rome and his Agents. Fourteen Popish Bishops attended this meeting, for the purpose of frustrating her Majesty's gracious intentions, and in their name Dr. Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York, made a speech, exhorting the Queen to fulfil her deceased sister's covenants with the Holy See of St. Peter's at Rome, by imitating her zeal in the suppression of heresy in her dominions. The Queen, however, extinguished the hopes of the Pope and his adherents in England and Ireland, by the following magnanimous speech, which deserves to be recorded in letters of gold:—

"MY LORD ARCHBISHOP,

"As Joshua declared, saying, 'I and my house will serve

the Lord,' so be we resolved, and our realm, to serve him; for which we have assembled our Clergy, and be resolved to imitate Josiah, who assembled the ancients of Judea and Jerusalem, purposely to make a covenant with the Lord. Thus have we here assembled our Parliament together, with you of the Clergy, to the same intent, to contract with God, and not, with the Bishop of Rome. Neither lay it in our sister's power to bind us, our successors, or our realms, unto that authority which is usurpal. Therefore we, with our predecessors, who have (as our records do justify us) rejected that usurped and pretended power, which for future times will be precedents for our heirs and successors to imitate and dive into, do absolutely renounce all foreign jurisdiction, as our Crown is in no way either subject, or to be drawn under any power whatsoever, saving under Christ, the King of Kings.

"The Bishop of Rome's usurpation over Monarchy shews his desire of primacy over the whole earth, which to him and his successors will prove confusion in the celestial orb.

"We, therefore, shall esteem all those our subjects, eccèlesiastic as civil, as enemies to God, and to our heirs and successors, who shall henceforth own his usurped, or any foreign power whatsoever." (*R. Ware's Romish Fox*, p. 30.)

1559, *Aug.* 16. Thomas Fitzwalter, Earl of Sussex, being appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with special orders to restore the reformation of the Church, landed at Dalkey.

His principal instructions were, to PEOPLE ULSTER WITH ENGLISH, and to set up the worship of GOD as it was in England and to make such statutes as has been lately enacted there. (*Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 313.)

At his reception in the Cathedral of Christ Church, the Rev. Nicholas Dardy read the Litany in the English language. Th isalteration excited the malignity of several of the Romish Clergy, then lurking and wandering in the city of Dublin, and grievously disappointed in their late sanguine expectations of kindling the flames of persecution; so that what they term a *pia fraus* was contrived by them to vilify and calumniate her Majesty's endeavours for completing the Reformation.

One Richard Leigh, who had formerly been Prior of Christ Church, prepared a sponge, and, the night before the following Sunday, (her Majesty's Lord Lieutenant being to come to that Church with his suite,) this impostor placed the same in a bowl of blood, in which he suffered it to remain all night. Early in the morning of the next day he came to the Cathedral, and, watching his opportunity, he placed the sponge over the head of a marble image of Christ, with a reed in

his hand, and a crown of thorns on his head, so that the sponge being swelled and heavy, the blood ran through the crevices of the crown of thorns, and trickled down the face of the image.

The congregation being assembled, the Viceroy, and Dr. Hugh Curwin, Archbishop of Dublin, and the rest of the Privy Council, being present, the impostor, with his associates, cried out—"Behold! our Saviour's image sweats blood!"—Several of the common people, in astonishment and terror, fell down with their heads in their hands, and prayed to the image. This report flew like lightning through the city, and collected an immense crowd, eager to behold the miracle; the impostor all the time exclaiming, that "it was no wonder he should sweat blood, when Heresy was come into his Church."

This uproar so disturbed the Lord Lieutenant, the Archbishop, and the rest of the Privy Council, that they hastened out of the Church, apprehensive of danger.

When they came out, they beheld several people upon their knees, beating their breasts, and exclaiming, "*mea culpa! mea culpa! mea maxima culpa!*" Among the rest, Christopher Sedgrave, one of the Aldermen, and then Mayor of the city of Dublin, although he had been at English service that day, drew forth his beads, and prostrated himself in prayer before the image.

The Archbishop of Dublin, with great intrepidity and presence of mind, returned into the Cathedral, and ordered the Sexton to stand upon a stool, and search and wipe the head of the image, to see if it would bleed afresh.

The Sexton, in obeying the Archbishop, perceived the sponge within the hollow of the head of the image, and, pulling it forth, cried, "here's the cheat."

The worshippers of the image started up, and run out of the church, much ashamed of their folly, and bitterly cursing Father Leigh and his associates. The punishment inflicted by the Archbishop on these impostors was, to compel them to stand, with their legs and hands tied, for three Sundays, with the crime, written upon paper, and pinned to their breasts. They were afterwards imprisoned for some time, and then transported.

On the Sunday following, the Archbishop preached before the Lord Lieutenant and the Privy Council, and in the presence of the impostors, who were placed upon a table before the pulpit. His Grace's text was 2 Thessalonians, ii. 11.—

" And, therefore, God shall send them strong delusions, that they shall believe a lie."

This Sermon converted and reformed one hundred of the citizens of Dublin, who vowed on the spot, that they would never hear mass again.—*(R. Ware's Romish Fox*, p. 90.*)*

No. IV.

" *Eos qui excommunicatis fidelitate aut Sacramento constricti* " *sunt, Apostolica authoritate ab juramento absolvimus, & ut sibi* " *fidelitatem observent omnibus modis prohibemus.*"

(P. Greg. vii. Caus. G. cap. 7.)

1559, *Sept.* 10.—The Archbishop of Dublin caused the aforesaid image to be taken out of Christ Church, although he himself had replaced it there on his coming into the See, in 1557, his predecessor, George Browne, having pulled it down, in the reign of King Edward VI. At the same time his Grace wrote to the Queen, giving an account of the detection of Leigh's imposture, which induced her Majesty to order the images to be cast out of all the churches in England.—*(Robert Ware's Romish Fox*, p. 91.)

1560, *Jan.* 12.—The Lord Deputy held a Parliament in Dublin, in which it was enacted, that *the ancient jurisdiction* over the state, ecclesiastical and spiritual, be restored to the Crown, and that all officers, ministers, ecclesiastical and lay, all ecclesiastical persons, and *every one receiving the Queen's wages*, shall take the oath of supremacy, on pain of losing his office.---*(Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 313.)

By the same Parliament it was enacted, that *he who shall extol, maintain, or advance, foreign jurisdiction*, shall, for the first offence, lose his goods, and if they be not worth twenty pounds, then a year's imprisonment without bail, the second offence to be PRÆMUNIRE, and the third HIGH TREASON. The ACT OF UNIFORMITY, and that for the restitution of the FIRST FRUITS, and twentieth part of spiritual benefits to the crown, passed in this Parliament. (*Ibid.* 314.)

February 15. Sir William Fitz-William was sworn Lord Deputy. In his time Shane O'Neil broke out again into rebellion, and overthrew O'Reilly in the field, took Callogh O'Donnel, Lord of Tyrconel, prisoner, together with his wife and children, kept his wife by force, and lived with her in adultery. He seized O'Donnel's castle, lands, and goods, and in all things behaved himself as king (or rather tyrant) of Ulster. (*Hibernia Anglicana*, vol. ii. p. 315.)

May 7. Thomas, Earl of Sussex, having in the preceding

month returned to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, the Queen sent him orders to reduce Shane O'Neil by force or otherwise, and to apprehend the O'Briens who were opposing the Earl of Thomond. (*Ibid.*)

In this year, large Bibles, printed in the English language, were placed in the middle of the choirs of Christ Church and St. Patrick's. *(Harris's History of Dublin.)*

The people of Dublin resorted to them in crowds, joyfully availing themselves of the opportunity of consulting those holy writings, which, as containing the words of eternal life, we are expressly commanded to search.

The Priests armed themselves against the consequences of this diffusion of the light of truth, by detracting from the authority and utility of the Holy Bible, calling it a nose of wax, and a leaden rule, which might be turned any way; and one of their writers (Hosius *contra* Brentium, Lib. iii. p. 148.) had the impious presumption to assert, that "without the Pope's authority, Scripture hath no more authority than Æsop's Fables." In the mean time, a foul conspiracy was formed to nip the Reformation in its bud; and Shane O'Neil, in obedience to the Epistle of the Pope and Cardinals of Rome, took the command in a rebellion which broke out in the following year.

1561, *January* 6. Shane O'Neil made his submission to the Lord Lieutenant. (*Hib. Ang.* 316.)

January 13.—Sir Henry Sidney landed in Ireland, and was sworn Lord Deputy on the next Sunday afterwards. He was received with great joy, being a person of whose government Ireland had long experience. When he received the sword, he made an eloquent speech, setting forth what a precious thing good government is, and how all realms, commonwealths, cities, and countries, do flourish and prosper, where the same is orderly in quiet justice and wisdom directed and governed. *(Ib.* 318.*)*

February 2. — Sir William Fitzwilliam was sworn Lord Justice, and continued in office till the 24th of July following, when the Earl of Sussex returned from England, and made preparations to reduce Shane O'Neil, who had relapsed into rebellion.

August.—A Convocation was held in Dublin, to establish the thirty-nine articles.

The Lord Lieutenant marched with an army of 500 men, with six weeks provisions, against Shane O'Neil, who had raised the standard of rebellion in the North of Ireland.

The city of Dublin sent Sheriff Bedlow with eighty men,

and provisions for six weeks, to assist the Lord Lieutenant; and soon after Sheriff Gough was sent, with a reinforcement of forty archers, and as many musqueteers, with twenty-one days provision, all at the expence of this loyal city. These preparations obliged Shane O'Neil to disappoint the Pope and his faction, by submitting to the Lord Lieutenant. *(Harris's History of Dublin.)*

1562, *March* 3,—Adam Loftus, Bachelor of Divinity, the younger son of an ancient and wealthy family in England, was consecrated Archbishop of Armagh, by Hugh Curwin, Archbishop of Dublin. Through this prelate (if not through Archbishop Browne) our Irish Protestant prelates derive their succession, without room for cavil or objection; for Archbishop Curwin, who consecrated him, was himself consecrated in England, according to the forms of the Roman Pontifical, in the third year of the reign of Queen Mary.—*(Sir James Ware's Bishops, enlarged by W. Harris,* v. i. p. 94.*)*

1563, *April* 13.—The English discovered an ambuscade laid by Shane O'Neil, and fell upon them, so that one hundred and twenty rebels were killed. *(Hib. Ang.* 1316.*)*

April 16.—The Lord Lieutenant passed the Blackwater, and took a prey of two hundred cows returning to Dundalk, on the 26th of the same month. *(Ibid.)*

June 1.—The Lord Lieutenant advanced again to Dungannon, and quartered there, and next day came to Tullaghoge, and understanding that O'Neal and his party were in a fastness not far off, the English attacked them, and drove them farther into the woods.

June 3.—The English army returned to Armagh.

June 6.—The English took a prey of three thousand kine, and one thousand five hundred garrons and mares, which were divided among the soldiers, and so the army returned to Drogheda. Hereupon O'Neal being terrified, took the advice of the Earl of Kildare, made his submission to the Lord Lieutenant, and promised to do the like in England, which he performed in the presence of the Ambassadors of Sweden and Savoy; and upon his promise of amendment, was taken into favour. The Queen gave him some presents, lent him two thousand five hundred pounds, and ordered an inquiry to be made, on a complaint he had made that one John Smith had designed or attempted to poison him. On his return, however, after behaving himself civilly for some time, he broke into rebellion again. *(Ibid.* 1. 317.*)*

April 1.—The Earl of Sussex advanced his standard against Shane O'Neil, who rebelled a second time; and, as the Popish

clergy were known to interest themselves warmly in this rebellion, a Proclamation was issued against the meetings of friars and priests in Dublin.

A tax was also levied on housekeepers for absenting themselves from Divine Service; and for this purpose a roll of their names was called every Sunday by the Church Wardens. *(Harris's History of Dublin.)*

It may be right to observe here, that for the first ten or eleven years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, both Protestants and Papists resorted to the service of the reformed church; and, though it was much against the Pope's stomach, yet in hope of reducing the English subjects, he offered to confirm the Book of Common Prayer by his authority, so that they might have it from him, which being denied him, he forbade the Roman Catholics to assist at that service, and thundered forth excommunications against the Queen and her faithful people. *(Robert Ware's Romish Fox.)*

In this year the Council of Trent concluded. Donat Magenail, Popish Bishop of Raphoe, with nine of his Titular Brethren, attended this council, *(Ware's Bishops*, v. i. p. 275.*)* in which the principal points in which Protestants dissented from them were ratified, and superadded to the Creed of the Apostles, whilst measures were taken for a reformation of the manners of the clergy, who had at that time attained a height of wickedness in theory, and an effrontery in practice, which, a late eminent historian observes, could scarcely be described in too strong terms by the most keen and severe satirist.

Sed—nisi Sincerum est vas, quodcunque infundas acescit.

The faith of that church being unsound, the morality of its professors has been proved by experience to be equally corrupt. The tree is known by its fruits.

1564.—Robert Daly was consecrated Bishop of Kildare. He sat eighteen years in this see, and was, during that period, three times turned almost naked out of his house, and plundered of his goods by the Popish rebels; and it was thought that the third outrage committed on him was the cause of his death. (*Ware's Annals, ad Ann.* 1582.)

1565.—In the month of July, Colonel Randolph arrived at Derry from England, with seven hundred soldiers, where they intrenched themselves, and remained safe, until the Lord Deputy brought them off through Tyrconnel and Connaught to Dublin, but not before Randolph was killed. *(Hib. Ang.* I. 321.*)*

1566.—In October this year, O'Neal encamped within two

miles of Derry, with two thousand five hundred foot, and three hundred horse, making many bravadoes to entice and draw out the garrison, which accordingly happened to his loss, for Colonel Randolph sallied out with three hundred foot and fifty horse, and fell upon them so furiously, that he soon put the rebels to flight, with the loss of four hundred of their companions killed on the spot, without the loss of one man on the English side, except Colonel Randolph himself. *(Ibid.)*

1566, *April 24th.*—The town and fort of Derry were blown up by an accidental fire, whereby twenty men were killed, and all the victuals and provisions were destroyed. The soldiers of the garrison finding no possibility of relief from the consequences of the accident, were obliged to embark under the command of Colonel Saintlow for Dublin. Captain George Harvey and his troop being loath to kill their horses, resolutely marched round through Tyrconnel and Connaught; and though they were forced to march four days through an enemy's country, and were all that time pursued by a multitude of rebels, yet they got safe into Dublin, to the great admiration of the Lord Deputy and Council. But Captain Philip O'Sullivan makes A MIRACLE of this accident, and tells us, in his Catholic History of Ireland (*page* 4,) that Saint Columbkill, the founder and tutelar Saint of Derry, was impatient at the profanation of his church and cell by HERETICKS, the one being made a repository of the ammunition, and the other being used for their Lutheran worship; and, therefore, to be revenged on the English for this SACRILEGE, the Saint assumed the shape of a wolf, and passing by a smith's forge, he took his mouthful of red hot coals, and ran with it to the magazine, and fiercely spit fire into the room where the ammunition lay, and so set all on fire, and forced the hereticks to seek new quarters. *(Hiber. Anglican. II. 322.)*

In this year seven thousand Bibles were imported from England by John Dele, a bookseller in Dublin, who sold them all in two years. *(Harris's History of Dublin.)*

While the Protestants of Ireland were thus engaged in reading and disseminating the Gospel of peace, their infatuated adversaries, actuated by the *semper eadem* spirit of Popery, were busily employed in treasons, stratagems, and wiles; and Shane O'Neil, the princely son of the Mother Church (notwithstanding his late submission to the Queen) broke into rebellion again, invaded Fermanagh, expelled Maguire, at that time a peaceable subject, burned the Cathedral of Armagh, and at length laid siege to Dundalk.

The valour of the garrison at this latter place preserved it, until William Sarsfield, Mayor of Dublin, raised the siege, for which service, as well as for an expedition againt O'Reilly, a Popish Chieftain in Cavan, he was knighted by the Lord Lieutenant. *(Harris's History of Dublin*, p. 315.)

1567.—The Archbishop of Armagh was translated, at his own request, to the See of Dublin. This unusual translation may be easily accounted for: O'Neil, dealing vengeance with a heavy hand against the heretics, after he had burned the ancient Cathedral of Armagh, laid the surrounding country waste, and left it uninhabitable. (*Ware's Bishops*, p. 195.)

October 2.—James Mac Caghwell was promoted to the Archbishopric of Cashel, (*Pat.* 9 *Eliz. in Rot. canc.*) and in a little time after he was wounded with a skein (an old Irish weapon like a knife) by one Maurice Gibbon, Titular Archbishop of Cashel, because he would not give up the administration of the Province to him. (*J. Hooker, quoted by Ware, Bishops*, v. i. p. 483.) The following canon of Pope Urban justifies this diabolical act, as well as all others of the same kind, committed in the cause of the Church of Rome:

"*Non eos homicidas arbitramur, quibus adversus excommunicatos Zelo Catholicæ matris Ecclesiæ ardentibus Aliquos eorum trucidasse contigerit.*"

No. V.

"*Spartanos (genus est audax,*
"*Avidumque feræ) nodo cautus,*
"*Propiore liga.*"—(Sen. Hippolytus.)

1568.—Sir Henry Sidney was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, (*Harris's Dublin*, p. 315.) and the confederate rebels of Munster implored the aid of the Pope and the King of Spain, through their Ambassadors, the Titular Bishops of Cashel and Emly. This affords another precedent for the Popish Convention of 1813.

June 20.—The Earl of Tyrone and the rebels of Ulster were defeated in battle by Sir Henry Sidney. Tyrone himself flying for succour to Alexander M'Connel, then at Clandeboy with 600 Highlanders, one of them killed the fugitive Earl, in revenge for a former injury. His head was sent to the Lord Deputy, and exposed for some time on the Castle of Dublin. A curious monument on the bridge of Athlone records this event as an aweful warning to the champions of Popery; it is singular that this monument escaped, in the storming of the castle of Athlone, by Ginkle, in 1691.

Note.—For the manifestation of this Popish rebel's rancour and cankered hatred to the English nation, he cruelly hanged one of his own countrymen by the feet, only upon bare suspicion that he should be a spy for Englishmen; another he hanged because he was found with an English biscuit about him, (in the same spirit with a starving and shivering bigot in the Earl of Meath's Liberty, who would not lie under a Protestant blanket, in the severe frost of January 1814;) the third being one of the captains of the Queen's Gallowglasses, named Tarderogh Mac Donnel, falling unfortunately into his hands, he so crushed "by torture and duresse of binding, that he broke his back bone, and so ended his life miserably. (*See the Attainder of Shane O'Neil, in the Irish Statutes*, v. i. p. 323, Sec. 3, Cap. 1.)

Speed tells us that Con Baccagh O'Neal cursed all his posterity that would learn English, sow wheat, or build houses.

1568, *July* 12.—The Earl of Desmond submitted, in a most humble manner, and laid all his estate at the Queen's feet, promising to convey what part she should be pleased to take of it, and acknowledging himself to have forfeited a recognizance of twenty thousand pounds, which he had formerly made to her Majesty. (*Hib. Ang.* II. 326.)

October 14.—Lord Chancellor Weston, and Sir William Fitzwilliam, were sworn Lords Justices. Private quarrels swelling almost to public wars, existed about this time amongst the Butlers, Graces, Burkes, Fitzgeralds, O'Connors, O'Mores, O'Carrols, Mac Carties, O'Sullivans, O'Swineys, and Roches. (*Ibid* 327.)

October 20.—Sir Henry Sidney was sworn Lord Deputy of Ireland.

1569, *February* 23.—The Irish Parliament sat, and enacted, among other things, that the Queen should be entitled to the county of Tyrone, and also to the estate of Thomas Fitzgerald, knight of the Glin; and moreover that no man should be presented to an ecclesiastical benefice, under full age, being in orders able to read and speak English, and willing to reside on his living. The preamble to the last of these acts stated, that persons had been admitted to ecclesiastical dignities, who had neither legitimacy, learning, English habit, or English language; but were the issue of unchaste, unmarried, Abbots, Priors, Deans, &c. getting them into their dignities by force, simony, or other undue means. (*Hiber. Ang.* II. 321.)

May 12.—The Irish Parliament met this day, and among many other things enacted that SCHOOLS SHOULD BE ERECTED

in the shiretown of every diocese, at the cost of the whole diocese, by the direction of THE BISHOP and SHERIFF; and that the Chief Governor should nominate AN ENGLISH SCHOOLMASTER, and appoint his salary, whereof the Bishop should pay one third, and the Clergy the other two parts. The Bishops of Armagh, Dublin, Meath, and Kildare, and their successors, to name English schoolmasters for their respective dioceses. (*Ibid* 332.)

1569.—James Fitzgerald published a Manifesto in justification of the rebellion of his brothers, the Earl of Desmond and John Fitzgerald, in which the Birnes, Tooles, and Cavenaghs of Wicklow joined. He stated, "that they took up arms for the glory of God, and of Christ, and the Catholic church, whose sacraments the hereticks denied." At the same time Pope Paul V. issued a bull, declaring Queen Elizab th deprived of her crown, and her subjects absolved from their oaths of allegiance, which bull was confirmed by Popes Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V.

The Romish Clergy of Ireland (at whose earnest intreaty this bull was issued) gave their utmost countenance and aid to this rebellion; but the Earl of Desmond being defeated, he was assassinated by one of his own people, and this project for the restoration of Popery was frustrated.

Thus perished another noble victim to the Popish cause.

1570.—Miler M'Gragh, a Francisean friar, and Popish Bishop of Down, conformed to the Protestant religion, and was made Bishop of Clogher; which see, from the continual wars in this part of Ulster, being unable to support him, he was translated to Cashel, on the death of Archbishop Mac Caghwell. (*Ware's Bishops*, v. i. p. 188.)

In this year Edward Champion, Fellow of St. John's College in Oxford, published an History of Ireland. This man took orders in the Church of England, but afterwards turned a traiterous Jesuit, and was executed, with other rebellious priests, at Tyburn, in the year 1581. The History of this Martyrdom (as the Author called it) was written by Henry Walpole, another apostate, who himself soon after suffered a similar martyrdom for the same cause, at York, in the year 1295. *Bishop Nicholson's Irish Historical Library*, p. 42.)

It may be right to observe here, that in the forty-four years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, not one individual suffered for being a Papist; but one hundred and eighty Papists were executed for conspiracy and rebellion against their lawful Sovereign. In the five years of Queen Mary's reign, near four hundred persons were burned for the Protestant religion, and

multitudes were saved from the stake only by flight, some to Holland and Flanders, and some to Dublin, and among the latter John Harvey, Abel Ellis, John Edmonds, and Henry Hough, all Cheshire men, among whom Jones, a Welch Protestant minister, officiated privately. (*Robert Ware's Romish Fox.*)

1571.—Printing in the Irish character was first introduced in Ireland by the Rev. Nicholas Walsh, Chancellor of St. Patrick's, in Dublin, and son of the learned and pious Patrick Walsh, who was promoted to the Sees of Waterford and Lismore, by King Edward VI. (*Harris's Dublin*, p. 371.)

1572.—Matthew Sheyn succeeded to the Bishopric of Cork. He was a great enemy to image worship. (*Ware's Bishops*, v. i. p. 564.)

1573. — The Earl of Desmond was committed to the keeping of the Mayor of Dublin, who told the Government that the Earl should be welcome to meat, drink, and lodging, but that he would take no charge of him, and the Earl having license to go abroad, he made his escape; upon this he was proclaimed a traitor, and a large reward offered for him living or dead. (*Harris's Dublin*, p. 317.)

In this year the famous rebel Gerald Fitzgerald, eleventh Earl of Desmond of this family, having a long time escaped the English in his lurking places, was now discovered by a common soldier in a poor cottage, and there slain; his head was sent to England, and set upon London bridge. This end had this great Lord, who possessed whole countries, and had at least five hundred gentlemen of his own name and race, all of whom, and his own life also, he lost within three years, very few of his family being left alive; and this disaster he fell into, by being traiterous to his Prince, at the instigation of certain Popish priests, of whom the chief was one Nicholas Saunders, an Englishman, who at the same time died miserably of famine; for running mad upon his ill success, he wandered up and down the mountains, finding nothing to sustain him. (*Richard Burton's History of Ireland, page 22.*)

When this man was sent as a Legate to the unfortunate Desmond, by the Pope, this was the argument he used, *The Kings of England were never Kings of Ireland, but only Lords thereof, holding under the Pope. The Irish* (said he) *never did and never will acknowledge any temporal Sovereign but the Pope.* (*Columbanus ad Hibernos, No. II. page 252.*)

1576.—Richard Brady sat this year, and until the year 1585, Bishop of Kilmore, under the Pope's title. This see lying in an unsettled and tumultuous country, in which the

Popish families of O'Reilly, O'Sheridan, and Plunket, were very numerous and powerful, it was so much neglected by the Crown of England, that even after the Reformation, the Bishops succeeded to it either by usurpation or the Papal authority. *(Ware's Bishops*, v. i. p. 230.*)*

1577.—Nicholas Walsh, the learned and ingenious Chancellor of St. Patrick's, was promoted to the See of Ossory. *(Ware's Bishops*, v. i. p. 418.*)*

Soon after his promotion, he obtained an order that the Prayers of the Church should be printed in the Irish character and language, and a Church set apart in the shire towns of every Diocese, where they were read, and a Sermon preached to the common people, which proved an instrument of converting many of the Papists of those days. This excellent Prelate (who died afterwards by the hand of an assassin) encouraged his beloved friend, John Kerney, Treasurer of St. Patrick's, to write an Irish Catechism, and it is said to have been the first book ever printed in that character.

On the 14th of December, 1585, one James Dullard, a profligate wretch, whom the Bishop had cited into his Court for adultery, surprised him in his Palace, and stabbed him with a skein, of which he died; the murderer soon afterwards suffered the punishment due to his execrable crime, to which, it is said, he had been instigated by some wicked persons, to prevent the Bishop's proceeding in some law-suits, into which he had entered, for the recovery of the just rights and property of his See. *(See Ware's Account of Bishop Walsh.)*

1278.—Rory Oge O'More, a Popish Rebel, burned Naas, Carlow, Leighlin-bridge, Ballymore, and many other towns in Leinster.

On the Sunday after St. George's Day, in this year, James Bedlow, a Citizen of Dublin, did penance standing barefooted before the pulpit in Christ Church; and, at the same time, he publicly confessed his faults, which were these:

Viz. He maintained the Pope's supremacy. He alleged that one article of the Ten commandments (the second perhaps) was false; and that the Protestant Preachers, when they were out of their matter, and knew not what to say, began to rail at the Pope. All which particulars were confuted in a learned and eloquent Sermon preached by the Archbishop of Dublin. *(Harris's Dublin*, p. 318.)

October.—Matthew Sheyn, Bishop of Cork, publicly burned the image of Saint Dominick at the High Cross of that city, to the great grief of the superstitious people of his Diocese. *(W. Harris in Ware's Bishops*, v. i. p. 564.*)*

1579.—The noted Jesuits, Allen and Saunders, applied to the King of France for pecuniary assistance to raise a Rebellion in Ireland, but met with a refusal. They then applied to the Pope and the King of Spain, from both of whom thay obtained large sums of money. They landed in Kerry, with the arch-rebel Fitzsimmons, and excited a Rebellion in the Province of Munster; but Fitzsimmons was killed soon after, and the Rebels dispersed. *(Robert Ware's Romish Fox.)*

1580, *January* 4.—That zealous and able supporter of the Protestant cause, James Ussher, afterwards successively Bishop of Meath and Lord Primate of Ireland, was born in the Parish of St. Nicholas, in Dublin. *(Ware's Bishops,* v. i. p. 98.*)*

When the garrison of Linerwick was summoned to surrender, by Lord Grey in 1580, they answered that they were sent by the Pope to reduce Ireland to the obedience of King Philip, whom the Pope had invested with the Sovereignty of Ireland. *(O'Sullivan's Catholic History of Ireland,* p. 278.*)*

April 14.—Robert Parsons and Edmund Campion, two Jesuits, were dispatched from Rome on a journey to England, for the purpose of sowing schisms in the Reformed Church.

The Popish Clergy, who had obstinately opposed the Reformation, had a short time before this fled into Flanders—not from persecution, but to sow sedition, and betray the realm to a foreign power. At the instigation of Allen, the Jesuit, they assembled at Douay, and set up a school.—The Pope gave these fugitives an annual pension for their maintenance, and to encourage them to contrive plots against Queen Elizabeth and the Protestant Religion. After some time they were obliged to leave Flanders, and removed to Scotland, where the Queen of Scots allowed them a pension, and liberty to set up another school, for the education of British and Irish youth in the principles of the Popish Religion. In this school, or seminary, as it was called, Divinity, Politics, Physic, and Handicraft Trades, were taught; but chiefly was the attention of the pupils directed to all possible methods of dividing and distracting the Protestants in principles of Religion, and drawing them from the sound form of worship, established by Queen Elizabeth and her Parliament; and they were obliged, on their entrance to it, to take a solemn oath, "to defend and maintain the Pope's supremacy against all Heretics and pretended Churches, preferring the interest of the Holy Mother Church to their own earthly gain or pleasure." The Clergy, educated at this and similar schools, were called Seminary Priests, and

became afterwards most active instruments in the Popish cause. *(Romish Fox,* p. 129.*)*

1581, *November* 20.—Edmund Campion, and several other Popish Priests, were tried and found guilty of High Treason at Westminster. After the condemnation of Campion, it was proved before the Queen and the Archbishop of York, by Mr. Thomas Loftus, of Yorkshire, that this Jesuit and his associates had seduced many persons from the Church of England, preaching at one time Independency, at another Anabaptism, and the doctrines of a sect called "The Family of Love," after which they were known to celebrate the Popish Mass in several places. *(Romish Fox,* p. 140.*)*

No. VI.

"*Semper eadem.*"—(Mr. Plowden.)

1581, *January* 10.—Mr. Thomas Loftus, a Yorkshire gentleman, renounced the errors of the Romish Religion, and conformed to the Protestant Faith. The reason which he assigned to the Archbishop of York for doing so, was his abhorrence of the traiterous and cruel principles of Popery, and particularly a fraud practised in his neighbourhood by one Moloy, a Scotch or Irish Jesuit, who, with Campion and other Priests, had preached to great numbers of people, as Dissenters from the Established Religion, as well as from the Romish, whilst they regularly celebrated Mass for themselves in private, and plotted against the Government in Church and State. Mr. Loftus was a man of known integrity, and continued true to the Reformed Faith during the rest of his life. *(Ware's Romish Fox,* p. 141.*)*

January 14.—Queen Elizabeth, on the Archbishop of York's representation of the foregoing and similar transactions, issued a Proclamation, recalling all her subjects who had departed from her realm, under pretence of seeking education in foreign seminaries, and prohibiting the harbouring of Jesuits, Seminary Priests, or other sowers of sedition. Notwithstanding this Proclamation, the Popish Friars and Jesuits (encouraged by a division in the Privy Council) flocked into England from all parts, pretending that they came according to her Majesty's most gracious declaration, not consideriug themselves either conspirators or fugitives.

1582.—The amount of the expences of the Court of Rome, in maintaining impostors and incendiaries in the British dominions this year, was 152,000*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* according to the current coin of England, of which sum 60,000*l.* was allotted for

Scotland and Ireland, to cherish broils and factions in these countries.

This important fact was discovered by Mr. Michael Gravener, Secretary to the British Agency at Rome, in the reign of King James the First. An interesting narrative of this Agency was preserved by Archbishop Usher, and published by Mr. Robert Ware, in his *Romish Fox*, p. 173.

In this year, William Lyon was consecrated Bishop of Ross, on or about the 12th of May; and in the following year the Sees of Cork and Cloyne were annexed to it. It appears, in Archbishop Bramhall's Life, how greatly all the Bishoprics in the Province of Cashel suffered at the time of the Reformation, chiefly by the Popish Bishops, who resolved to make as much as they could of what they were certain of losing; but the author adds, that Cork and Ross fared the best of any Bishoprics in that Province—a very good man, Bishop Lyon, being placed there early in the Reformation.

This Prelate built an episcopal house at Ross, which cost him at least three hundred pounds; but in little more than three years after, it was burned to the ground by the Popish Rebel O'Donovan. *(Ware's Bishops*, p. 565.*)*

1583.—Queen Elizabeth received authentic intelligence from Rome, that the Pope, upon the Sunday after Whitsunday, gave "thanks to the Holy Trinity for the division that was sprung up in England amongst the Heretics there, and had six short curses read, by way of Litany, with this conclusion—"Abate, assuage, and confound, oh! Jesu Maria, the damnable Heresies of the rebellious Heretics of England." *(Romish Fox*, p. 154.*)*

At the Sessions of Gloucester, in the month of August this year, one Richard Summers, a Popish emissary and seducer, was discovered under a Protestant dress; on examination, it appeared that he had seduced several of the citizens from the Church of England, and that he was one of those who came over by the Pope's order to sow schisms in the Church, for which crimes he was executed according to an Act of Parliament. *(Ib.* p. 155.*)*

In this year, Dermot Hurlay, Titular Archbishop of Cashel, was executed, being tried and found guilty of High Treason. *(Nicholson's Irish Historical Library*, p. 11.*)*

1584.—Queen Elizabeth had intelligence from Sir Henry Wappel, of the arrival of the Earl of Gowry in the North of Ireland, for the purpose of raising factions there, having conspired, with many others in Scotland, to seize the King of Scots, and hurry him beyond seas, that Mary, his mother,

might reign absolutely, or that a Popish Prince might be immediately raised to the throne of Scotland. The Queen, on receiving this information, took such measures as frustrated the conspiracy. *(Romish Fox,* p. 159.)

1585.—Maurice Kenrechtine, a Popish Priest, was executed for High Treason, in Ireland. *(Harris's Dublin.)*

January 27.—John Garvey, Dean of Christ Church, Dublin, was advanced to the See of Kilmore, on the representation of Sir John Perrot, the Lord Deputy, that "one Richard Brady, a lewd Friar, had a short time before arrived from Rome, usurped that See, and dispersed seditious Bulls through the country." The Lord Deputy observed, that this See had not been bestowed on any Englishman or Irishman by the Queen, or any of her progenitors, within the memory of man. *(Ware's Bishops.)*

1587.—Pope Sixtus the Sixth, and Philip the Second, King of Spain, determined on the restoration of Popery in Great Britain and Ireland. Philip was to bear the whole charge, and, in return, was to succeed to the heretical Queen, whom they were about to depose. As for Sixtus, he had nothing to contribute on his part, but what the Popes were accustomed to supply on such occasions, namely, vows, prayers, and anathemas. In consequence of this agreement, the famous Armada was fitted out; and Strype tells us, in his Appendix of Original Papers, that it consisted of 130 ships, of 57,868 tons burthen, 19,295 soldiers, 8,450 seamen, 2,088 slaves, 2,630 large pieces of brass cannon, besides 20 caravels for the service of the army, and 10 salvoes, with 6 oars apiece.

1588.—In this year, Sir John Perrot sent a ship laden with Spanish wines to the coast of Donegal, under the command of a merchant in Dublin, who pretended to be a Spanish trader. When the ship arrived at the destined point, the merchant enticed the eldest son of O'Donnel on board, and carried him off to Dublin, where he was committed to custody as an hostage for his father, who, in defiance of the government, had refused to admit a Sheriff into his territory.

June 3.—The Duke of Medina Celi sailed out of the Tagus with the Spanish Armada.

July 19.—The Armada entered the English Channel.

July 24.—The English Fleet defeated the Spanish Armada, which was soon after driven on the coast of Zealand, by violent gales of wind. From that coast, this fleet was driven by a south-west wind round Scotland and Ireland, where several of their ships were cast away. All that were cast ashore on the Irish coast were put to the sword, or perished by the hands of the

executioner, the Lord Deputy fearing they would join the Irish Rebels.

On the discomfiture and retreat of the Spanish Armada, England was filled with universal joy. Queen Elizabeth ordered public thanksgivings for this deliverance to be made in all the churches of her dominions, and went herself to St. Paul's, in great solemnity, to perform the same duty.

At the same time Sir Robert Sidney arrived from Scotland, with the welcome news of the steady and declared attachment of King James to the Protestant interest, which was afterwards rewarded with the crown of the three kingdoms. He assured the English Ambassador, that "he looked for no other favour from the Spaniards, than what Polyphemus promised Ulysses, namely, that he should be devoured last."

1588 and 1589.—Dr. Sharp wrote a letter to the Duke of Buckingham, relative to the transactions of these years, in the following words:—"I remember in eighty-eight, waiting upon the Earl of Leicester in Tilbury Camp, and in eighty-nine, going into Portugal with my noble master the Earl of Essex. The Queen lying in the camp one night, guarded by her army, the old Lord Treasurer Burleigh came thither, and delivered to the Earl, the examination of Don Pedro, who was taken and brought in by Sir Francis Drake, which examination the Earl of Leicester delivered unto me to publish to the army in my next sermon. The sum of it was this. Don Pedro being asked, what was the intent of their coming? Stoutly answered the Lords, what? but to subdue your nation and root it out. Good, said the Lords: and what meant you then to do with the Catholics? He answered, we meant to send them (good men) directly to heaven, as all you that are heretics to hell. Yea, but said the Lords, what meant you to do with your whips of cord and wire? (whereof they had great store in their ships.) What? said he, we meant to whip you heretics to death, that have assisted my master's rebels, and done such dishonour to our Catholic King and people. Yea, but what would you have done, said they, with their young children? They, said he, which were above seven years old, should have gone the way their fathers went; the rest should have lived, branded in the forehead with the letter L for Lutheran, to perpetual bondage.

This, I take God to witness, I received of those great Lords, upon examination taken by the Council, and by commandment, delivered it to the army.

The Queen next morning rode through all the squadrons of her army as armed Pallas, attended by noble footmen,

Leicester, Essex, and Norris, then Lord Marshal, and divers other great Lords, where she made an excellent oration to her army, which, the next day after her departure, I was commanded to re-deliver to all the army together to keep a public fast. *(Dr. Sharp's Letter to the Duke of Buckingham.)*

1591, *March* 13.—The Mayor and Citizens having granted the site of the dissolved Monastery of All Hallows, near Dublin, for the purpose of erecting an University, the first stone of it was laid by the Mayor, Thomas Smith, and it was dedicated to the Holy and Undivided Trinity. *(Harris's Dublin,* p. 320.*)*

1592.—One Fitzsimmons, a Popish Priest, son of an Alderman in Dublin, was executed for being concerned in Baltinglass's Rebellion.

1593.—The College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, near Dublin, was opened under the auspices of Queen Elizabeth, for the express purpose of educating her Irish subjects in the Protestant Faith, and providing a regular succession of learned and zealous divines, to convert the turbulent natives of Ireland from the fatal errors of Popery.

No. VII.

"*Non necesse est fateri, partim horum errore susceptum esse, partim superstitione, multa fallendo.*"

1593.—Maguire, of Fermanagh, rebels. This chieftain had been a loyal subject, until he was forced into Rebellion by Tyrone. This, among many other events of a similar kind, affords a strong proof of the necessity of the government holding a firm and steady hand in the commencements of the Rebellions which recur so frequently in Ireland.

1595.—The Earl of Tyrone made an offer of the throne of Ireland to the King of Spain, if he would assist him with men and money; in confident expectation of this assistance, he broke into Rebellion. It is rather unfortunate for the Popish Convention of 1813, that poor King Joseph has neither men nor money to offer them, for they can expect no aid from the Cortes.

Oct. 31.—Pope Clement VIII. granted a Bull to Owen Mac Eagan, his Vicar Apostolic for Ireland, vesting in him the power to dispose of all the spiritual livings in the province of Munster. Sir George Carew observed of this Mac Eagan, that a more malicious traitor against the Crown of England never breathed. As soon as any prisoners were taken by the Rebels under his command, though they should be of his own

religion, he caused them (in pretended pity) first to be confessed and absolved, and then put to death in his own presence.

1596, *Nov.* 15.—O'Neal addressed a Manifesto to the Irish, containing the following passage:—

"Through great affection I have hitherto spared you, but now seeing you obstinate in allegiance to the Queen, I must of necessity use severity against you, whom otherwise I most entirely loved. I forewarne you, requesting everie one of you to come and join. If the same ye do not, I will use means not only to spoil you of all your goods, but to dispossess you of all your lands. Some of you very Catholickly given, cover your bad consciences with cloaks of affected ignorance, conster my warres to be for my own particularities, affirming that I never mentioned any points of religion in any articles of agreement with the Queen's Governours. Some are not contented to admit my warres to be lawful, and many Catholicks think themselves bound to obey the Queen as their lawful Prince; which is denyed in respect that she was deprived of all such kingdoms, which otherwise, should perhaps have been due unto her; and beyond all this, SUCH AS WERE SWORN TO BE FAITHFUL UNTO HER WERE BY HIS HOLINESS ABSOLVED FROM PERFORMANCE THEREOF. I pray, ALMIGHTY GOD, to move your flinty hearts, to prefer the profit of our country before your own private cases, &c.

"*Donaveg, Nov. 15th,* 1596."

(MSS. Trin. Coll. Dub. Bibl. Epis. Sterne.)

1597.—Mr. James Usher took his Bachelor's Degree, in the University of Dublin, and commenced the study of Polemical Divinity; an occupation as becoming as it is necessary to those who intend to promise, before God and man, at their ordination, to be faithful and diligent in banishing erroneous opinions from the minds of those who shall be committed to their charge.

1598.—The Earl of Tyrone kills Sir Hugh Bagnel, and defeats the English forces.

1599.—The Earl of Essex, with his army, marched against the Rebels of Munster; but all he accomplished by this expedition was the taking of Cahir Castle, and receiving Lord Cahir and Lord Roche, with some others, into protection, all of whom, on his departure, either openly joined, or secretly combined with the Rebels.

In this year, Mr. James Usher, nephew of the Lord Primate, Henry Usher, maintained a public disputation with a Jesuit, at that time a prisoner in the Castle of Dublin, in

which, though but in his nineteenth year, he had confessedly the victory. *(Ware's Bishops*, vol. i. p. 99.*)*—This may be termed, in these days of liberality, an idle controversy; but the happy result of it and similar efforts, on the part of the Protestant Clergy of Dublin, between the years 1535 and 1644, was the conversion of considerably more than half of the inhabitants of this metropolis from the fatal errors of the Popish Religion.

Feb. 24.—Sir Thomas Norris, Lord President of Munster, having been killed by the Rebels, Sir George Carew was appointed his successor, and landed at the Head of Howth. *(Stafford's, or rather Sir George Carew's Hibernia Pacata.)*

March 26.—Lord Barry received a letter from the Earl of Tyrone, of which the following is an extract:—

" My Lord Barry,

" Your impiety to God, cruelty to your own soul and body, tyranny and ingratitude, both to your followers and country, are inexcusable and intolerable; you separated yourself from the union of Christ's mystical body, the Catholicke Church, and you are the cause why all the nobilitie of the South (you being linked unto each of them from the East to the West, either in affinitie or consanguinitie) are not linked together to shake off the eruell yoake of Heresie and Tyrannie with which our soules and bodies are opprest, &c. &c.

" From the Campe, this instant, Tuesday the sixth of March, 1599.

" O'Neale."

Lord Barry answered, that he held by his lordships, and lands under Queen Elizabeth and her Royal Progenitors; that he would therefore be faithful to her Majesty's crown and dignity, and advised O'Neale to follow his example.

In the month of February, this year, Sir Warham St. Leger, one of the Commissioners for the Government of Munster, rode out of the city of Cork, accompanied by a small body of horse, to take the air. Not suspecting danger, he strayed a short way from his company, when he was surprised by Maguire, of Fermanagh, and some horsemen, at a narrow pass, about a mile and an half from Cork. Maguire struck the first blow, and mortally wounded Sir Warham, but was himself killed on the spot, by a shot from the pistol of his antagonist.

March 30.—The Earl of Tyrone, James Fitzthomas, Florence Mac Carty, and Mac Donough, wrote a joint letter to the Pope, praying for assistance from his Holiness against the heretical English.

April 10.—The Earl of Ormond, Lieutenant-General of her Majesty's forces, was taken prisoner by the Rebel, Rory O'More, within eight miles of Kilkenny. The Earl, in a parley with O'More, in the presence of the Lord President, the Earl of Thomond, and Lord Audley, guarded by seven hundred foot, and one hundred horse, called for Archer, a celebrated Jesuit, who took an active part in this Rebellion, and, whilst he was sharply reproving him for his treasonable practices, under the pretence of religion, he was surrounded by pikemen, who had concealed themselves in an adjoining wood, and taken prisoner. The Lord President and the rest of the party escaped with difficulty, and the Earl of Thomond received a wound by a pike. This circumstance gave great encouragement to the Rebels, at that time much superior in number to the Queen's forces, who were shut up in cities and walled towns, in a condition little different from being besieged. Stafford tells us, that the inhabitants of these places were "so besotted and bewitched by the Popish Priests, Jesuits, and Seminaries, that for fear of their cursing and excommunications, they were ready, upon every occasion, to rise in arms against the English forces, and minister all underhand aid and succour to the Rebels."

April 28.—Pope Clement VIII. (before he could have received Tyrone's petition for aid,) sent an indulgence to the Irish Rebels, animating them to persevere in their war, "adversus Anglos Ecclesiæ et fidei desertores."

Note.—From this, to the end of the 12th Annal, the authorities are taken from Stafford's or Carew's Hibernia Pacata, except in a few places, which are marked.

No. VIII.

"*Si Dominus, &c.*"—"*If a temporal Lord take no care to purge his country from Heresy, let him be excommunicated by the Metropolitan; and if he satisfy not within a year, let the Pope be informed of it, that he may presently declare his vassals absolved from their obedience, and that he expose his land to be invaded by Catholics.*"

(Innocent III. and the Council of Lateran.)

1600, *June* 7.—Rory O'More consented to release the Earl of Ormond for three thousand pounds.

July 9.—The castle of the Knight of Glyn, in the county of Limerick, was stormed and taken by Sir George Carew and

the Earl of Thomond, after an obstinate defence. This was a place of considerable force; and from the beginning of this Rebellion, one Anthony Arthur, a Popish merchant of Limerick, lay in it, as a general factor for the city, to vend commodities to the Rebels.

July 23.—Sir George Carew marched with his army from Limerick to Kilrush, in Thomond, where he embarked his forces for Kerry, and arrived before the strong castle of Carrigafoyle on the 29th of the same month.

The Earl of Thomond provided boats and such other necessaries as his country afforded. It is worth observing here, that, a century afterwards, a strong Protestant colony was settled in the neighbourhood of Kilrush, which, from that day to this, has checked and held in awe the disaffected Papists of Clare; and that, in the memorable year 1798, the Kilrush Cavalry, under the authority of a warrant from the Privy Council, pursued one of the present Popish agitators from one end of the county to the other, and he escaped by concealing himself under a leathern boat, called a coragh or nivoge.

August 23.—William Fitzgerald, the Knight of Kerry, refuses to entertain the sugan Earl of Desmond, and is taken into protection by Sir Charles Wilmot. Desmond, in revenge, destroyed the houses in the town of Dingle.

August 31.—Maurice Stack, a brave undertaker in Kerry, and a successful officer in her Majesty's service, was invited to dine with Honor O'Brien, wife of Lord Lixnaw, and sister of the Earl of Thomond. After dinner, the lady desired to speak with Stack privately in her chamber, where she called out to some persons who were in the house, that he had affronted her, on which they rushed in with their skeins, and assassinated him. The Earl of Thomond was so grieved and incensed at this inhuman act, that he never suffered his sister to come in his sight afterwards, though some of the lady's friends endeavoured to excuse her. The next day, her husband, Lord Lixnaw, hanged Thomas Eneally Stack, the brother of the said Maurice, whom he had kept prisoner for a long time before.

Owan Mac Eagan, the Pope's Vicar Apostolic, felt himself impowered to give absolution to such assassins as Lord Lixnaw and his followers, by the Canon of Pope Urban—"Non eos arbitravit homicidas, quibus adversus excommunicatos zelo Catholicæ matris Ecclesiæ ardentibus, aliquos eorum trucidasse contigisset."

"These are men of blood," said Luther, (Com. II. 40. 10.) "and if I were at present a member of their communion,

their savage barbarity would induce me to leave them for ever, even though I had no other fault to find with them."

October 14.—The young Earl of Desmond, (son of the late attainted Earl,) lands at Youghal from England. Queen Elizabeth, having had him a prisoner from his infancy, sent him now into Ireland, with many marks of favour, hoping that his presence in his own country would draw the ancient followers of his father from the Rebel, James Fitzthomas, who had assumed the title of Desmond, and was nick-named the sugan Earl, from his custom of wearing a hay rope round his body, after the manner of the Irish kernes or tories.

Soon after the arrival of the young Earl of Desmond in Ireland, he took a journey into the county of Limerick, accompanied by the Archbishop of Cashel, and Mr. Boyle, Clerk of the Council. They arrived in Kilmallock upon a Saturday, early in the evening, and by the way, and at their entry into the town, there was a great concourse of people, so that all the streets, doors, and windows, and the very tops of the houses, were filled with them. They welcomed the young Earl as one whom God had sent to be that comfort and delight which their hearts and souls most desired: no expressions or signs of joy were wanting upon the occasion; and, according to an ancient custom in Munster, they threw wheat and salt upon him, as a prediction of future peace and plenty. All was well, till the Earl, to the utter astonishment of the multitude, proceeded with his suite to hear divine service in church next day. On the way the crowds used loud and rude dehortations to keep him from church, which he disregarded; and after the service was over, they railed and spitted at him as he came out of the church; and the multitude, that had crowded into Kilmallock to see him, dispersed in sulky silence.

Such was the powerful influence of the Popish Clergy, that, in the space of a few hours, they converted the affectionate vassals of this Noble Earl into his bitterest and most malicious enemies.

November 5.—Lord Lixnaw's Castle of Listowel was taken by Sir Charles Wilmot. Lixnaw's eldest son, a child of five years old, was in the Castle when it was taken, but one Sir Dermot Mac Brodie, a Popish Priest, stripped the child of his clothes, and, besmearing his face with dust and dirt, sent him off naked by an old woman, who conveyed him away without suspicion. Sir Charles, hearing of the escape of the child, threatened to hang the Priest, and compelled him to go, with a Captain and a strong guard, to a wood six miles from the

Castle, which, by reason of thick briers and thorns, was almost impassable, and there he discovered to the guard, the old woman and the child, who, with all Lord Lixnaw's moveable effects and military stores, were concealed in a deep and extensive cave.

1601, *January* 13.—The Spanish Archbishop of Dublin, then lurking in the County of Donegal, wrote to the sugan Earl of Desmond, "intreating him and all his party to be of good courage, and to fight constantly and valiantly for the faith and liberty of their country, in certain expectation of most powerful aid arriving to them in a short time, from his Catholic Majesty the King of Spain." On the same day the Lord President of Munster wrote to the Lords of the Council in England, that the Spaniards would undoubtedly invade Ireland; for testimony whereof, he sent to their Lordships many letters, which he had received from Spain; and he added, that "many Romish Priests and Friars, (always the forerunners of mischief in this country,) had lately come into Ireland, for no other purpose than to withdraw the hearts of her Majesty's subjects from their allegiance to her, their true and lawful Sovereign.

March 30.—From this day to the 13th of April, the Rebels of Munster were reduced to the necessity of living on horse-flesh, and were in a state of starvation, so that were it not for assistance they received from Ulster, the province would have been reduced before the Spaniards arrived to their assistance.

In the year 1569, they had been reduced to such distress, for want of provisions, that Spencer gives the following description of their sufferings; an awful warning to the people of Ireland, of one of the evils likely to accrue from their suffering the incendiaries of the present day to lead them into Rebellion:

"Notwithstanding Munster, *(View of Ireland*, p. 72.) was a most rich and plentiful country, full of corn and cattle, that one would have thought the Rebels should have been able to stand long, yet ere one year and a half, they were brought to such wretchedness, as that any stony heart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glyns they came creeping forth upon their hands and feet, for their legs could not bear them; they looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eat the dead carrions—happy were they that could find them—yea, and one another soon after, insomuch as the very carcases they spared not to scrape out of their graves; and if they found a plot of water-cresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a

feast, for a time, yet not being able to continue there-withal, in a short space of time there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left void of man and beast; yet in that war there perished not many by the sword, but all by the extremity of famine which they themselves had wrought."

So much for the blessed effects of Irishmen fighting the Pope's battles against their lawful Sovereign and their fellow-subjects.

May 29.—The White Knight of Mitchelstown apprehends the sugan Earl of Desmond, in a cave on the Mountain of Slieve Gort in Kerry, and delivers him to the Lord President.

June 3.—The sugan Earl of Desmond was tried and found guilty of High Treason. Among other things, he alleged in his defence, "the general apprehension of the Irish Papists losing their lives and properties by Protestant Juries;" a base pretext for Rebellion, lately revived in the Popish Convention by a descendant of one of his vassals.

No. IX.

"Building all their creed upon
"The holy text of pike and gun,
"They prove their doctrine orthodox,
"By Apostolick blows and knocks."

(Hudibras.)

1601, *January* 16.—The Spanish Archbishop of Dublin, Don Mateo del Oviedo, going from Donegal on an embassy to the King of Spain, writes a letter to Florence Mac Carty, encouraging him to persist in Rebellion. About this time, Teig Mac Gillipatrick, a Popish Priest, whom the Earl of Thomond had sent, at the request of the Lord President, as a spy into Donegal, returned to Mallow with the intelligence, that in the Christmas holidays of 1600, Tyrone, O'Donnel, and most of the Northern Irish Chieftains, made a new combination to continue in Rebellion; that the Spanish Archbishop of Dublin was present at this assembly, and was ready to depart for Spain with sixteen Irish Priests in his train; and that, for the better assurance of their rebellious confederacy, the Sacrament had been solemnly received by them all.

May 19.—Florence Mac Carty received letters from the Earl of Tyrone, praying him to persevere constantly in the Catholic Cause, and assuring him of aid from Ulster before the ensuing Lammas. In another letter, Tyrone informed him

of the negotiations with the King of Spain, conducted by the Pope's Archbishop of Dublin, who, on taking his journey to Spain, in the preceding February, had left a great store of plate and other riches behind him, as a pledge of his triumphant return with men, money, and ammunition, from Spain, for the deliverance of Ireland.

Tyrone, Fitz Thomas, Mac Carty, and Mac Donogh, had before this (on the 30th of March) written a letter to the Pope, beseeching his assistance against the heretical English. This letter was dated in Castris Catholicis, and the writers of it ("nihil aliud in votis habentes quam videre Dei gloriam et fidei orthodoxæ propugnationem,") represented the state of Queen Elizabeth's Roman Catholic subjects to be worse than that of the Christians under the Turks, or the children of Israel under the tyrannical dominion of Pharaoh.

August 10.—Sir Francis Barclay, proceeding on his way to Ballyshannon with 1000 foot and a troop of horse, commanded by Capt. Richard Graham, was attacked near Elphin, by O'Donnel, O'Rourke, and Tyrrel, with 1500 foot and 300 horse. The Rebels were repulsed, with the loss of 80 men, and Sir Francis proceeded to his destination.

August 12.—The Secretary of State for England writes to Sir George Carew, informing him, that the Spanish fleet had sailed for Ireland; their number 17 men of war, and 33 transports.

Sept. 23.—The Sovereign of Kinsale sent a messenger to Sir Charles Wilmot, then in Cork, to inform him that the Spanish fleet had passed the mouth of the river of Kinsale, bearing towards Cork harbour. The Spaniards, however, turned into Kinsale Bay this day, and landed their forces there. They entered the town without opposition; the Sovereign, with his white rod in his hand, attending to billet the soldiers more readily than if they had been the Queen's forces.

Sept. 28.—Intelligence arrived to the Lord President, that the number of Spanish ships arrived at Kinsale was thirty-five; that the rest of the fleet had been driven into Baltimore; and that, hoping (as they had been promised) to find horses in Ireland, they had with them 1600 saddles, and a great surplus of arms for their Irish Allies.

To hasten the coming of Tyrone and O'Donnel from Ulster, the Spanish Archbishop of Dublin, who came to Kinsale with the invading army, wrote the following letter to these rebellious Chiefs:

"Pervenimus in Kinsale, cum classe et exercitu, Regis nostri Philippi; expectamus vestras excellentias qualibet hora,

venite ergo quam velociter potueris portantes equos, quibus maxime indigemus, et jam alia via scripsimus, non dico plura.

" Valete,

" Frater MATHEUS, Archiepiscopus Dublineus.

" Excellentissimis Dominis

" Don O'Neal & O'Donnel."

The conduct of this intriguing and treacherous Ecclesiastic may be readily accounted for by the following clause in the Popish Episcopal Oath:

" Hæreticos Schismaticos et Rebelles Domino nostro Papæ et successoribus ejus pro posse persequor et impugnabo."

It ought not to be forgotten, that all the Popish Bishops in Europe are at this day bound by the same oath of allegiance to the captive and slave of the odious Tyrant who has usurped the throne of France; and that an interest in the legislature of this Protestant Empire, an Imperium Romanum in Imperio Britannico, would soon subjugate these countries to the power of France, and quench the flame of Northern heresy in showers of blood.

Oct. 1.—Don Juan de Aquila, Commander of the Spanish Forces, publishes a Delaration, in answer to a Proclamation from the Lord Deputy and Council, in which he " addressed himself to Catholiques, not to forward Heretiques, blind leaders of the blind, who had fallen from the faith."—At the conclusion of this Declaration, he thus threatens the Irish Roman Catholics, who should dare to remain true to their lawful Sovereign—" Such (said he) will we persecute as Heretiques and hateful enemies to the church even unto death."—It seems, then, that there were at this time, as well as ever since, some Irishmen, of the Roman Catholic persuasion, unwilling to enter into Rebellion against their lawful Sovereign, in support of foreign jurisdiction. These wise and honest men have been lately branded in Cork with the epithet of Orange Papists, and are consequently in as much danger, as their Protestant fellow-subjects, of being " persecuted, even unto death, as Heretics and hateful enemies of the church."—The government of the country, however, is happily able and willing to protect the loyal and peaceable of all religious persuasions.

Definition of an Orange Papist.—On Tuesday morning, Mr. B——h and Counsellors O'C——l and H——y met at the Club-House, Tuckey Street, Cork; the former, addressing himself to Mr. H——y, asked him what was meant by an Orange Papist?—Counsellor H——y replied, " Here is the gentleman," pointing to Mr. O'C——l, " who can best define

the expression." Mr. O'C——l said, "I cannot define the animal, but I will attempt to describe him: he is a Roman Catholic slave, who, for a farthing in the pound in a small contract, would re-enact the Penal Code, and sell his country and his God!"—Mr. Hussey then said, "You have heard Mr. O'C——l's definition; now hear mine. It is a name given, by a low and vulgar faction, to every honest and respectable Catholic, who has the firmness and spirit to oppose their views. It is used to inflame the mob, and to mark out their best friends and natural leaders for the bludgeon of every ruffian in the streets, and its object is to throw the management of the great question of Catholic Emancipation into the hands of a few designing and ambitious men."—*(Dublin Correspondent.)*

October 25.—O'Donnel, with O'Rourke, Mac Swiny, O'Dogherty, O'Boyle, Mac Donogh, Mac Dermot, O'Kellie, O'Birne, and O'Conor, arrived in Munster to join the Spaniards, Tyrone followed, with Mac Ginnis, Mac Guire, Mac Mahon, and many other Northern Chiefs.

Nov. 22.—One James Grace, an Irishman, escaping from Kinsale (then closely besieged,) informed the Lord Deputy Mountjoy, that Don Juan de Aquila had, at his landing, five thousand men, and four pieces of cannon well mounted; but that the Irish, which were with him, were so much terrified by the English artillery, that it was with much ado that the Spaniards could prevent them from running out of the town. It may be observed here, that the Irish who, when they fight in a just cause, are, perhaps, the best troops in Europe, uniformly degenerate into base and cruel cowards when they enter into Rebellion.

Nov. 23.—The Lord Deputy summoned the town of Kinsale to surrender. Don Juan de Aquila, answered without hesitation, that "he held the town, first for Christ, and next for the King of Spain, and so would defend it, contra tutti inimici."

Lord Mountjoy, on receiving this answer, gave directions to begin the battery of the town with all his artillery.

Dec. 6.—The Knight of Kerry, and all the Irish in the West of Munster, revolted. The Spaniards had also been reinforced on the third of this month, by 2000 men, who landed at Castlehaven, with a great store of cannon and ammunition, and an assurance of a further supply of men, money, and ammunition, in a few days.

Dec. 8.—Tyrone's army was discovered near the English camp. About this time the Castle of Carrigafoyle, in Kerry, was betrayed to the Spaniards, by John O'Conor, Kerry, the

owner of it; and the English ward, who had been left in it with a guard, was murdered.

Dec. 24.—Tyrone and O'Donnel, with an army of six thousand Irish, and Don Alonzo Del Campo, with a regiment of Spaniards, coming to raise the siege of Kinsale, were defeated near the town by Lord Mountjoy and a division of Queen Elizabeth's forces. The vanguard of the Popish Rebels ran away before a shot was fired, or a blow struck: Tyrone and O'Donnel soon followed. In this battle and retreat, Don Alonzo Del Campo, the Spanish Commander, was taken prisoner; twelve hundred Irish Rebels were killed, eight hundred were wounded, and many of them died in the woods and bogs that night.

Several Irish Chiefs were taken, who offered large ransoms for their lives, but they were all brought into the camp and hanged, falling, with their infatuated followers, wretched victims of Popery, the Juggernaut Idol of Ireland.

The Lord Deputy, returning to the camp before Kinsale, with the Lord President, the gallant Earl of Thomond, and the victorious army, called out the rest of the forces, and returned solemn thanks to God for this decisive overthrow of their bigoted and inveterate enemies.

No. X.

"*The Priestes affirming that it was*
"*An almost deede to Godde,*
"*To make the Englishe subjects feel*
"*The Irish Rebells rodde.*"

(William Lithgow.)

1601, *Dec.*—On Sunday before Christmas, Mr. James Usher was ordained Deacon and Priest by his uncle, Henry Usher, Lord Primate of Ireland, and soon after preached his celebrated Sermon on Ezekiel iv. 6, which many persons considered prophetical of the Popish Rebellion and Massacres of 1641.

Dec. 25.—The Spaniards made two unsuccessful sallies from Kinsale, and another next night.

Dec. 28.—Intelligence was brought to the Lord Deputy, that Don Pedro Zubiaur, a great Commander in the Spanish fleet, had put into Castlehaven a few days before; but hearing of Tyrone's overthrow, he made no stay, but set sail for Spain, taking with him O'Donnel, and some other Irish Rebel Chiefs.

Dec. 29.—The Lord Deputy had intelligence that Tyrone

and Mac Mahon, in their flight from Kinsale to Ulster, had suffered many misfortunes, many of their men being killed, drowned, and dying of fatigue and hunger.—" Their footmen, wearied in the flight, cast away their arms, and their wounded men, carried upon weak and tired garrans, were by their fellows left upon the way, where they died; their tired horses were slain by their masters, and the country people robbed them as they passed." Such were the fruits, but not the first fruits, of Popery to the men of Ulster.

Dec. 31.—Don Juan de Aquila desiring a parley, the Lord Deputy sent Sir William Godolphin into Kinsale to treat with him. Don Juan declared, that he had found the Lord Deputy so honourable an enemy, and the Irish so weak, barbarous, and perfidious friends, that he wished to make terms, and surrender the town.

1602, *Jan.* 9.—Don Juan de Aquila surrendered the town of Kinsale to Lord Mountjoy, and accompanied him and the English army into Cork. An extensive plan of this siege, and the operations connected with it, is to be seen at the landing of the stair case of the Museum of Trinity College, Dublin. It appeared by the confession of Tyrone, (who offered to surrender himself on terms to the Deputy, on the 4th of February this year,) that the Rebellion and Spanish Invasion had been contrived and brought about by Fray Matheo de Oviedo, Popish Archbishop of Dublin, and that if the Spaniards had prevailed in Ireland, it was their intention to have formed a great Irish army for the invasion of England.

Feb. 10.—Letters from the King of Spain and the Duke of Lerma to Don Juan de Aquila, and the Spanish Archbishop of Dublin, were intercepted by the Lord President near Cork, by which it appeared, that the King of Spain's heart was still set upon the conquest of Ireland, and that he intended to send great reinforcements to his army in Kinsale. A few days before these letters were dispatched, O'Donnel had arrived in Spain, where he was most graciously received by the King, the Prelates, and religious persons of all ranks; from which it appeared, that the King and the Clergy were determined to use their utmost exertions to maintain the " Catholique warre" in Ireland. These latter circumstances were discovered by a letter to one Dominick Collins, an Irish Jesuit, written by Patrick Sinnet, a Romish Priest, who remained in the Groyne with the Earl of Caracena. It was found, with many other papers of a similar kind, on the taking of the Castle of Dunboy.

Feb. 12.—Pedro Lopez de Soto surrendered Castlehaven to

Captain Roger Harvie. The O'Driscols, who were the proprietors of this Castle, had got into it by a stratagem, a short time before Captain Harvie arrived, and he found the Spaniards undermining it, and determined to retake it by assault. However, on the appearance of Captain Harvie's men, the O'Driscols, by composition to depart in safety, surrendered the Castle.

Feb. 20.—The Castles of Doneshed and Donelong were surrendered by the Spaniards to Captain Harvie, and the garrison set sail for Spain.

Feb. 21.—Twenty Spanish Captains, with one thousand three hundred and seventy-four soldiers, set sail from Kinsale for Spain.

At the same time Donnel O'Sullivan, who had ever shewn himself a malicious traitor to his lawful Sovereign, surprised the Castle of Dunboy, and took it from the Spaniards, who had agreed to surrender it to the Lord Deputy. In this enterprize he was assisted by Lord Lixnaw and Archer the Jesuit. Don Juan de Aquila, then at Cork, took this as a great affront, and, if he had been permitted by the Lord Deputy, would have taken out the Spanish companies that remained, and stormed the Castle of this perverse traitor. In the mean time, O'Sullivan wrote a long letter to the King of Spain, excusing himself for what he had done, and bitterly reflecting upon Don Juan de Aquila for entering into articles to deliver up his Castle and Haven into the hands of his "cruel, cursed, misbelieving enemies."

March 7.—A declaration of the lawfulness of the Rebellion in Ireland was published by the University of Salamanca, and signed by the following Professors of Divinity, two of whom were learned Jesuits:

JOHN, of Segvensa,
EMANUEL, of Rosa,
GASPAR, of Mena, and
PETER OSORIUS, Expounder of the Canons.

It was maintained by these Divines, that the Pope had a certain and undoubted right "to bridle and suppress such as forsake the Catholic Faith; and that the Irish, who made war upon the heretical Queen of England, by authority, command, and exhortation of his Holiness, were bound, by their duty to the Church, to resist her forces, as they would the Turks; and that all those Catholics did sin mortally, and beyond the power of absolution, who bore arms in the camp of the Heretics."

About this time, Dr. William Daniel, afterwards Archbishop

of Tuam, translated the Book of Common Prayer into the Irish language, and it was published at the expence of the Province of Connaught, and Sir William Usher, Clerk of the Council.— *(Ware's Bishops.)*

March 8.—The Knight of Kerry, with 100 of his followers, and 200 Bonoghs, having been defeated by Sir Charles Wilmot, the Castles of Ballihow, Rathan, and Gregory, were taken from him. Sir Charles pursued him closely, but he made his escape to Lord Lixnaw in the mountains of Desmond. The sufferings of the ancient and illustrious House of Fitzgerald, in this unhappy cause, have been incalculable.

March 9.—The Earl of Thomond marches with an army into Carberry, with instructions to reduce the Rebels there, and to leave no means untried to get hold of O'Sullivan and Tirrel, living or dead. On the Earl's arrival at the Abbey of Bantry, he received intelligence that O'Sullivan Beare, and his people, by the advice of two Spaniards, an Italian, and a Friar called Dominick Collins, were fortifying the Castle of Dunboy.

April 23.—The Lord President marched from Cork to besiege O'Sullivan Beare in his Castle of Dunboy; an attempt considered hopeless, by some of the best subjects and bravest officers in Ireland.

May 5.—Sir Charles Wilmot having driven Lord Lixnaw out of Kerry, and subdued Fitzmorris and his followers, attacked Donnel O'Sullivan, son of O'Sullivan More, in Juragh, which he laid waste and plundered of 4,000 cows. The Knight of Kerry finding that the Queen's cause was likely to prevail, sought protection in an humble and submissive manner, and once more obtained it.

May 13.—The notorious rebel, Dermond Moyle Mac Cartie, brother of Florence Mac Cartie, attempting to plunder his cousin Mac Cartie reugh of some cows, was killed in a skirmish with the herdsmen. The loss of this great pillar of the Catholic cause was a matter of grief and astonishment to the whole country. His body was conveyed to the Abbey of Timoleg, and there interred by a friar with great solemnity. Mac Cartie reugh, immediately afterwards, wrote to the Lord President, notifying his vigilant and careful service against the rebels and their friends, of which his Lordship, he said, might perceive a strong proof in his cutting off his nearest kinsman. The President returned him thanks, though he was well convinced they were unmerited.

June 5.—A Spanish ship arrived in the bay of Camnara, near Ardea, in Desmond. This vessel had been dispatched

from Spain to know the state of the castle of Dunboy, and whether it yet held out against the English forces. Some Irish passengers came in this vessel, and among them the celebrated Owen Mac Egan, the Pope's Bishop of Ross, and Vicar Apostolic in Ireland. He was accompanied by Friar James Neylan, a follower of Sir Turlogh O'Brien, of Thomond, and brought over letters of encouragement to the rebels, with no less a sum than twelve thousand pounds, to enable them to carry on the holy warfare.

The distribution of this money was entrusted to James Archer, the Jesuit, Mac Egan, and O'Sullivan Beare. Archer's own part of it was an hundred and fifty pounds; Sir Finean O'Driscol got five hundred, Lord Lixnaw one hundred, and the Knight of Glynn fifty pounds. Thus were the dying embers of rebellion re-kindled and fed by the indefatigable zeal of two Popish Ecclesiastics.

The lands forfeited by the Earl of Desmond, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, amounted to five hundred and seventy-four thousand six hundred and twenty-eight Irish acres—a free-will offering at the shrine of Popery.

No. XI.

" *Lest the fair building on Saint Peter's rock*
" *Should feel the force of Time's destructive shock,*
" *Erect a superstructure upon high,*
" *Like Babel rising proudly to the sky;*
" *Mould up materials for the massy wall,*
" *That ne'er were used by Peter or by Paul:*
" *And if mankind, with sacrilegious eye,*
" *Into the edifice should dare to pry,*
" *Or think it strange that sinners should defile,*
" *By human fancies, such a goodly pile;*
" *Blast them, as heretics, condemn'd to dwell*
" *Without redemption in the flames of hell;*
" *Schismatics call them— ev'ry thing that's vile,*
" *Indulge the rancour of your bitter bile;*
" *Here it behoves you to make rapid strides,*
" *To guard your altars and your fire-sides.*"

FALKIRK's Translation of Buchanan's Franciscan.

1602.—Owen Mac Egan, immediately after his arrival in Ireland from Spain, wrote to Richard Mac Geoghegan, to encourage the rebels in the castle of Dunboy to hold out. He dated his letter from the " Catholicke Campe," concluding in the following words: " Have me, I pray, com-

mended to all, and especially to Father Dominick Collins, and bid him be of good courage: there comes with the army a Father of the company, an Italian, for the Pope, his Nuncius, in whose company I came from Rome to the Court of Spaine; and where he expects the armies coming hither. He shall give you all a benediction, yea I hope within your castle, there, in spite of all the Devils in Hell.

"Your assured friend,

"Owen Mac Egan."

The next day James Archer, the Jesuit, wrote to the same Friar, expressing his vehement hope of receiving, in a short time, a supply of lead, powder, and money from Spain.

John Anias, a Jesuit (who was hanged for his rebellious practices a few months afterwards) also wrote to Collins, who appears to have been the commander of O'Sullivan Beare and his castle of Dunboy. In this letter he advises the enterprising Jesuit to "be careful in fortifying continually the walls of the castle, filling the chambers on the North side with hides and earth," &c. &c.

June 10.—The Queen's army encamped, and formed entrenchments before the castle of Dunboy.

June 17.—The castle of Dunboy was taken by assault. The Lord President's regiment, with those of the Earl of Thomond, Sir Richard Percy, and Sir Charles Wilmot, standing to arms in the market-place, whilst the assault was made, and the breach entered. The castle was obstinately defended to the last. A great number of the rebels were killed, and among the rest the noted traitor Melaghlan O'More, who was the man who first laid hands on the Earl of Ormond, when he was taken prisoner by Owhny Mac Roury. Mac Geoghegan was mortally wounded, and Friar Collins (who had been a commander of horse in the wars of Brittany) was taken prisoner. He was called by the Spaniards Captain Le Branch.

After the castle was taken, it was discovered that one Taylor, with Richard Mac Geoghegan, were in the vault, in which nine barrels of gun-powder were stored. Tyrrel placed himself near one of the barrels, from which he had taken the cover, and vowed that he would plunge a torch into it, which he held in his hand, unless the President would promise to grant him his life. The President refused to enter into any conditions, and gave orders for a battery to play upon the vault. After some discharges at it, Taylor, with much difficulty, and after many threats from his companions, offered to come forth from the vault and surrender themselves, being in all about

fifty persons. Sir George Thornton, Captain Harvie, and some others, entered the vault to receive them, when Richard Mac Geoghegan (who had been mortally wounded) raised himself from the ground, seized a candle that was burning near him, and, staggering forward with it in his hand, made a desperate effort to cast it into the powder barrel. Captain Power seized him in the nick of time, and held him in his arms till one of the English soldiers, who perceived his intent, killed him.

On the same day, fifty-eight rebels were executed at Dunboy; but the Lord President respited Friar Taylor, Tirlagh Roe Mac Swiny, and twelve of Tirrel's chief men, in hopes of making more use of them than their lives were worth.

June 22.—The castle of Dunboy was blown up, and with it all the hopes of the Pope and the King of Spain, respecting the issue of their Holy War in Ireland.

On the same day, Friar Dominick Collins, in whom no penitence appeared for his detestable treasons, was hanged in Youghal, the town in which he was born.

The Lord President passing through Carberry on his return from Dunboy, where many rebels still held out, supposed they would have submitted, on the destruction of their impregnable citadel, and chief communication with Spain, but he found himself mistaken; for those who had before offered to surrender for their pardon, stood aloof; and those who were before ready to fly either to Spain or Ulster, began to revive their spirits, and make new combinations to hold out until their expected aid should arrive from Spain; all which arose from the arrival of Owen Mac Egan, which has been before mentioned. He not only bestowed the Spanish treasure, which he had brought with him, bountifully amongst them, but he raised their hopes to such a pitch, that they were confident of being so strongly reinforced in a few months, as to be able to drive the heretical English out of their Holy Island.

July 5.—James Archer, the Jesuit, and Sir Finian O'Driscoll's eldest son, escaped in a small vessel to Spain.

July 10.—Donnagh Moyle Mac Cartie, and Finnin his brother, with their followers, who had assisted the Lord President at the siege of Dunboy, revolted, and joined the rebels, being induced to do so by a bribe of three hundred pounds, which they received from Owen Mac Egan.

Aug. 10.—A false report prevailed through Munster, that a Spanish fleet, with a powerful army on board, was on the coast of Ireland, and within sight of the Old Head of Kinsale.

But the Spaniards, on hearing of the Castle of Dunboy being taken, suspended their preparations for another invasion.

Sep. 29.—The castle of Mocrumpe was taken by Sir Charles Wilmot, and the garrison put to the sword.

Oct. 22.—The noted rebel chieftain, Tirrel, was defeated in Muskerry, and eighty of his men killed by Sir Samuel Bagnal's forces.

About the same time, the Knight of Kerry was again defeated by Sir Charles Wilmot, who attacked his quarters in the night, killed forty of his men, took his whole substance, which consisted of five hundred cows, two hundred horses, and two months provision of meal and butter for his soldiers.

This loss reduced the Knight to such distress, that he was obliged, like a wolf, to shelter himself in waste woods and solitary mountains, until, with much difficulty, he obtained pardon and protection from the Lord President.

In the same month, the constable of the castle of Cloghan, which was besieged by Captain Harvie, suffered his brother to be hanged, rather than surrender the castle; and to this he was induced, by the hopes of saving a Popish priest, who was with him, and had but a short time before arrived from Rome.

Dec. 30.—Lord Barry and Sir George Thornton joined their forces to those of Sir Charles Wilmot.

1603, *Jan.* 5.—Owen Mac Egan, the Pope's Bishop of Ross, and Vicar Apostolic in Ireland, was killed, with an hundred and twenty rebels, in Carberry, by Captain Taaffe, who attacked them with his own troop of horse, and Sir Edward Wingfield's company of foot.

Mac Egan, with his sword in one hand, and his Portius and Beads in the other, headed one hundred of these men, and led them boldly into action. He fought with great gallantry and obstinacy, till he was killed by a musket-shot, which so terrified and amazed the rebels, who had thought him invulnerable, that they threw away their arms, fled for their lives, and casting themselves into the River Bandon, those who survived the fury of their pursuers were drowned.

A Popish Priest, who was Mac Egan's Chaplain, was one of the few prisoners taken; and the Lord President, in a short time afterwards, hanged him in Cork.

Immediately after the death of Mac Egan, the Mac Carties, and all the rebels in Munster, except Lord Lixnaw, surrendered, and he was defeated on the 3d of February, by Captain Blois, who surprised him in the night. A principal means of this sudden and universal reduction of the province, was the fall of the Vicar Apostolic; for the respect in which he was

held by the Irish, on account of his authority from the Pope, and his credit with the King of Spain, was so great, that his power was in a manner absolute over them all, and he alone was the cause of their blindly and obstinately persisting in rebellion after the taking of Kinsale, and the expulsion of the Spaniards.

After his return to Cork, the President dispatched trusty messengers to secure Mac Egan's books and papers, among which was found a bull of Pope Clement VIII. granting large Indulgences to such of the Irish as should bear arms against the heretical and schismatical enemies of the Holy See.

" Neve ruant lapsis tam ditia tecta columnis
" Quæ super æternam posita est Ecclesia petram
" Tu Petrum supra ædifica, qui claudere cœlum
" Tartara qui solus possit,
" Hæc qui Sacrilegis ausit convellere verbis,
" Schismaticus sit et Hæreticus, sit torris Averna
" Ollæ, opifer scelerum, Furiarum filius, Orci
" Germen, et in mentem quicquid tibi splendida bilis
" Suggeret: huc omnes tonitrus, huc fulgura linguæ
" Congere, Proque focis, hic depugnetur et Aris."
(Georgii Buchanani Franciscanus, L. 646.)

No. XII.

" *Smooth runs the water where the brook is deep.*"
(Shakespeare, First Part of Henry VI.)

1609.—Together with the Bull of Pope Clement VIII. Sir George Carew found among Mac Egan's papers, a letter written by the same Pontiff to Hugh O'Neal, Earl of Tyrone; an instrument comprehending an authority to Mac Egan to present all the spiritual livings in the Province of Munster, and an oath of allegiance to the Pope, to be taken by all the Irish Clergy. Copies of all these documents are preserved in *Carew's Hibernia Pacata*, published in London by Thomas Stafford in 1633. The following observations made on them by the ingenious Lord President, are worth recording: " One thing more I cannot pass over in silence, namely, for as much as the Pope perceiveth that his kingdom cannot long stand, but that Babel must fall, and Antichrist must be consumed with the breath of the Lord's mouth; therefore, with prudent care, and politic circumspection, he suffereth none to be initiated into his Holy Sacrament of Orders, nor preferred to any Ecclesiastical Promotions; but he is first bound by his hand,

word, and corporal oath, to maintain and defend the pomp. honour, privileges, prerogatives, and doctrines of the See of Rome, especially and namely, such as are contradictorily repugnant to the written word of God; and that they shall persecute and impugn all those (whether Prince or People) that shall be adjudged Heretics or Schismatics in the Pope's Consistory. Consider, therefore, I beseech thee, gentle reader, whether any Priest that taketh this oath (for they all take it) can be accounted a good subject to the Crown of England."

Feb. 23.—Sir Edward Wingfield was sent into the Province of Connaught, by the Lord President, with five hundred foot.

Feb. 26.—The Lord President, preparing to depart for England, appointed Sir Charles Wilmot and Sir George Thornton, joint Commissioners for the Government of Munster.

Sir George Thornton had a daughter married to a Mr. John Burke, a Roman Catholic, in the County of Limerick. This gentleman suddenly and unaccountably left his wife and family, and was not heard of for some time; at last his father-in-law received the following letter from him, which, as it tends to elucidate the deceitful and hypocritical system of Popery, deserves to be generally known:

"Right worshipful, and my very loving Father, for that I know, you would bee much troubled in minde to thinke, what should move mee to depart thus from my wife, friends, and lands. I thought good to tell you the very truth, which I desire you without any scruple to believe.

"I have taken upon me to be a Pilgrim for the space of two years. First, I must visit Saint Jago, in Spain, and from thence to Rome. I have sought the letters of favour from certain Priests in this country to their fellowes beyond the seas. You nor my Lord President may not thinke, that I goe to procure any mischief to the English State, to whom I would be more willing to doe good, than able to doe harm. I do not now speake unto you in the spirit of flattery or feare, falsehood or deceit, or for any worldly policie. I speake before God, and God knoweth that I speake the truth; I do not goe with any intent to harm any person, but onely to do judgment upon myself, for a satisfaction unto God for my sinnes. The little living I have I doe leave with my wife, the which and herself I doe leave to your fatherly care. And so I rest,

"Your sonne,

"JOHN BURKE."

Notwithstanding all these solemn protestations, it was discovered that this pious pilgrim left home on an embassy to the King of Spain, to induce him to support the Catholic war in Ireland; and in one of his letters credential from the Popish Bishop of Kilmacduagh, he is styled, "Johannem Burke nobilem propugnatorem Hereticæ pravitatis, versantem inter Anglos fidei desertores." The following certificate had also been given to him by a Popish priest:

"Notum tibi facio, ut hoc invictissimo Regi notum facere cures, harum latorem Johannem Burke, relictis bonis paternis te adire, quo illi ad Regem aditum præbeas, sui temporis opportunitatem ad peragenda negotia maximi ponderis & momenti, quæ hujus regionis saluti conducunt."

To prevent the consequence of this man's solicitations in Spain, connected as he was with one of the Lord President's successors in the government of Munster, it was thought prudent that Sir George Thornton should send a messenger to him to the rebels' camp (where he then was) to recal him, if possible, from this pilgrimage, which was at last with difficulty effected, by the persuasions of his wife, his mother, and his friends.

March 20.—Sir George Carew set sail for England, and at his landing at Beaumorris next day, he heard the unwelcome news of the death of Queen Elizabeth.

The following homely verses, under a valuable print of this great Queen, in the first edition of *Pacata Hibernia*, are worth preserving:

"Made bright and glorious by affliction's flame,
"Forth from a prison to a Crown she came,
"Attempting and affecting harder things
"Than have been reached by the greatest Kings;
"Of all her cares, Religion was the prime,
"Which she reformed in a dang'rous time;
"And tho' her neighb'ring Princes thereat stormed,
"Did all her life defend what she reformed.
"As watchful in the State affairs was she,
"And oft her Realms from civil broils did free.
"From Ireland she the Spanish pow'r expell'd,
"And all the rude rebellious Irish quell'd.
"In Scotland she did mar the Frenchman's hope,
"She foiled the deep laid projects of the Pope:
"And tho' his Bulls did roar in ev'ry place,
"Turn'd all his thund'rings to his own disgrace."

The reduction of Ireland is said to have cost the British

Government near three millions and an half in the last ten years of Queen Elizabeth's reign; an enormous sum in that age, and in the then existing state of the English finances, when the ordinary revenue of the Crown fell short of half a million yearly.

It also cost this Priest-ridden country the greater part of its population, by sword, famine, and pestilence, and was effected by a dreadful waste of English blood, in a country then unfriendly to English constitutions, from the dampness of its climate, the thickness of its woods, and the great tracts of swamps and marshes which occupied the low-lands, and have been since reclaimed. It is therefore no wonder that Elizabeth should enact many severe laws to prevent the growth of Popery in Ireland, to which all these dreadful evils may be fairly attributed; and if the same wretched cause should produce similar effects in our own days, as it is but too likely to do, some of us may live to see a re-enaction of the whole Penal Code, and an effectual execution of it.

March 22.—Sir George Carew, on his journey to London, passing through Lichfield, assisted the Mayor of that town in proclaiming King James the First.

On the accession of this Prince to the Throne of England, the Popish Clergy asserted boldly, that he was of their own religion; and in many parts of Ireland they proceeded to eject the Protestant Ministers from the churches, and seized on the religious houses, which had been converted to civil uses.

The Puritans also flattered themselves that the King, who had been educated by persons of their religion, would promote the reforming of the Church of England upon the plan of that of Scotland, and hoped to see in a short time the downfall of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy. But both these parties were sadly disappointed in their hopes, for the King soon after his accession issued two Proclamations; one, "commanding all Jesuits and other Priests, having orders from any Foreign Power, to depart the Kingdom; and the other, enjoining the Puritans to conform themselves to the worship of the Established Church."

No. XIII.

What wise and valiant man could hope to free
These thus degenerate, by themselves enslaved
Or could of inward slaves make outward free. (MILTON.)

1603.—When the Irish Papists found themselves disappointed in the expectations they had formed respecting the

Faith of King James the First, they determined to resist his authority. The cities of Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and Cashel opposed the proclaiming him King, and invited all the other cities and towns in Ireland to join them; but the Lord Deputy Mountjoy marching against them with a powerful army, they were compelled to submit.

When Mountjoy appeared before Waterford with his army, he was refused admittance by the citizens, who alleged that, by a charter from King John, they were exempt from quartering of soldiers; and they also declared, by the mouths of two ecclesiastics in the habits of their order, that they could not in conscience obey any Sovereign who should persecute Catholics.

The Lord Deputy having condescended to expose the falsehood of a quotation of these churchmen from Saint Augustin in support of their doctrine, threatened to "cut in pieces the charter of John with the sword of James, to demolish the city, and strew it with salt. Terrified by the well-known spirit and abilities of Mountjoy, the citizens immediately yielded, and swore allegiance; and their example was followed by the inhabitants of Limerick, Cashel, and Clonmel. Those of Cork, the most refractory, had been for a short time blockaded by the King's forces, and, after a little bloodshed, surrendered on the arrival of the Lord Deputy. He executed some of the inferior agitators, and treated the rest with lenity, among whom was Mead, the Recorder, who was acquitted by the manifest partiality of the Jury. *(Gordon's Ireland.)*

The country being now apparently settled, the officers of the English army, with that liberality which ever characterizes the British nation, contributed eighteen hundred pounds out of their pay to augment the public library of the University of Dublin.

Doctor Challoner and Mr. James Usher had the management of this money. *(Ware's Bishops*, p. 100.*)*

It could not have been put into better hands; and it is scarce necessary to add, that these excellent men most faithfully discharged the trust reposed in them.

In this year, Mr. Usher was promoted to the Chancellorship of St. Patrick's, in Dublin, by Archbishop Loftus. He retained this benefice, without taking any other, until he was elevated in 1620 to the See of Meath.

About this time Lord Mountjoy returned to England, and brought with him Hugh O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone. Mountjoy was honourably received, sworn of his Majesty's Privy Council, and afterwards created Earl of Devonshire.—Tyrone himself,

who had been the cause of so much bloodshed, was pardoned, and a Proclamation was issued, commanding all men to treat him with respect and honour.

1604.—Great attention was paid in this year, by the English Government, to the melioration of the condition of the Irish people. In the successive administrations of Carew and Sir Arthur Chichester, Sheriffs had been appointed to the several counties, and itinerant Judges performed their circuits, who administered strict and impartial justice to all descriptions of people in the country. The Irish were now admitted to all the privileges of English subjects, and the properties of all those who had not forfeited them by Rebellion, were confirmed by English Patents. But the household Dæmon of Ireland was still at work, and all these wise measures were frustrated by the restless and incorrigible spirit of Popish bigotry. "The sacerdotal champions persisted strenuously to inculcate the opinion of the King's affection for the Church of Rome. They denounced the vengeance of heaven on all who should attend heretical worship. They ordered the restoration and repair of religious houses, which had been suppressed. They arraigned the civil administration, reviewed causes determined in the King's Courts, and commanded the people, under pain of eternal perdition, to obey the decisions of their Spiritual Courts, and not those of the Civil Law." *(Gordon's Ireland.)*

1605, *March.*—The Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral of England, set out on an embassy to Spain. His retinue consisted of no less than six hundred persons. The Spaniards were astonished at the magnificence of this embassy, and particularly at the beauty of the English gentlemen who accompanied the Ambassador; for the Jesuits and Irish Priests had reported in Spain, that the English people were horribly ugly and like Devils, having a mark of the vengeance of heaven set upon their faces, as a punishment for their Rebellion against the Pope. As for Sir Francis Drake, he was generally painted by the Spaniards as half a man and half a dragon. "So easy is it (says an eminent historian) for those jugglers, when they have the conscience once bound up, to tie the understanding also." *(Rapin.)*

In the year 1532, Philip, Duke of Saxony, having been informed by the Popish Clergy, that the children of the Waldenses were born with black throats; that they were hairy, and had four rows of teeth, he ordered some of them to be brought before him to Pignerol, where, having convinced himself by ocular demonstration that they were not monsters,

he determined to protect them from persecution. *(Milner's Ecclesiastical History.)*

As Popery is ubique, as well as semper eadem, it is well known that a similar opinion prevails in the South and West of Ireland among the ignorant Papists. Multitudes of them live and die in the belief, that their Protestant countrymen are black in the roof of the mouth; and, when particularly exasperated against any of them, never fail to call them black-livered dogs. It is no difficult matter to perceive, that such wretched falsehoods are propagated by interested persons, for the wicked purpose of pre-disposing the Irish peasantry to persecute their Protestant fellow-subjects as heretics and monsters, marked from their infancy the objects of divine and human vengeance.

April 5.—Archbishop Loftus died in an advanced old age, at his Palace of Saint Sepulchre's, Dublin. This active Prelate was a chief instrument in bringing Sir John Perrot to his trial and condemnation. Many people supposed Sir John innocent of the charges brought against him; and a short time before his sudden death in the Tower of London, where he was confined, he declared in his last will and testament, that Archbishop Loftus had wronged him. Spencer, however, in his View of Ireland, (page 76,) gives the following account of the administration of this Chief Governor:

" Sir John Perrot succeeding, as it were, into another man's harvest, found an open way to what course he list, the which he bent not to that point which the former Governors intended, in vain vaunt of his own counsels, with which he was too wilfully carried; for he did tread down and disgrace all the English, and set up and countenance the Irish, all that he could; thereby thinking to make them more tractable."

Nov. 5.—The Gunpowder Plot was discovered, and the King, Lords, and Commons, providentially saved from the destruction prepared for them by the Papists. In the mean time, the Proclamation against the Popish Clergy had been extended to Ireland: and it enraged the Popish party to such a degree, that they, by their audacity, provoked the Lord Deputy, Chichester, and the Privy Council, to fine and imprison several of them, and, amongst others, some of the Aldermen and principal Citizens of Dublin. The old English families of the Pale were in violent commotion, and presented a petition and remonstrance against the Proclamation. An unusual concourse attending the presentment of this petition to the Council, on the day in which intelligence arrived from England of the Gunpowder Plot, a suspicion arose that the

Irish Priests were acting in concert with their zealous brethren in England. The chief petitioners were therefore arrested and confined in the Castle of Dublin; and Sir Patrick Barnwell, their agent, was, by the King's command, sent prisoner to London.

No. XIV.

" *Every concession made to the Papists has been converted* " *into a ground for fresh demands.*"

" *In like manner it is possible they may be restless and discon-* " *tented, even though all they now ask should be conceded to* " *them. They may even be encouraged, by the possession of* " *Political Power, to aspire in Ireland to the overthrow of the* " *Protestant Religion, the recovery of their forfeited estates,* " *and the exclusive establishment of their own Church.*"

(Necessity of Protestant Petitions against Popish Claims.—London, 1812, page 6.)

1606, *Jan.* 31.—Eight of the conspirators concerned in the Gunpowder Plot were executed.

May 29.—Henry Garnet, Provincial of the English Jesuits, and one of his fraternity, called Oldcorn, were executed for High Treason. The Jesuits have been pleased to honour these traitors with the title of martyrs, as if they had suffered merely for the sake of their religion: but their guilt was fully ascertained on their trial, at which Garnet perjured himself in the open court, and entered into an elaborate defence of equivocations, mental reservations, &c. Besides, it is well known, that the character and temper of King James the First was such as afforded no grounds for supposing that he would have put men to death for no other reason but because they were Roman Catholics. *(Bishop Nicholson and Rapin.)*

In this year Sir Arthur Chichester used his utmost efforts to animate and encourage the Established Clergy of Ireland in their arduous and important duties; convinced of the necessity of their cordial co-operation, in the instruction and civilization of the Irish people, besotted and imposed upon at that time, as they have been ever since, by the secret artifices of the Popish Clergy.

In the mean time, the Parliament of England seriously set about preventing the designs of such Popish recusants as refused to acknowledge the King's independent authority. For the more easy discovery of such persons, the two Houses agreed to draw up an oath, which all subjects, without excep-

tion, should be obliged to take. This oath was called the Oath of Allegiance, that is to say, of submission and obedience to the King, as Sovereign, independent of any other power upon earth. *(Rapin.)*

Oct. 31.—Pope Urban VIII. issued a Brief, directed, "A Brief to the Roman Catholics in King James's dominions," forbidding them to take the Oath of Allegiance to their lawful Sovereign. Most of the English Romanists, with the Arch-Priest Blackwell, their Superior, had taken the oath before the arrival of the Pope's Brief, which they considered so unreasonable, that they believed it to have been forged by their enemies to tempt them to their destruction. At the same time, Cardinal Bellarmine wrote a book against this oath, and a letter to Blackwell, admonishing him to repent, as if, in taking the Oath of Allegiance to his true and lawful King, he had committed the most heinous of crimes. *(Rapin.)*

At the close of this year, Robert Lalor, Vicar-General of Dublin, was indicted on the statute of 2 Elizabeth, cap. 1. He submitted and abjured, though he privately denied all again. *(Harris's Dublin.)*

1607, *May* 19.—A letter was dropped in the Council Chamber of the Castle of Dublin, directed to Sir William Usher, Clerk of the Council. It was taken up by one of the door-keepers, and brought by him to the Deputy, Sir Authur Chichester, then sitting in Council. The import of this letter was as follows:—"That he (being a Papist) was called into company by some Popish gentlemen, who, after administering an oath of secrecy, declared their purpose to murder or poison the Deputy, to cut off Sir Oliver Lambert, to pick up one by one the rest of the Officers of State, to oblige the small dispersed garrisons, by hunger, to submit, or to pen them up as sheep in their shambles. That the Castle of Dublin, being neither manned nor victualled, they held as their own. That the towns were for them, the country with them; the great ones abroad, and in the North, prepared to answer the first alarm. That the powerful men in the West were assured, by their agents, to be ready as soon as an opportunity should offer. That the Catholic King had promised, (notwithstanding his congratulations to King James on his escape from the Gunpowder Plot,) and the Jesuits from the Pope, men and means to second the insurrection, and royally to protect all their actions. That on the dissolution of the State, they should elect a Governor, Chancellor, and Council, dispatch letters to the King, and trust to his unwillingness to embark in such a war, and to his facility to pardon, for his granting

their own conditions. That if the King should disappoint the hopes they had formed of his submission to their terms, the many days likely to be spent in England in debates and preparations would give them time enough to breathe, and to fortify and furnish the maritime coasts, and at their leisure call to their aid the Spanish forces from all parts."—The writer of this letter declared, "that he interposed some doubts to them, which they readily answered, and he pretended to them to consent to further their projects; that he took the method of this letter to give notice of their designs, though he refused to betray his friends; in the mean time, that he would use his best endeavours to hinder any further practices; and he concludes by assuring Sir William Usher and the government, that if the conspirators did not desist, though he reverenced the Mass and the Roman Catholic Religion as much as the devoutest of them, yet he would make the leaders of that dance to know, that he preferred his country's good before their busy and ambitious humours." *(Harris's History of Dublin*, p. 324.*)*

In the loyal and intrepid writer of the foregoing letter, we have an instance of the existence of what has been lately termed an Orange-Papist, upwards of two hundred years ago. On the timely discovery made by him, the Earl of Tyrone, who but three years before was pardoned and highly honoured by the King, fled into France or Spain with his old confederates, Tyrconnel and Mac Guire. The rest of the conspirators absconded, and shifted for themselves as well as they could, yet some of them were taken and executed. This plot alarmed the kingdom greatly, and the more so, as it followed close after the Gunpowder Treason in England.

No. XV.

"*My aversion to Popery is grounded not only on its Paganism and Idolatry, but on its being calculated for the support of Despotic Power, and inconsistent with the genius of a free Government. The Papists may consider me as an enemy to the idolatrous and slavish principles of their Church, but free from all prejudice or enmity to their persons.*"

(Dr. Conyers Middleton.)

1607.—In this year the Rev. James Usher took his degree of Bachelor of Divinity, and soon after was chosen Divinity Professor in the University of Dublin.—*(Ware's Bishops*, p. 101.*)*—In this Professorship he continued thirteen years, discharging the duties of that situation with distinguished

abilities and zeal. His Lectures were polemical, upon the chief controversies in religion, especially those points and doctrines maintained in the Romish Church. He considered it incumbent on him to pay a particular attention to this subject, on account of the prevalence of Popery in Ireland; an example worthy to be imitated by the Protestant Clergy of this country in 1814, when we are beginning to taste the bitter fruits of that negligence and disregard of the souls of our perishing brethren, which has, under the plausible name of Liberality, existed amongst us for more than a century.

"True Ministers of the Church," (said Gustavus Vasa to the Clergy of Upsal, in 1526,) "especially those who diligently instruct the people, deserve more than a decent maintenance; they are worthy even of double honour; but lazy and licentious drones, who serve neither God nor man, ought to have no public stipend whatever."

A late eminent ecclesiastical historian, recording the censures of Gregory, Bishop of Rome, on the lukewarm conduct of the Clergy of Sardinia, takes occasion to lament, that in Ireland, at the present day, notwithstanding the number of Protestant Clergy of all denominations in it, a superstitious and idolatrous religion should prevail. *(Dr. Isaac Milner.)*

All the blame of this unhappy circumstance is not, however, to be laid to the Protestant Clergy. In the first place, as to three of the four Provinces of Ireland, the patrimony of the Church having, in many instances, been sacrilegiously wrested from it by the lay impropriation of tithes, and the alienation of Church-lands, the maintenance of the Clergy is inadequate to the support of a sufficient number of them to reside amongst and reclaim the Popish natives; but, above all, the mistaken liberality of the times has effectually discouraged any thing like what is opprobriously termed a spirit of proselytism in the Clergy, of whom a great and respectable proportion have nevertheless uniformly maintained a "steady, though not irritating opposition to the progress of Popery."

Before the fatal encouragement held out to the growth of Popery in Ireland, in the year 1778, it is well known that multitudes of Papists were on the point of abandoning their deceitful teachers, and conforming to the Established Church, and many of them at that time actually did so. But the tide soon turned again; whilst the deep-laid plans of Edmund Burke, and the other nominal Protestants, who became the champions of Popery, succeeded so completely, that all efforts on the part of the Irish Protestant Clergy to counteract them have been utterly unavailing.

As to the Dissenting Ministers of Ulster, notwithstanding the loyalty and zeal of many of them, the fatal occurrences in 1798, and the intrigues at the Synod at Cookstown in 1813, shew what successful arts have been practised to seduce them. And to this very day, not one Minister out of fifty would venture to preach to his hearers on a controverted text.

May.—Tyrone, O'Donnel, Maguire, Cormack, O'Neal, O'Cahan, Lord Delvin, and others, entered into a conspiracy to raise a Rebellion; but it was frustrated by Sir Arthur Chichester, and an Act of Attainder passed against them.—*(Borlase's State of Ireland,* p. 16.*)*

1608.—Notwithstanding the flight of Tyrone and O'Donnel, on the discovery of the Northern Conspiracy, the spirit of Rebellion was fiercely displayed by Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, Proprietor of the Barony of Innisowen, in the County of Donegal, and Sir Arthur Chichester marched from Dublin on the 5th of July, with an army, to reduce him. Marshal Wingfield had, however, by that time, defeated this sanguinary Rebel, but not before he had surprised the Fort of Culmore, burned the city of Derry, and massacred the Protestant garrisons of both places. Wingfield pursued O'Dogherty so closely, that he is said to have shut him up between two walls, where he perished for want of food. A representation of his skeleton is quartered in the arms of the city of Derry. *(Ash's History of the Siege of Derry.)*

By the Conspiracies and Rebellions in the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and the beginning of King James's, tracts of land, containing about five hundred thousand Irish acres, were forfeited to the Crown, in the six Northern Counties of Cavan, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Derry, Armagh, and Donegal.

Instructed by the errors of former colonizers, and advised by men of integrity and judgment, but particularly by Sir Arthur Chichester, the King proceeded in a scheme of plantation, which happily was his favourite object, with such caution and activity, that, though failures and mistakes occurred in many instances, (particularly in the settlement of the lands granted to the London Companies,) the effects of it on the prosperity of Ulster have been great and permanent. *(Gordon's Ireland.)*

1609.—King James complained to the Parliament of England of the great expence he had been at, in maintaining an army of nineteen thousand men in Ireland, to protect it from the Spaniards and the Pope, with whom the Romish Priests and Jesuits were incessantly intriguing. *(Rapin.)*

1610, *May* 14.—Henry IV. King of France, was assassinated by Ravaillac, a Friar, in his own coach, in the midst of Paris.—Thuanus tells us, that this murderer "confessed, on his examination, that he committed this execrable crime because the King did not take arms against the French Protestants; and that his making war against the Pope, was the same as to make war against God, seeing the Pope was God, and God was the Pope."

This assassination shocked King James I. so much, that as soon as he heard it, he issued a fresh Proclamation, commanding all Jesuits and Popish Priests to depart out of his dominions; and he caused all his subjects to take the Oath of Allegiance; the Parliament, which was then sitting, having led the way.

In this year, Mr. James Ussher was unanimously chosen by the Fellows of Dublin College to the Provostship of that House; but he refused it, fearing it might prove an hindrance to his studies. He was at this time engaged in the study of Ecclesiastical History, and soon after engaged in the long and laborious work of his Annals. *(Ware's Bishops*, p. 102.*)*

1611, *August* 19.—John Fitzjames Lynch resigned the Bishopric of Elphin. Descended from an old Popish family in Galway, he had obtained this See by Letters Patent from Queen Elizabeth, in 1584, which he so wasted and destroyed by alienations, fee-farms, and other means, that he left it not worth two hundred marks a year. He is accused of having lived a concealed, and died a public Papist. His excellent successor, Dr. Edward King, however, made such exertions for the See of Elphin, that he left it worth fifteen hundred pounds a year. For these and other good actions of his, the Lord Lieutenant, Strafford, mentions him with great honour in a letter to Archbishop Laud; and, alluding to the name of King, calls him a "truly Royal Bishop." *(Ware's Bishops.)*

1612.—A Parliament, more numerous than ever had been known, was convened in Ireland; seventeen Counties, and a great number of Boroughs, having been lately formed. The Papists, apprehensive of unfavourable designs against them, and of the preponderance of the English interest, by means of the Boroughs, a Petition was presented to the King by six principal Lords of the English Pale, viz.—Gormanstown, Slane, Killeen, Trimbleston, Dunsany, and Louth, praying that the creation of Boroughs should be suspended, till, by the increase of trade, towns should arrive at a state of wealth, rendering them fit for incorporation; assuring him, that a repeal of the Penal Laws would fully confirm their minds in loyalty;

expressing their apprehension of laws intended to be made against Catholics in the Irish Parliament, and intimating (in the present style of their Petitions) that such proceedings would "incense the disaffected, and might be attended with danger to his Government."

This Petition was pronounced "rash and insolent" by the King; but the Papists were not discouraged by his opinion of it; and those of the English Pale made the utmost exertions, by themselves and their agents, in all parts of Ireland, to procure a majority of Papists in the new Parliament. *(Gordon's History of Ireland,* vol. i.*)*

No. XVI.

"*In History a great volume is unrolled for our instruction,*
"*drawing the materials of future wisdom from the past errors*
"*and infirmities of mankind.*"

(Burke.)

1612, *Dec.*—Miler Magragh, Archbishop of Cashel, died. The Papists, according to their usual practice, on the death of converts from their church, immediately reported that he died in their communion; and that though, in appearance, he was buried in his cathedral, yet that he had given orders for depositing his body elsewhere. But they had no just grounds for these reports, which were founded in their mistaking the meaning of the two following lines in his epitaph:

Hic ubi sum positus, non sum, sum non ubi non sum,
Sum nec in ambobus, sum sed in utroque loco."

It is scarce necessary to add, that these lines refer to the separate existence of the soul and body. *(Ware's Bishops,* vol. i. p. 485.*)*

1613.—The Parliament of Ireland assembled. For twenty-seven years before, no such meeting had been convened. As all the preceding Parliaments were colonial, representing only a part of the kingdom, this may be considered the first National Parliament held in Ireland.

The hopes entertained by the Papists, of gaining an ascendancy in this Parliament, proved delusive. Of two hundred and thirty-two Members returned for the House of Commons, six were absent; and of the rest, an hundred and twenty-five were Protestants, while the Papists amounted only to an hundred and one. Of the Lords, consisting of sixteen Temporal Barons, twenty-five Protestant Prelates, five Viscounts, and

four Earls, a large majority was on the side of Administration. The meeting of the Commons, like all other assemblies into which Irish Papists have been admitted, was disorderly and tumultuous: the Popish Members clamouring for an examination into the legality of elections of Members whom they asserted to have been unduly returned; and afterwards, on a division of the House in the election of a Speaker, they placed in the Chair the person for whom they voted, without regard to the majority on the opposite side, as they considered themselves to be the legal majority.

The object of their choice was Sir John Everard, a Popish recusant, who had resigned the office of Justice of the King's Bench, rather than take the oaths of qualification. Sir John Davies, the Attorney-General, the object of the opposite party, was seated by force in Everard's lap, whom the Protestants had in vain endeavoured to pull from the Chair; and the scene of tumult was closed by the secession of the Papists, who refused to continue in an assembly which they considered illegal and arbitrary.

The Popish Lords also seceded; and, in the midst of a violent ferment, which seemed to menace even an armed opposition to authority, the Lord Deputy, by whom Davies had been confirmed in the Speaker's office, prorogued the Parliament, to give time for the violence of passion to subside. (*Gordon's Ireland*, vol. i.)

Thus was the Irish House of Commons converted into a bear-garden, and the lives of the Protestant Members endangered by the admission of Popish Demagogues into it. And, as similar causes are generally productive of similar effects, the gentlemen of England may expect a contest of the same description, on the first election of a Speaker, after the admission of Irish Papists into the Imperial Parliament.

In the mean time, Lords Gormanstown and Fermoy, Sir James Gough, and some other delegates, were dispatched to the King to complain of the hardships which the legal majority had sustained from the Protestant party, and, as usual, a liberal subscription was raised among the wretched peasantry of Ireland, to maintain the dignity of this deputation.

Talbot and Lutteral, two of the deputies, used insolent language on this occasion, and for it were committed to prison by the King's order; but Gough, not dismayed by this unfavourable reception, taking advantage of some mild expressions dropped by the King, returned without delay to Dublin, and proclaimed the triumph of his party; for which false and seditious news, he was committed prisoner to the Castle of

Dublin, by Sir Arthur Chichester; and, on a full and patient investigation of the allegations of the Popish Members, they were finally pronounced groundless, except that the Members of the Boroughs of Kildare and Cavan, having been returned by mistake before the time allowed by law, were judged for the present incapable of sitting; and thus ended the Catholic campaign of 1613.

In this year Dr. Ussher went over to England, and there published an elaborate and learned work, proving, unanswerably, that, " after the lapse of six centuries, the Christian Religion had, in the west of Europe, by the ambition, pride, and avarice of the Bishops of Rome, declined from its original purity; that the corruptions and superstitious rites introduced by the fraud and subtlety of the Popish Priests under the plausible pretext of adorning Religion, had prevailed every where; yet, that in every age, good and zealous men arose, who rejected and opposed these innovations, among whom were the Waldenses, Albigenses, and many others, who, for the sake of the pure faith, once delivered to the Saints, undauntedly expired in massacres and flames. He painted " the pride, ambition, and secular pomp, as well as the simony, luxury, wickedness, and impieties, of many of the Popes, and the great body of the Clergy; and this he did to stop the mouths of our adversaries, who brand the Reformers with the names of horrible Schismatics, and impious Heretics, charging them with having introduced a doctrine utterly unknown by the primitive Christians." *(Parr's Life of Primate Ussher.)*

This valuable book, which ought to be more generally known than it is, was highly acceptable to King James I. It was presented to that Monarch by Archbishop Abbot, as the eminent first fruits of the University of Dublin.

1614.—When the Parliament of Ireland again met, after repeated prorogations, the violence of the Popish Party was somewhat moderated, not only by the recollection of their late discomfiture, but also by the management of the Lord Deputy, and the prudent conduct of some of their own body, particularly Everard, who presented a Bill to the House of Commons, which passed unanimously, for the attainder of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, and others concerned in treasonable designs.—*(Gordon's Ireland.)*—In these days, a man like Everard would be stigmatized by the epithet of an Orange-Papist.

1615.—A Convocation of the Clergy was held in Dublin, in which the Articles of the Church of Ireland were composed

and published. Dr. Ussher, being a Member of the Convocation, was appointed to draw them up. He inserted the nine Lambeth Articles in them, which circumstance gave an occasion to his enemies of accusing him of being inclined to favour Puritanism, and some persons whispered this insinuation to the King, to whom the Puritanical Party were extremely odious. This learned Divine, however, soon after found an opportunity of vindicating his character from this aspersion. *(Parr's Life of Primate Ussher.)*

A providential discovery was made by one Teig O'Lenan to Sir Thomas Philips, of Newton-Limavady, in the County of Derry, of a design of Alexander Mac Donel, Bryan Crossagh O'Neale, and other Irish Chieftains in Tyrone and Tyreonnel, to enter into Rebellion for the restoration of the Popish Religion. They first designed the taking of Charlemont, commanded by Sir Toby Caulfield, where Conne Greg O'Neal, the Earl of Tyrone's son, was at that time a prisoner; and, about the same time, different parties were appointed to seize the principal forts and towns of Ulster, and to murder the Protestants in that Province and elsewhere. They had promises of assistance from France and Spain. *(Letter from the Bishop of Meath to Doctor Borlase, May 27, 1679.)*

1616.—The discovery and suppression of the Ulster Conspiracy, for the extermination of the British and Scotch planters, rather confirmed than discouraged King James in his admirable plan of colonization.

Of sixty thousand acres between the Rivers Ovoca and Slaney, adjudged to the Crown, sixteen thousand five hundred were destined for an English Colony, and the rest for the natives, on the same terms as such persons held their lands in Ulster.

In like manner, three hundred and eighty-five thousand acres in the Queen's and King's Counties, Leitrim, Longford, and Westmeath, were allotted for distribution; but before the completion of this plan, Sir Oliver St. John was appointed Lord Deputy, in the place of Sir Arthur Chichester, who was created Baron of Belfast, in reward of his eminent services. *(Gordon's Ireland.)*

In this year, King James I. laid the foundation of all the succeeding misfortunes of his family, by determining to marry the Prince of Wales to a Papist. He thought it a disparagement to his son to marry the daughter of any but a King; and, therefore, as there was not at that time a Protestant Princess of Royal extraction in Europe, he determined to marry the unfortunate Charles to a French or Spanish

Princess. At the same time, this Monarch lowered his character in the estimation of all Europe, and his own subjects in particular, by viewing, without interference or concern, France labouring openly to exterminate the Hugonots, and growing daily so powerful, as to give just occasion of apprehension to all the Protestant States of Europe.

1617.—The just and vigorous administration of Sir Oliver St. John in Ireland, was in this year particularly odious to two descriptions of people in it, namely, to disaffected Papists, and the Protestant usurpers of ecclesiastical property. Compassionating the abject poverty of the Protestant Clergy, and their consequent inability to discharge their arduous and important duties, the Lord Deputy opposed some persons of great property and influence, who had usurped their lands and tithes, by which means he augmented, to a most formidable pitch, the host of his enemies, already sufficiently numerous. He required Officers of Justice to take the Oath of Supremacy, and issued a Commission to seize the liberties and revenues of Waterford, whose citizens had obstinately persisted in the choice of Popish Magistrates. He also issued a Proclamation, commanding the Popish regular Clergy to leave the kingdom, which was, in fact, a merciful act with respect to the Irish peasantry, who were miserably duped and oppressed by these restless and turbulent men. At this very day, not only the ignorant peasantry, but even the sharpest and most intelligent merchants and tradesmen in the cities and towns of Ireland, are beset with hordes of Popish Priests and Friars, who impose on them, and fleece them without mercy, and without controul. The friendship or hostility of their numerous Clergy being equally ruinous to these deluded people, nine out of ten of them become bankrupts in a few years after they commence business; and they are oftentimes so harassed and persecuted by these inquisitors, as to be compelled to resort to the law of the land for relief. Instances of this kind occurred within a few years back, when a Schoolmaster in Cork, and a Shoemaker in Donegal, obtained damages, at the Assizes of these Counties, against Popish Bishops, who had ruined them by excommunication. Happy would it be for Ireland to be at last emancipated from the shackles imposed upon her industry and civilization, by the artifice and tyranny of a corrupt and avaricious Priesthood.

No. XVII.

"*Quid domini facient, audent cum talia fures?*"
(Virgil.)

1618.—In this year, Mr. Richard Stanihurst, son of a Recorder of Dublin, and maternal uncle of Dr. James Ussher, died at Brussels. He was an historian of some eminence, and the author of a valuable Treatise, "*De rebus in Hibernia gestis.*" He received his education at Oxford, and in the Inns of Court at London; but afterwards turning Papist and Priest, he became Chaplain of the Archduke of Austria, in which situation he continued till his death. *(Bishop Nicholson's Historical Library,* p. 5.*)*

About this time, the Pope's Archbishop of Tuam presented to the Court of Spain a book, called, "*A Brief Relation of Ireland, and the Diversity of Irish in the same.*" This work is said to have been written by O'Sullivan Beare, proud of his Milesian descent, and willing to revive his connection with the Spanish Government.

1619, *Sept.* 30.—The Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland wrote a commendatory letter to the King, by Doctor James Ussher, with a view to setting him right in his Majesty's opinion, who had been informed, as before mentioned, that this Divine was "somewhat transported with singularities and unaptness, to be conformable to the rules and orders of the Church." In this letter, which was signed by the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of Tuam, and several of the Privy Council, as well as the Lord Deputy, Dr. Ussher was represented to his Majesty, as a "man orthodox in the faith, and worthy to govern in the Church, when occasion should offer; being a man who had given himself over to his profession, an excellent and painful preacher, a modest man, abounding in goodness, and his life so agreeable to his doctrine, that those who dissented from him, were yet constrained to love and admire him." *(Dr. Parr's Life of Archbishop Ussher.)*

Oct. 24.—The Jesuits and other Popish Priests having, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, scattered, with a liberal hand, the seeds of Puritanism, and all other fanatical schisms, for the determined purpose of ruining the Church of England, began at this time to accuse such of the Irish Protestant Clergy as seemed formidable to them, from their zeal, of the undefined crime of Puritanism, for the purpose of incensing the King against them.

The following letter, written at this time by a worthy Clergyman of the Established Church in Ireland to Doctor Ussher, then in London, shews, in a clear point of view, the refined artifices used by these conspirators to ruin the Protestant cause in Ireland.

" Reverend Sir,

" I hope you are not ignorant of the hurt that is come to the Church by this name Puritan, and how his Majesty's good intent and meaning therein is much abused and wronged, and especially in this poor country, where the Pope and Popery are in such esteem.

" I being lately in the country, had conference with a worthy painful preacher, who hath been an instrument of drawing many of the meer Irish there, from the blindness of Popery, to embrace the Gospel, with much comfort to themselves, and heart-breaking to the Priests, who, perceiving they cannot now prevail with the juggling tricks, have forged a new device. They have now stirred up some crafty Papists, who very boldly rail both at Ministers and People, saying, they seek to sow this damnable heresy of Puritanism among them; which word, though not understood, but only known to be most odious to his Majesty, makes many afraid of joining themselves to the Gospel, though in conference their consciences are convicted herein.

" So, to prevent a greater mischief that may follow, it were good to petition his Majesty, to define a Puritan, whereby the mouths of those scoffing enemies may be stopped; and, if his Majesty be not at leisure, that he would appoint some good men to do it for him; for the effecting whereof you know better than I can direct; and, therefore, I commit you and your affairs to the blessing of the Almighty, praying for your success there, and safe return thither.

" Resting your assured friend to his power,

" Emanuel Downing.

" *Dublin, Oct.* 24, 1619."

When the King had conversed with Doctor Ussher, and heard of the circumstance stated in the foregoing letter, he said, he perceived, that " the Knave Puritan was a bad, but the Knave's Puritan an honest man;" and, in consequence of the good opinion he formed of Dr. Ussher, he promoted him to the Bishoprick of Meath, on the 16th of January, 1620, who, immediately after his promotion was announced in Ireland, received the following letter from the Lord Deputy:

" My Lord,

" I thank God for your preferment to the Bishopric of Meath. His Majesty therein hath done a gracious favour to his poor church here; there is none but are exceeding glad that you are called thereunto; even some Papists themselves have largely testified their gladness of it. Your grant is, and all other necessary things shall be sealed this day or to-morrow. I pray God bless you, and whatever you undertake. So I rest, your Lordship's most affectionate friend,

" Ol. Grandisone.

" *Dublin, Feb.* 3, 1620."

(Parr's Life of Primate Ussher.)

So much for the elevation of this great pillar of the Protestant cause in Ireland; the history of whose life is necessarily interwoven with that of Irish Popery, to which he and some other eminent Prelates, his contemporaries, would have given a mortal blow, were it not for the Irish massacre in 1641, and the wicked Rebellion which succeeded it in England.

At that unhappy time, the plots laid by the Pope and Jesuits, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, arrived to full maturity, and accomplished their end. Hatched in the Scottish Seminaries, founded by Allen and Campion, in 1580, they were justly dreaded by James I. during the whole of his reign, whose timid and temporising policy, but, above all, the Popish connection he made for his unfortunate son and successor, tended but too much to facilitate their progress.

Thus were the Protestants of England unconsciously enlisted under the sanguinary banners of the Pope, and set on by his agents to bite and devour one another; till crumbled into innumerable, angry little sects, they levelled into dust their ancient Monarchy, and the true Religion established amongst them.

" This plot, by Jesuits invented,
" By silly fanatics fomented,
" Was but a sly trick to divide
" The well-affected that confide:
" By setting brother against brother,
" To claw and curry one another;
" And turn, like bears, our fangs and claws
" Upon our own selves, without cause."

(Butler.)

1620.—In this year, the Popish Clergy of Ireland received from Bourdeaux an edition of the "*Rituale Romanum Pauli Quinti;*" a copy of which, with many other scarce books, is preserved in the Diocesan Library of Derry.

The first article in this book is an office, "pro impeditis in matrimonio a dæmone vel maleficio." The Popish Clergy being in the habit of appealing to the miracles they can work in proof of the truth of their doctrine, are frequently applied to by their besotted followers, to cure impotency, cast out devils, and discover witches.

The Rubric, on the subject of casting devils out of females, contains the following order:

"Mulierem exorcizans semper secum habeat sacerdos honestas personas quæ obsessam dæmone teneant, atque honestatis memor Exorcista, caveat ne quid dicat vel faciat, quod sibi aut aliis occasio esse possit pravæ cogitationis."

We have also in this Ritual, an office for receiving repentant Heretics, to which the following Rubric is a preface:

"Hæretico ad Catholicam Ecclesiam venienti, (qui, si in ejus baptismo debita forma servata non est, baptizari debet,) dicatur Horresce hæreticam pravitatem—respue nefarias sectas impiorum."

1621.—Sir Oliver St. John, being basely traduced to the King and the people of England, was at length obliged to retire from the Government of Ireland; but not before his Majesty, as a proof of his esteem, had conferred on him the titles of Viscount Grandison, and Lord High Treasurer of Ireland.

1622, *Sept.* 8.—Lord Falkland was sworn Deputy; *(Harris's History of Dublin,* p. 329,) and the Papists, exulting in their supposed victory over the late worthy Chief Governor, whose removal they attributed to their own clamour, proceeded in a course of insolence, seriously alarming to the Government and Protestants of Ireland, and not unlike their seditious conduct at this present time.

This alarm was considerably increased by Lord Falkland's discovery of a Romish Hierarchy, with a regular subordination of offices and persons throughout the kingdom by the Papal Power; their jurisdiction exercised with as much regularity, and their decrees executed with as full authority, as if the Pope himself were in actual possession of the realm. *(See Leland's History of Ireland,* vol. ii. p. 489.*)*

No. XVIII.

" *Incedis per ignes*
" *Suppositos cineri doloso.*"—(Hor.)

1622.—Much uneasiness arose about this time to the Government, from the miserable condition to which the military establishment of Ireland had been reduced in consequence of the King's pacific system, and this uneasiness was farther increased, and the insolence of the rebellious Papists encouraged, by a body of troops recruited in this country for the Spanish service. The officers employed to raise and transport these men to Spain, were the relatives or adherents of old Rebels, educated abroad in an extravagant pride of a fabulous ancestry, and a rancorous hatred of the English Government and the Protestant Religion. Their levies were soon filled, but they delayed their departure as long as they could; and, violating the orders and limits prescribed to them, ranged through various parts of the country in a tumultuous manner, to the great annoyance and terror of the well affected; confirming the disloyal in their wicked purposes, and spreading disaffection wherever they went. *(See Gordon's History of Ireland,* vol. i.*)*

In this year, Bishop Ussher published his celebrated " *Treatise on the Religion professed by the Ancient Irish;*" in which he proved, that for sum and substance, it was the same with that professed at the Reformation by the opposers of the Papal innovations. *(Ware's Bishops,* p. 104.*)*

Nov. 22.—Bishop Ussher having been called to the Privy Council, had on this day an opportunity of giving a proof of his wisdom and solid judgment. Some Irish Noblemen being promoted to public offices, refused to take the Oath of Supremacy. They were convened to receive a censure for their obstinacy from the Lord Deputy and Privy Council, and when the Judges had explained to them the nature, reason, and equity of the Oath, the Bishop of Meath, in a learned and able speech, demonstrated, that the King was the " Supreme and only Governor within his dominions; that the jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff over the Universal Church was usurped and unjust, utterly overturning the foundation on which it was built." Some of those, who were then called to hear the sentence of Præmunire, which they had incurred, were so convinced by the Bishop's arguments, that they submitted willingly to take the Oath. *(Parr's Life of Ussher.)*

1623, *Jan.* 5.—The King, to the utter dismay of his Protestant subjects, by his Ambassador the Earl of Bristol, consented to the demands of the Pope and the King of Spain, respecting his Popish subjects, on the treaty of marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Spanish Infanta. *(Rapin.)*

Jan. 14.—The King having received a copy of the Bishop of Meath's speech to the Popish Recusants, on the 22d of November, in the preceding year, wrote him a letter of thanks, for that seasonable and zealous vindication of his legal rights. *(Parr's Life of Primate Ussher.)*

Jan. 23.—A proclamation was issued by the Lord Deputy, commanding the Popish Clergy to depart the Kingdom in forty days, and forbidding his Majesty's subjects to hold any converse with them after that time. *(Harris's Dublin*, p. 89.)

Feb. 17.—The Prince of Wales, with more gallantry than prudence, set out for Spain, to visit his intended consort, the Infanta. His Royal Highness, after passing through Paris, and dancing at a ball there in disguise, arrived at the Earl of Bristol's house, at Madrid, on the 7th of March, to the great surprize of that nobleman. Immediately on the Prince's arrival, it was reported through the capital, that he had come there to conform to the Popish religion, previous to his marriage, and Count Gondemar earnestly intreated the Earl of Bristol not to oppose so pious a design. The Prince, however, had no such intention, and warmly expostulated with the Ambassador for harbouring so ill an opinion, as to suspect him of being capable of any such act. *(Rapin.)*

March 21.—On the death of Archbishop Hampton, the Bishop of Meath was translated to the Primacy of Ireland. *(Ware's Bishops*, p. 105.*)*

March 23.—One Father Stockdale, an English Priest, was apprehended and sent prisoner to England. A few days before, it was discovered that many Popish priests had been quarelling with each other in Sir James Carroll's house, about Bishopries and other benefices. *(Romish Fox*, p. 191.)

June 23.—The Prince of Wales wrote a letter to the Pope on the subject of his marriage. His Holiness sent the dispensation for the marriage soon after the Prince's arrival; but on hearing of the ardour of the Royal Lover, he was determined to add new conditions to the dispensation, insisting, that "the Infanta should have a Church in London; that the children of this marriage should be left to the mother's care till they were ten years old; that the nurses should be Catholics appointed by the mother; and that the King of England should give security for the performance of the articles agreed upon, con-

cerning religion." Soon after this, the Archbishop of Canterbury finding the King inclined to warp from his principles, and the defence of the Protestant Faith, wrote a letter to his Majesty, in which was the following remarkable passage:

"I beseech your Majesty to take it into your consideration, what your propounded Act of Toleration is, and what the consequence may be. By your Act, you labour to set up the most damnable and heretical doctrine of the Church of Rome. How hateful it will be to God, and grievous to your good subjects, the professors of the Gospel, that your Majesty, who hath often disputed, and learnedly written against those heresies, should now shew yourself a patron of those wicked doctrines, which your pen hath told the world, and your conscience tells yourself, are superstitious, idolatrous, and detestable." *(Rapin.)*

August 6.—On the death of Gregory XV. Urban VIII. was chosen Pope of Rome. He delayed granting a dispensation for the marriage of the Prince of Wales to the Infanta of Spain, in hopes of that Prince's renouncing the Protestant religion. The match was, however, soon after broken off, and the Prince arrived in England on the 5th of October. *(Rapin.)*

1624.—Early in this year, the Bishop of Meath answered a challenge sent to him by one Malone, an Irish Jesuit in Louvain, touching the points in dispute between the Churches of England and Rome. *(Parr's Life of Primate Ussher.)*

The Parliament of England this year presented Petitions to the King, praying his Majesty to "banish all Jesuits and Popish Priests from his dominions; to disarm the Papists, and discharge them from all places of trust." The King returned a favourable answer to these Petitions, and, notwithstanding all the suspicions which his late conduct but too fully justified, he "protested before God, that his heart had bled when he heard of the increase of Popery; and he appealed to the same Great Being, that it had been such a grief to him, that it was as thorns in his eyes, and pricks in his side. *(Rapin.)*

1625, *February*.—Pope Urban's dispensation for the marriage of the Prince of Wales to the Princess Henrietta of France was issued. The articles of marriage signed by the King and the Prince on this occasion were thirty-three, viz. thirty public, and three secret articles, most of them tending to undermine and subvert the Protestant religion in the British dominions. By the nineteenth article, it was stipulated that "the children of that marriage should be educated by their mother till the age of thirteen years," which Rapin observes was productive of sad consequences to England, and was near

proving fatal to both Church and State. When the Pope's dispensation arrived in Paris, the King of France was surprised and displeased to find that he had added two new conditions, which were not mentioned in the treaty, and which he feared might prove the cause of the match being broken off: one of them was, that "the domestics of the children of this marriage should be Catholics;" and the other, that "the Princess should appoint them;" and it was absolutely required that the King of England, and the Prince his son, should swear to these two articles.

The King refused to swear, but he admitted the additional articles into the treaty of marriage.

These transactions were not kept secret from the Popish Clergy in Ireland, whose insolence was encouraged by them to such a degree, as to give just cause of alarm to the Protestants, who saw with dismay the tide turn at Court in favour of their bigoted and implacable enemies. *(Rapin.)*

March 27.—King James I. died of a tertian ague, not living to see the consummation of a marriage which entailed unparalleled misfortunes on his posterity.

No. XIX.

"*Latet anguis in herba.*"—(Virgil.)

1625.—King Charles the First, by his proxy, the Duke of Chevereaux, was married in the Notre Dame Church, at Paris, to the Princess Henrietta of France.

In the King's first speech to his Parliament, he affirmed, that no Prince was ever more desirous to maintain the religion he professed. Both Houses immediately afterwards joined in presenting to him a Petition against Popish recusants, to which he returned a gracious answer, assuring them that he was very glad to see their zeal for religion, and was ready to concur with them in whatever they should propose on that subject. *(Rapin.)*

In this year the Popish Priests, Friars, and Jesuits, encouraged by the King's marriage to a bigotted Princess of their own religion, and depending on the support of the Irish Gentry, grew very insolent, as they invariably do on getting the slightest encouragement. At the same time the Irish Papists received a bull from the Pope, exhorting them rather to suffer death than to take the pestilent Oath of Supremacy, whereby he blasphemously asserted, "that the sceptre of the Catholic Church was wrested from the hand of the Vicar of God Almighty."

Sept. 20.—A conspiracy was discovered and frustrated in the County of Fermanagh. The family of Maguire had laid a deep plot to surprise the King's Castle at Inniskillen. *(Harris's History of Dublin.)*

Towards the end of this year, the Titular Bishop of Ferns and several Jesuits were apprehended in one of the ports of Munster, on their arrival from Spain, and several treasonable letters to the Irish Chieftains taken from them. In one of these letters, dated at Seville, and signed by one Miles Magrath, a Franciscan Friar, were the following words:

"COUNTRYMEN—Be not disheartened, that the match did not take place with Spain; ye be in as good a condition, as it happened with France, your Queen being a Catholic Princess. The Catholics have their Archbishops and Bishops amongst you, although the Hereticks possess their dioceses, which is an hope for us to be restored in good time. Pray receive your Primate of Armagh, Father Hugh Mac Caghwell, the successor of Peter Lumbard, your late Primate deceased, and be ye subordinate unto him, as he is of our Order of St. Francis."

This letter was hardly read by the Privy Council, when intelligence came to Lord Falkland, that the Popish Primate had landed in Ireland. Search was immediately made for him, but he fled, and died in Rome a few months afterwards. Masses and Months-minds were celebrated for the repose of his soul, by all the Popish Clergy of Ireland. *(Ware's Romish Fox, p. 192.)*

In the month of August, this year, Archbishop Ussher returned from England, where he had been confined for many months by a quartan ague. During his stay there, he was unexpectedly engaged in a dispute with a Jesuit, on the point in controversy between the Reformed and Popish Churches.

Lord Mordaunt, afterwards Earl of Peterborough, being of the Romish Communion, had a desire to draw his Lady over to the same Religion. To free herself from her Lord's importunity, she agreed that a friendly controversy should be held between two principal men of each party, and promised to embrace that religion which should appear to her, by their arguments, to be supported by truth.

The Lord chose his confessor, one Beaumont, a Jesuit. The Lady sent a kind letter to Primate Ussher, inviting him to come and support her cause, and the cause of truth. Though scarce yet recovered from his indisposition, he immediately repaired to Lord Mordaunt's seat, at Drayton, in Northamptonshire, where there was a well-furnished library to have recourse to, as occasion should require.

The points discussed were Transubstantiation, the Invocation of Saints, the Worship of Images, the Visibility of the Church, and, in general, whether the Romish Faith, or that established in the Church of England, was the same with the Religion of the Primitive Church.

The Primate was opponent for three days; on the fourth, when it came to the Jesuit's turn to impugn the Articles of the Reformation, he declined the combat, and sent an excuse in these words: "That, by the just judgment of God, he had forgotten all the arguments he had framed; for that he of himself dared, and without license of his superiors, to undertake a disputation with a man of that profound and consummate learning."

The issue of this controversy was the conversion of Lord Mordaunt to the Protestant Faith, in which he continued during his life. His Lady always retained a grateful sense of this seasonable piece of service; and afterwards, in the calamitous times that ensued, when the Primate was stripped of all his revenues, entertained him in her house for nine or ten years, where he died. *(Dr. Parr's Life of Ussher*, p. 27; *and Dr. Bernard's Life of the same Prelate*, p. 64.*)*

1626, *Jan.* 29.—Alderman Thomas Plunket, the richest citizen in Dublin, died; and as he left a legacy of one thousand pounds to the Popish Priests and Friars, they flocked into town from all parts of the country to his funeral, notwithstanding a Proclamation issued against them a short time before. The remains of this pious Alderman were treated with distinguished honour, being dressed out first in the Dominican, and afterwards in the Franciscan habit. *(Romish Fox*, p. 193.*)*

The funeral rites of wealthy Papists are pretty much alike in all places; those who are able and willing to purchase billets on St. Peter from the Pope's Clergy, may readily procure them—

"'Tis for the rich alone these traps are laid;
"Heav'n moves to meet them, when their Priest is paid.
"For their departed souls are anthems sung,
"Processions walk, and tinkling mass-bells rung;
"But when the peasants or the beggars die,
"No bells are rung—we hear no Friar cry—
"No mass is sung, their worthless souls to save—
"No long procession guides them to the grave."
(Falkirk's Tranlation of Buchanan's Franciscan, L. 169.*)*

In this year, the Commons of England presented a fresh

Petition to the King against Popish Recusants, in the following words:

"*To the King's Most Excellent Majesty,*

"Your Majesty's most obedient and loyal subjects, the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, do, with great comfort, remember the many testimonies which your Majesty hath given of your sincerity and zeal for the true religion established in this kingdom, and, in particular, your gracious answer to both Houses of Parliament, at Oxford, upon their Petition concerning the causes and remedies of the increase of Popery; that your Majesty thought fit, and would give order, to remove from all places of authority and government, all such persons as are either Popish Recusants, or according to direction of former Acts of State, justly to be suspected; which was then presented as a great and principal cause of that mischief. But not having received so full redress herein as may conduce to the peace of this Church, and the safety of this Regal State, they hold it their duty once more to resort to your sacred Majesty, humbly to inform you, that, upon examination, they find the persons under-written to be either Recusants, Papists, or justly suspected persons, who now remain in places of government, authority, and trust, in your several Counties of this your Realm of England and Dominion of Wales." (*Rapin, Hist. of England*, vol. x.)

Here followed a list of fifty-nine Recusants, Papists, and suspected persons; and the Petition concluded, praying his Majesty that they should be put out of all such commissions and places of authority, lest the countenance and favour shewn to them, should encourage the insolence of their party.

It is observed by Rapin, that it did not redound to the King's honour, to be pressed so often to perform what he had so positively promised but the same historian apologizes for this unfortunate Monarch, by observing, that it was not easy for him to withstand the solicitations and intrigues of the Queen; of the Duke of Buckingham, whose mother was a professed Papist; of Sir Richard Weston, his Chief Counsellor, and of the Lord Conway, Secretary of State, both Papists; since these were the persons who were nearest to him, and by whom he was in a manner beset.

Sep. 29.—A project was set on foot to induce the Irish Papists to contribute to the necessaries of the Government, by relaxing the Penal Laws for a certain time, and allowing them a more full toleration of their idolatrous religion than they at that time enjoyed. To obviate which ruinous proceeding,

Archbishop Ussher, and several of the Irish Prelates, on the 26th of November, published the following Protest against the Toleration of Popery:

"The religion of the Papists is superstitious and idolatrous; their faith and doctrine erroneous and heretical; their Church, in respect of both, apostatical. To give them, therefore, a toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their religion, and profess their faith and doctrine, is a grievous sin, and that in two respects.

"I. It is to make ourselves accessary, not only to their superstitions, idolatries, and heresies, and, in a word, to all the abominations of Popery, but also (which is consequent of the former) to the perdition of the seduced people, which perish in the deluge of Catholic Apostacy.

"II. To grant them toleration in respect of any money to be given, or contribution to be made by them, is to set religion to sale, and with it the souls of the people, whom Christ our Saviour, had redeemed with his most precious blood. And as it is a great sin, so also it is a matter of most dangerous consequence; the consideration whereof we commend to the wise and judicious. Beseeching the God of Truth to make them who are in authority zealous of God's glory, and of the advancement of true Religion, zealous, resolute, and courageous, against all Popery, Superstition, and Idolatry.

(Signed)

"James, Ardmachanus,	Rich. Cork, Cloyne, Rosseus,
"Mal. Cassellen,	Andrew Alachadens,
"Anth. Medensis,	Tho. Kilmore and Ardagh,
"Tho. Fernes & Leighlin,	Theo. Dromore,
"Robt. Dunensis, &c.	Mich. Waterford & Lismore,
"George Derensis,	Fran. Lymerick."

1627, *April* 23.—Doctor George Downham, Lord Bishop of Derry, preached before the Lord Deputy and Privy Council, against the Toleration of Popery in Ireland, and recited the foregoing protest at the end of his Sermon. These zealous and timely proceedings clogged the wheels of the project; by which means it drove on heavily, and at last was stopped. *(Dr. Parr's Life of Primate Ussher,* p. 28.*)*

No. XX.

" *Ignem, cujus scintillas ipse dedisti*
" *Flagrantem late & rapientem cuncta videbis*
" *Nec tibi parcetur misero.*" (Juvenal.)

1627, *May* 19. — Lord Houghton wrote to Sir Thomas Wentworth, informing him that the Irish Papists, rejecting the Toleration intended for them by the Lord Deputy, had refused to contribute to the raising an army of five thousand foot and five hundred horse, for the defence of the country, and that the Sheriffs had refused to serve writs on the refusers. *(Stafford's Letters,* vol. i. p. 36.*)*

July 7.—The Duke of Buckingham sailed from Portsmouth for Rochelle, to the relief of the distressed Protestants there, but being refused entrance by them, he proceeded to the Isle of Rhee with his army, consisting of seven thousand men, in which unfortunate expedition five thousand of them perished. It was at this time that the horrid rebellion and massacre of 1641, were determined on, and planned by Cardinal Richelieu and the Earl of Tyrone; but the King of France's wars in Italy, delayed the execution of this design, which was afterwards farther protracted by the untimely deaths of the Earl of Tyrone's eldest son, and O'Donnel, one of whom was drowned, and the other strangled at Brussels, about the time of the Earl of Strafford's execution. *(See Rapin,* vol. x.*)*

Aug. 16.—Doctor William Bedel was sworn Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. *(Ware's Bishops,* p. 233.*)*

Nov. 27.—The Abbot of Ashcoe, a Popish priest, hanged himself in the Castle of Dublin. He had been condemned to be executed for bringing rebellious Bulls and Indulgences into Ireland, to delude the King's subjects, and withdraw them from their allegiance. *(Romish Fox,* p. 194.*)*

1628, *Feb.* 26.—The following letter of Richard Delamare, a foreign Priest, to the Bishop of Chalcedon, then in England, was intercepted in a vessel between Calais and Dover:

" *To the Reverend Richard, the Holy Father in God, Bishop of Chalcedon.*

" Reverend Sir,—The several orders of this city be perplexed at hearing how severely you had been dealt with by some of our English orders there. They have had by this a sharp reproof from our Bishop, as also from the Provincial of the Society of Jesus. Our Master of the English Friery of

St. Francis hath likewise rebuked them, which I hope will qualify and abate the late contention amongst the Orders, and you be thereby the better able to proceed in your undertakings, since you have departed hence this last time. We be glad to hear how you are in esteem with them at present; God contrive it for the good of the Catholic Cause, and the honour of the Blessed Apostle St. Peter and his successors, his Holiness, and his, to the world's end. Confirmation had ceased without you had been sent thither, there having not been a Bishop amongst the Orders for a long time with you in England. We are glad to hear of the number of young branches which you have laid your sacred hand on in the late confirmation in the Northern parts, as also in London; sweet Jesus encrease them daily hereafter, that they may be instruments to oppose and suppress heresie, still raging in those territories.

"The Holy Trinity, the Holy Mary, mother of God, the Prophets, Apostles, Saints, Martyrs, and the Prayers of our Holy St. Francis, guide, prosper, and assist you, in your purposes and undertakings. Amen.

"Richard Delamar."
(Romish Fox, p. 207.)

It was now six years since this Popish Bishop, whose name was Richard Smyth, had been sent into England from Rome, with upwards of forty Jesuits, who established themselves in London, besides four hundred Popish Priests and Friars of different denominations, and in various disguises, expending vast sums of money, with which they had been secretly furnished by the Popish and Spanish Governments, for the purpose of seducing, corrupting, and dividing the British Protestants. This intelligence was sent to Archbishop Abbott, by the British Agent at Rome, Mr. Thomas Gage, on the 6th of March, 1622; immediately after which, this Prelate, like a true and faithful Pastor, to save his flock from the wolf, and protect them from being ensnared by the Romish net, which was at this time preparing to entrap them, stood in the gap, and ventured to incur the displeasure of King James, by writing his celebrated letter to that Monarch, against the toleration of idolatrous Priests and foreign Emissaries, in the British Dominions. *(See Rapin*, vol. x.)

March 24. — A second Proclamation was issued against Richard Smyth, Popish Bishop of Chalcedon; and in five days afterwards, the Archbishop of Canterbury received an anonymous letter, "threatening his life, and assuring him that

neither God nor the world would permit such a whisperer as he was to live to counsel the King."

The Archbishop laid this letter before his Majesty, who, after reading it, shook his head, and said, "Fear not, Laud; thy death shall be their bane who shall dare to attempt it." *(Romish Fox*, p. 208.*)*

But this ill-fated Monarch had those about him, who were as able, as they were willing, to frustrate all his gracious intentions respecting the maintenance of the Protestant Religion. His bigoted Queen, and many of his advisers, were under the influence of a knot of artful and intriguing Priests, who, by the treaty of marriage, had an establishment at Court as Chaplains and Confessors; and it is scarce necessary to add, that they themselves were the slaves and minions of the Pope.

These jesuitical agents were so successful in their intrigues, as to frustrate every effort made by the Protestants to defend themselves from the artifices which they daily saw practised against them; and with a refinement of art which belongs to Popery alone, they fomented, to its final issue, that fatal quarrel between the King and his Parliament, which terminated in the ruin of both, and the overthrow of the primitive and apostolical Church of England. Such was the delusion under which the King was held by his Popish Counsellors, that it became necessary, in this year, for the House of Commons to present him a remonstrance against the favour and indulgence shewn by him to Papists, in which may be found the following remarkable passage, relative to the state of Ireland at that time:

"It doth not a little increase our dangers and our fears, to understand the miserable condition of your Majesty's kingdom of Ireland, where, without controul, the Popish religion is openly professed; Popish jurisdiction being there generally exercised and avowed. Monasteries, Nunneries, and other superstitious houses, newly re-edified and replenished, with men and women of several orders, and in a plentiful manner, maintained at Dublin, and most of the great towns, and divers other places of that kingdom, which, of what ill consequence it may prove, if not seasonably repressed, we leave to your Majesty's wisdom to judge." *(Rapin's History of England*, vol. x.*)*

The ill consequence thus predicted by the British House of Commons, in 1628, ensued in Ireland thirteen years afterwards; and the ill consequence of a similar state of this unhappy Island, in 1816, will be felt and acknowledged, even

by the Protestant champions of Popery, in less than half that time.

" Ignem cujus scintillas isti dederunt
" Flagrantem late & rapientem cuncta videbunt
" Nec illis parcetur miseris."

No. XXI.

——————— *Quæ bellua ruptis*
Cum semel effugit reddit se prava Catenis.

(Horace.)

1628, *Jan.* 1.—Thomas Moygne, Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, died in Dublin. He was one of those Prelates who signed the memorable Declaration against the Toleration of Popery in 1626. He also recovered the alienated property of his Sees in the Counties of Cavan and Longford. *(Ware's Bishops*, p. 231.*)* He was succeeded by one of the brightest ornaments of the Episcopal Order, Dr. William Bedel, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, a learned and pious English Divine, who, in conjunction with the celebrated Father Paul, had, some years before, nearly effected a reformation in the religion of the Republic of Venice. *(Ib.* p. 232.*)*

March 28.—The King, quarrelling with the House of Commons, dissolved the British Parliament. He soon after published a Declaration, notifying the causes which induced him to dissolve this Parliament, in which, among many other things, he stated that " he had fortified and guarded against the approaches of his foreign enemies, by issuing Proclamations and Commandments for the execution of the laws against Priests and Popish Recusants, which, if it had not succeeded according to his intention, the fault lay in the subordinate Officers and Ministers in the country, by whose remissness Jesuits and Popish Priests escaped without apprehension; and Recusants evaded those convictions and penalties which the Law and the Proclamations would have inflicted on them."

His Majesty also protested solemnly, on this occasion, his determination to " maintain the true religion and doctrine established in the Church of England, without admitting or conniving at any backsliding, either to Popery or Schism." *(Rapin*, vol. x.*)*

July 14.—Doctor William Daniel, Archbishop of Tuam, died. This was a Prelate of distinguished learning and abilities. He was a complete Hebrew scholar; and, in pity to the

ignorant and deluded inhabitants of his wild and extensive province of Connaught, he translated (as before mentioned) the Book of Common Prayer out of the English, and the New Testament out of the original Greek, into the Irish language.

His translation of the Common Prayer was published in 1608, and dedicated to Sir Arthur Chichester; and that of the New Testament, published six years before, was dedicated to King James I. and was re-published in 1681, by that great and good man, the Hon. Robert Boyle. *(Ware's Bishops,* p. 616.)

The English language being now universally understood by the Irish peasantry, one great obstacle to their civilization and conversion is happily removed; and although, with respect to them, much has been left undone, which might at least have been attempted, great credit is due to those true friends of religion and social order, who have espoused the long neglected cause of education in Ireland; and, at the same time, strenuously exerted themselves to put "the words of eternal life into the hands of our people, multitudes of whom are perishing for lack of knowledge."

Nov. 23.—The Titular Bishop of Down and Connor died in the Castle of Dublin. He was accused by one Patrick O'Mulvany, a Popish Priest, of a conspiracy to cause an invasion of Ireland. *(Romish Fox,* p. 195.)

Dec. 1.—Intelligence arrived in Ireland, that the Dutch had met with the Spanish Fleet returning from the West Indies, and captured it, with sixteen millions worth of bullion, &c.

When this news was told to the Mayor of Drogheda, in the presence of one Father Crassy, a Popish Priest of that town, the zealous Ecclesiastic fell into a great passion, and said, "Is it so?" And when he was assured of the truth of what he had heard, he exclaimed "Farewell the poor Catholic's Cause of Ireland then; for Ireland was sure to have had four of those millions sent here, to have helped her against the Heretics."

The people, supposing that he was drunk, as he had drank pretty hard at the Mayor's house that day at dinner, checked him, saying, "Father Crassy, have a care what you say." To which he replied, "It is true, by this Book," pulling out his Mass Book.

Upon this, he immediately went forth the backway of the Mayor's house, towards the garden, and there cut his throat, through grief for this disappointment. *(Romish Fox,* p. 196.)

1629, *April* 14.—Lord Falkland wrote to Archbishop Ussher, at Drogheda, requiring to have his proclamation against the

Popish Clergy enforced in that town and neighbourhood, which had been neglected. *(Ussher's Letters*, p. 407.*)*

April 24.—The King signed a Treaty of Peace with France, in which an article was inserted, providing, that "no step should be taken respecting the Queen's household, without her Majesty's consent." The Chaplains and Confessors of that household were playing a deep game at this time; and their Lord and Master the Pope, took special care, through the medium of the King of France, that they should not be interrupted or embarrassed in their operations. *(See Rapin*, vol. x.*)*

April 25.—Malcolm Hamilton, Archbishop of Cashel, died. He was one of those Prelates who, in 1627, joined with Primate Ussher in his Protest against the Toleration of Popery. He was buried in the Cathedral at Cashel, where a monument was erected to his memory on the north side of the Choir, of which nothing remains but the mitre and his motto *(pasce oves;)* for the letters being cut so as to stand raised from the plane, were, together with his arms, defaced with a chissel, by some bigoted and malicious Papist, in the reign of King James II. *(Ware's Bishops*, p. 486.*)*

On the death of Archbishop Hamilton, the See of Cashel was offered to Doctor James Spottiswood, Bishop of Clogher, and brother of the celebrated John Spottiswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews, in Scotland, but he refused the translation. (*Ussher's Letters*, No. 148.)

This Prelate was the author of a Treatise on the Impostures of St. Patrick's Purgatory, in Lough Derg, in the County of Donegal, (*Ware's Bishops*, p. 188,) which was probably the cause of the edifices on that Island being demolished, by an order of the Government, in the year 1630, when other effectual steps were also taken to put an end to the gross and scandalous impositions practised on the Irish people, by the Popish Priests of that place.

A short time before Bishop Spottiswood published this work, one Philip O'Sullivan, a Captain in the Spanish Navy, published his "*Historiæ Catholicæ Hiberniæ Compendium*," in four volumes. In the first of these is a detail of the Report of Ramon de Perillos, a Spanish Viscount concerning a great many frightful prospects that he saw in Saint Patrick's Purgatory; some apartments whereof he represents in as terrible figures as can be conceived of the most dismal regions of Hell itself. From this frightful place, the pious Viscount, like another Æneas, crosses an huge gulph, by a firm bridge, into Paradise, or the Limbus Patrum, where he has the happiness to converse with Popes, Cardinals, Abbots, &c. &c. Besides

the Bishop of Clogher's refutation of the falsehoods propagated respecting St. Patrick's Purgatory, Archbishop Ussher fully refuted the fooleries of Captain Philip O'Sullivan, which, silly as they may appear to Protestants, had no small weight with the ignorant Papists of those days. The character of this pillar of Popery is thus given by Primate Ussher, in his Treatise on the Religion of the Ancient Irish. (*Archbishop Nicholson's Irish Hist. Library*, p. 69.) "A worthy author to ground a report of antiquity upon; who, in relating the matters that fell out in his own time, discovereth himself to be as egregious a liar as any (I verily think) that this day breatheth in Christendom." (*Ibid*, p. 69.)

The river Eask passes by the town of Donegal, and falls into the Bay. Lough Eask, the source of this river, is situated about two miles towards the interior, and is famed for abundance of char-fish. At a small distance from the Eask, is LOUGH DERG, in which is a very small island, containing that celebrated relique of monkery, ST. PATRICK'S PURGATORY. This is a small narrow pit, cut out of the solid rock, covered with stone and sods. Whoever became repentant, were directed by the Monks to repair to this pit, and to continue there a night and a day, where they should be freed from their sins, and all the future pains of the damned, and the joys of the blessed be disclosed to their view. Many were the marvellous visions related to be seen; long were the eyes of mankind blind to the blasphemous imposition; nay, even a celebrated (but not infallible) Pope wrote and preached on the supposed virtues of this Purgatory; but the illusion happily began to vanish, and the place was demolished, by order of (another of the infallibles) Pope Alexander VII. (*Traveller's Guide through Ireland*, p. 126. *Edinburgh*, 1806.)

April 28.—The Privy Council of Ireland, in their defence of Lord Falkland's administration of the Irish Government, stated to the King, "that towards the insolencies of the Papists, and the late outrageous presumption of the unsettled Irish, the Lord Deputy and Council had used particular abstinence, holding themselves somewhat limited concerning them, by late insinuations, letters, and directions from England. (*Borlase on the State of Ireland*, p. 2.)

June 16.—Bishop Laud wrote to Archbishop Ussher, communicating to him the King's approbation of an Irish Lecture, established by Dr. William Bedel, Bishop Elect of Kilmore and Ardagh. (*Ussher's Letters*, No. 22.)

Sept. 13.—Dr. William Bedel was consecrated Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, by the Lord Primate, and the Bishops of

Down, Dromore, and Clogher, in St. Peter's Church, at Drogheda. In a short time afterwards, he wrote a letter to the Primate, complaining of the Popish Vicar General of the Diocese of Ardagh, for excommunicating a woman, who had applied to his Consistorial Court at Longford. (*Ware's Bishops*, p. 232.)

In this year, the Papists erected a College in Back-lane, in the city of Dublin, without any authority from the state, and in direct opposition to the law of the land, and the government of the country. *(Harris's History of Dublin.)*

No. XXII.

"*The Irish Romanists are abridged of no privileges, except* "*of such as they cannot be permitted to exercise, consistent with* "*the safety of the State.*"

(Dr. Duigenan's Answer to Mr. Grattan's Address, Second Edition, p. 200. Dublin, 1798.)

1629.—Towards the end of this year, the King, at the instigation of his Popish Counsellors, remitted five thousand pounds of a subsidy required at this time from the Irish Papists, as their proportion of the common expenses of the government; and, recalling Lord Falkland, as an unsuccessful Governor, the administration was committed to two Lords Justices, Adam Loftus, Lord Viscount Ely, and Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork. *(See Rapin, Leland, and Gordon.)*

Archbishop Ussher accompanied Lord Falkland to the sea-side on his departure from Ireland, and gave him a solemn blessing on their parting. The good Lord Primate did not fail to express his friendship to this nobleman on all occasions, after his departure from this country, doing his utmost, by letters to several of the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council in England, for his vindication from many false accusations which were then laid to his charge by the discontented and disaffected Irish demagogues. *(See Dr. Parr's Life of Primate Ussher*, p. 36.*)*

The King's disapprobation, not only of Lord Falkland's administration, but also of the measures taken by the Lords Justices, who succeeded him in the government, to check the intolerable insolence of the Popish Clergy, gave the latter such encouragement, and augmented their boldness to such a degree, that they proceeded to erect several monasteries in the city of Dublin, and soon gave the following specimen of what was to be expected from them by the Irish government and the Protestant Clergy.

Dec.—Dr. Launcelot Bulkeley, Archbishop of Dublin, having received information, that certain Jesuits and Carmelite Friars made it their constant practice to infuse sedition, by their Sermons, into the Popish inhabitants of Dublin, applied to the Lords Justices for a warrant to apprehend them. Having obtained it, he proceeded to Cook-street, with some musqueteers, to see it executed, where he met with so unexpected and vigorous a resistance from the Friars and their audience, that he was obliged to fly for his life, and escaped, with much difficulty, by taking shelter in a house.

1630, *Jan.* 9.—The Lords Justices dispatched an account of this daring outrage to the King and the Privy Council of England. *(Ware's Bishops*, p. 356.*)*

Jan. 18.—John Mc Enery, a Dominican Friar, of a respectable family in Limerick, waited on Dr. Francis Gough, the Protestant Bishop there, and confessed to him, that his conscience accused him of the guilt of continuing in the Romish faith, because that church held "damnable, rebellious, and uncharitable tenets; and that although he had sworn unto several conspiracies against the King and the Church of England, and had, according to the usual custom, taken the Sacrament never to divulge them; yet, for the future, he would recant and take the Sacrament according to the Church of England, never to practise, preach, or commune with the Church of Rome any more. *(R. Ware's Romish Fox.)*

Jan. 31.—The Lords Justices issued orders a due execution of the Penal Laws, and commanded that the house where the Jesuits and Carmelites, who were all Seminary Priests, had attacked the Archbishop of Dublin, should be demolished, and left as a mark to the resisters of authority, and that the rest of the haunts of these hypocrital traitors should be converted into houses of correction. *(Foxes and Firebrands*, Part ii. p. 72.*)*

It was thought by Primate Ussher, Archbishop Bulkeley, and many other of the Bishops and Clergy in Ireland, that, had not the Popish Mass Houses in Dublin been demolished in the year 1629, (as recorded in the Second Part of *Foxes and Firebrands*, p. 72,) there had been war sooner than the year 1641, and that the Church of England had perished. *(Ware's Romish Fox*, p. 96.*)*

Feb. 1.—John Mc Enery being well received by the Bishop of Limerick, and protected in his palace, preached a Recantation Sermon on this day, in which he declared, that the number of Jesuits, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Popish Bishops and Priests in Ireland, at that time, was above one

thousand six hundred; and that there were great and formidable conspiracies then contriving by them against his Majesty's Government and the Protestant Clergy. He also named two Friars of his own order, Patrick Gibbs and James Hamilton, both natives of Scotland, and educated in the Seminaries there, who, under the disguise of Sectaries, were then employed in Munster, endeavouring to delude the Protestants of that Province, and draw them from the Church of England.

The Bishop of Limerick assured Sir James Ware of the truth of these circumstances, and they are related by Mr. Robert Ware, in his valuable little book, called, "*The Hunting of the Romish Fox,*" published in Dublin, in 1683, and dedicated to the Duke of Ormond. It is to be hoped, that the Jesuits of Castle-Brown, in the County of Kildare, will not exhibit the *semper eadem* spirit of their intriguing and zealous predecessors; and that the Seminary so liberally supported in the same County, by heretical guineas, in these hard times, will educate no Sectaries to attack the Established Church.

About this time, a Popish Priest being apprehended in Dublin, under a warrant from the Government, was rescued by a mob in the streets; and this outrage being countenanced by the Papists of the city, to humble their insolence, fifteen of their newly-erected religious houses were seized by the Lords Justices, and condemned for the King's use. All these ebullitions of treason may be readily traced to the Queen's Popish household, who, with their Irish and foreign associates, were at this time fomenting that tremendous Rebellion, which, after being repressed for some years by the vigorous administration of the great Earl of Strafford, broke out with unparalleled fury in 1641.

April 20.—Doctor Archibald Hamilton, Bishop of Killala and Achonry, was translated to the Archbishoprick of Cashel. —*(Ware's Bishops,* p. 652.)—He was one of those learned Prelates, who, in 1626, protested against the toleration of Popery in Ireland; and the time was now fast approaching, when the wisdom of that protest was universally felt and acknowledged by Protestants.

May 29.—King Charles II. was born.

June 4.—The Primate and Archbishop of Dublin wrote the following letter to the Bishop of London:

"Right Reverend,

"We, your Brethren of Ireland, having undertaken the

cure of souls within our several Dioceses in this his Majesty's Realm of Ireland, most humbly either crave our Brethren of England's charity, and not their hard censures of us, as if we neglected our duties; or do humbly crave yours and their assistance to inform his Majesty, and the Lords of that Council, that this kingdom swarms with disguised Romish Orders of all kinds, which, if not speedily remedied, many evils will ensue, as the decay of the Gospel, the increase of Popery, and the impoverishment of this Realm, for they eat the bread out of the poor people's mouths. The evil event that is like to ensue by their lying and fabulous stories, which they affirm for truth to their auditory, besides their secret and seditious plots, which they daily sow among the Roman Catholics of the nation, wants nothing but time and opportunity to perfect: how soon it may burst out none knows, saving the everlasting and all-seeing God.

"We, therefore, humbly crave your charitable opinions of your Brethren here, for our late demonstration against Schisms and Idolatry, as also against inhuman and indecent practices, which shews our readiness and loyalty towards Church and State, according to the Church's Reformation. Thus we signify our state, condition, and the perils which are like to ensue, if not prevented; so discharging our consciences, we rest your faithful and loving Brethren in Christ, and in his Church, craving your prayers.

"Ja. Armachanus,
"Laur. Bulkeley, &c.

"*Dublin, June* 4, 1630."

(Romish Fox, p. 198.*)*

At the same time, the Bishop of Kilmore wrote the following letter to the Bishop of London, on the critical state of the Protestant Church in Ireland at that time. This letter is preserved in "*Rushworth's Collection,*" Part ii. p. 47.

"Right Reverend,

"I have been about my Diocese, and can set down, out of my knowledge and view, what I shall relate; and shortly, to speak much ill matter in a few words; it is very miserable every way; the Cathedral of Ardagh, (one of the most ancient in Ireland, and said to be built by Saint Patrick,) together with the Bishop's house there, are down to the ground. The Church here is built, but without bell or steeple, font or chalice; the Parish Churches all in a manner ruined, unroofed, and out of repair; the people, saving a few British planters

here and there, (which are not a tenth part of the rest,) obstinate Recusants; a Popish Clergy (as in 1816) far more numerous than we, and in the full exercise of all jurisdiction ecclesiastical, by their Vicars General and Officials, who are so confident, that they excommunicate those who come to our Court, even in matrimonial causes; which affront hath been offered myself, by the Popish Primate's Vicar-General, for which I have begun a process against him.

"The Primate himself lives in my parish, within two miles of my house; the Bishop in another part of my Diocese farther off. Every parish hath its Priest, (as in 1816,) and some (as in 1814) two or three a-piece, and so their Mass Houses. Also in some places, Mass is said in the Churches." (This is not yet done in 1816; but the office for the dead is read by Popish Priests in many church-yards, contrary to law; and a few years ago, a Popish Priest and a funeral walked over the Prebendary of Tulla, in the Diocese of Killaloe, for attempting to remonstrate on the illegality of this practice; at which outrage, a certain factious Lawyer was present and consenting.) "Friars there are in divers places, who go about (as in 1816) though not in their habits, and, by their importunate begging, impoverish the people, who indeed are generally very poor.

"KILMORENSIS."

No care being taken to execute the Proclamations which were from time to time issued after the complaints were made, the Popish Clergy, knowing the strong interest they had at Court, disregarded whether they were proclaimed or not. They would sneak away, and secretly lurk among the kerns and the tories for a little while, and afterwards run their old way; and thus they drove on their designs until the year 1641, which, when too late, testified the wisdom of those Prelates who had given so many salutary warnings to the Government of the danger and mischiefs arising from the encouragement of Popery in Ireland. *(See the Romish Fox,* p. 201.*)*

No. XXIII.

"*Fallaces, sanguinarii, fœdefragi, diversis micantes inter se* "*factionibus, alter in alterius viscera ferrum immittere quam* "*cum hoste communi congredi, paratiores.*"

(Dr. Bates, Elench. Mot. Par. ii. p. 19.)

1630, *June* 7.—The Prince of Wales was baptized with great solemnity. The Godfathers were the King of France

and the Prince Elector Palatine, who were represented by the Duke of Lennox and the Marquis of Hamilton; and the Godmother was the Queen of France, represented by the Duchess of Richmond. *(D. Scot's History of Scotland.)*

About this time, the Lords and Council of England, having received the Declaration of the Council in Ireland, in defence of Lord Falkland's administration, particularly respecting the Popish Clergy and Laity, returned their acknowledgment of its having decided their opinion in favour of that calumniated Nobleman; and they moreover reminded the Lords Justices and Privy Council, "How much it concerned the good government of Ireland, to prevent, in time, the first growing of such evils; for that where such people are permitted to swarm, they will soon grow licentious, and endure no government but their own, which cannot otherwise be remedied than by a due and seasonable execution of the law, and of such directions as, from time to time, have been sent from his Majesty and Council, &c."

In this year, the buildings in St. Patrick's Purgatory, a small island in Lough Derg, in the County of Donegal, were defaced by order of the Irish Government, to prevent the scandalous resort of multitudes of wicked and ignorant people to it, under the pretence of making an atonement for their sins; a practice which prevails to this day, and is chiefly kept up by a certain lay order of devotees, called Carmelites, or Scapularians, who are infamous for every kind of vice, encouraged by the false and wicked tenets which they hold. These people believe, that by wearing a few cabalistical words, sewed in a piece of leather and hung on their neck, that they are secured from fire, water, witchcraft, gun-shots, &c.

This Order being, like that of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, a military one, was found very convenient to some of the pious leaders, in the Crusade against Heretics, in 1798. The assassins who burned the Protestants in the barn of Scullabogue, and wielded their bloody pikes on the bridge of Wexford, when the Slaney ran crimson with Protestant blood, were almost all of this Order. The story of Father Murphy, at the Battle of Arklow, is too well known to require a repetition here; but beside the precedent of the Popish Bishop, Mac Egan, on the 5th of January, 1603, he had another pointed out to him, in "*The Brief Relation of the Notable Miracles wrought by the Power of the Holy Scapular;*" several editions of which have been published by a Popish Bookseller in Bridge Street, Dublin. In the 58th page of the Carmelite's Manual, we are favoured with the following anecdotes, which,

in several actions in 1798, served to animate the bigoted and furious Rebels to the most desperate enterprises:

"In the city of Avignon, in France, Anno Domini 1622, a person of honour, named Alexander Dominick, a native of Lyons, and a soldier by profession, going to the army, remained there to do his devotions, and to celebrate, before his departure, the Feast of the Scapular, with the other members of the Confraternity. On the 11th of July, six days before the said Feast, as he was going out of the bath, he met with a certain enemy of his, who saluted him with a pistol loaden with two bullets, and having made the discharge of it just at his breast, withdrew himself. This poor man, thinking himself to be killed, had recourse to the Patroness of the Confraternity, (in preference to the Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier of the world,) crying out, 'Oh, Blessed Virgin of Mount Carmel, assist me!' A strange thing! He had no sooner pronounced these words, but he felt the two bullets fall down into his breeches; and being carried home to his lodging, it was perceived that his cloak was burned, and that the bullets passed through his doublet and shirt, and left their marks upon the Holy Scapular, which he wore next to his skin, without any hurt to his person."

"In the year 1633, near Cracovia, in Poland, a young man, who, a little before, had received the Holy Scapular in the Convent of the Carmelites of the said city, received in battle a musquet shot upon his breast, but the bullet passing through his breast-piece and clothes, rested at his Scapular, and did no more hurt, but left a little spot upon the holy habit, &c. &c."—If the pious reader desires to know more of the miraculous powers of the Holy Scapular, he may repair to greater volumes, such as Lazana de Patrona, Maria Theophibus, Raymondus Jesuita, &c. &c.

(Treatise on the Scapular, p. 58.*)*

By such wretched falsehoods as these are the deluded peasantry of Ireland led into the field of battle by their ambitious Clergy, after having been sedulously corrupted in private conferences by the powerful engine of auricular confession.

Sept. 18.—Bishop Bedel wrote to Archbishop Ussher from Kilmore, respecting the state of his dioceses. In this letter he stated, that the Popish Primate and Bishop of Kilmore, with sixty-six Popish Priests, were resident in those dioceses, having a great advantage over the Protestant Clergy, not only in number, but also in their knowledge of the Irish language, and their popularity with the Nobility and Clergy of the Counties of Cavan and Longford. Many of these Popish

Priests, (as mentioned by Bishop Burnet, in his Life of this venerable Prelate, p. 89,) were brought into the Ecclesiastical Courts, and prosecuted for their lewdness; on which occasion, which occurred frequently, the Bishop would, with great mildness, and without scoffing or insulting language, endeavour to make them sensible of that "tyrannical imposition in their Church, in denying Priests leave to marry, which occasioned so much impurity among them."

This primitive Bishop observed, *(Burnet's Life of Bishop Bedel,)* with more regret, that the English had all along neglected the Irish, as a nation not only conquered, but indisciplinable, and that the Clergy had scarce considered them as a part of their charge, but had left them wholly in the hands of their own Priests, without taking any other care of them, but the making them pay their tithes. And, indeed, their Priests were a strange sort of people, that generally knew nothing but the reading of their Offices, which were not so much as understood by many of them, and they taught their people nothing but the saying their Paters and Aves in Latin; so that the state both of their Clergy and Laity was such, that it could not but raise great compassion in a man that had so tender a sense of the value of those souls, that Christ had purchased with his blood; and, therefore, he resolved to set about that apostolical work, by converting the natives with the zeal and care that so great an undertaking required.

In the mean time, the feuds between the King and the Church of England on the one hand, and the various denominations of Protestant Dissenters on the other, grew every day more serious and alarming; so that the whole of the year 1631 passed away in a series of unhappy contests between the Protestants of Great Britain, which tended but too much to facilitate the progress of the diabolical conspiracy formed by the Pope and his Clergy for their destruction.

No. XXIV.

"They, under fair pretence of friendly ends,
"And well-plac'd words of glozing courtesy,
"Baited with reasons not unplausible,
"Win them into the easy-hearted man,
"And hug him into snares."

(Comus.)

1632.—In the beginning of this year, the Popish College, which had been erected in Back-lane, was shut up by order of Government, and disposed of to the University of Dublin.

A Rector and Scholars were placed in it, and a weekly Lecture established, which the Lords Justices countenanced by their presence.

In this year, Archbishop Ussher used his interest with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and many other great men at Court, in favour of the Church of Ireland, by opposing and hindering several grants and patents to some Courtiers and great men, who had privately obtained them, for the purpose of grasping at ecclesiastical property.—*(Ware's Bishops*, p. 108.*)* He caused a patent made to a Scottish Nobleman, of several tithes, to be called in and made void, his Majesty having been deceived when he made the grant; and this active Prelate was so anxious to obtain a competent maintenance for the Clergy of Ireland, that he had, some years before, obtained a grant from the King, in his own name, though for the use of the church, by which such impropriations as belonged to the church, and then were leased out, should, on the expiration of their leases, revert to their original channel.

May 13.—The King set out for Scotland, where he was crowned with the usual solemnities, held a Parliament, and obtained a large subsidy. *(Rapin.)*

1633.—In this year, Doctor John Bramhall resigned all his preferments in England, and came to Ireland as Chaplain to Lord Wentworth. The manner in which this eminent Divine left England, was suitable to his zealous and disinterested conduct in the country he adopted, and redounds to his immortal honour. Some Noblemen, and other men high in office in England, promised to make him his Majesty's Chaplain in Ordinary, and to help to raise him to the highest honours in the church, in all which he acknowledged there was great force, but said they might thence see, that he consulted not with flesh and blood; and moreover, he solemnly protested, in the presence of God, that nothing but an unmingled zeal to serve God and the King, in recovering the rights of an oppressed church, which he understood the Lord Deputy had seriously laid to heart, could bias him against the inclination he had to gratify so many dear and noble friends.

May 25.—Bishop Bedel having resigned the See of Ardagh, was succeeded in it by Doctor John Richardson, a native of Chester, Archdeacon of Derry, Rector of Ardstra, and Vicar of Granard, all of which he held in *commendam* with his Bishoprick, but Doctor Bramhall succeeding to the See of Derry soon after, found his title infirm, both to the Archdeaconry and Rectory of Ardstra, and provided two incum-

bents, who succeeded him in these preferments. This Prelate was a man of profound learning, well versed in the Holy Scriptures, and of exact knowledge in Chronology. He was the author of Select Observations on the Old Testament, which he dedicated to Archbishop Ussher, and were published in 1655, a year after his death. *(Bishop Vessey's Life of Primate Bramhall.)*

June 1.—Doctor John Lesley, Bishop of Orkney and the Isles, one of the most accomplished Prelates of his time, was translated to the See of Raphoe, and admitted to the Privy Council of Ireland.

When he came to Raphoe, he found the revenues engrossed by several gentlemen, who entered into a combination to maintain the properties they had sacrilegiously acquired; but, by an expensive law-suit, the Bishop retrieved the rights and estate of his See, and increased the income of it nearly one-third part.

He built a stately Palace in his Diocese, contriving it for strength as well as beauty, which proved highly useful afterwards in the year 1641, and preserved the lives of many Protestants in that neighbourhood during the Popish massacre. When Sir Ralph Gore was besieged by the Rebels in Magherebeg, and reduced to great extremities, the Lagan forces, consisting of three regiments, refused to hazard themselves for the relief of him and his party; but the Bishop of Raphoe, with a company of his friends and tenants, sallied forth from his Palace, amidst the flames of the whole country, relieved the besieged, and evidenced in the action as much personal valour, as regular conduct. *(Ware's Bishops,* p. 189.*)*

August 10.—Dr. John Bramhall, by order of Lord Wentworth, wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, assuring his Grace that "it was not possible for the intentions of a mortal man to be more serious and sincere in those things that concerned the good of the Irish Church, than those of the Lord Deputy were." The Church of Ireland was in a deplorable state at that time. Most of the tithes having been, according to the corrupt system of the Popish Church, appropriated to Monasteries and other Religious Houses, were, on the Reformation, vested in the crown, or sold to private subjects, and made lay fees; the Vicarages for the most part stipendiary, and their stipends so miserable, that in the whole Province of Connaught, most of the Vicar's pensions came but to forty shillings a year each, and in many places amounted only to sixteen shillings. On this subject, Dr. Heylin, the Biographer of Archbishop Laud, observes, (Lib. IV. Part II. page 15,)

" that such a state of the church could produce no other effects than ignorance in the Clergy, and barbarism in the people; scandalous benefices; making for the most part, scandalous ministers, as naked walls make giddy housewives. Where there is neither means nor maintenance for a learned ministry, what a gross night of ignorance must befal those men, who were to hold forth the light to others; and if the light itself be darkness, how great a darkness must it be which doth follow after it;" and, according to the observation of Panormitan—Ad tenuitatem beneficiorem necessario sequitur ignorantia sacerdotum.

To remedy these evils, the Lord Deputy proposed to the King to restore all the Lay-impropriations to the Church of Ireland; and although the Exchequer was at that time empty, and the revenue low, such was his Majesty's piety, that he graciously condescended to accede to the proposal.

Encouraged by the King's example, the Earl of Cork, who was a true friend to the Protestant interest, and had settled a strong colony of Protestants on one of his estates, restored some of his impropriations to the several parish churches, to which they had originally belonged; and it is thought, that he would have restored all the impropriations he possessed in the same manner, if an unfortunate dispute had not happened between him and the Lord Deputy, respecting the removal of his family monuments in one of the Cathedrals of the city of Dublin. *(Heylin's Life of Laud,* vol. iv. p. 16.*)*

In the year 1610, Richard Boyle, the first Earl of Cork, built the town of Bandon, celebrated by Spencer, as " the pleasant Bandon, crowned with many a wood." In the year 1689, the Irish Papists demolished the walls of this town; but they were rebuilt after the Revolution, and over one of the gates the following lines were inscribed:

Turk, Jew, or Atheist,
May enter here, but not a Papist.

A drunken Friar, some years ago, added, with a piece of chalk, the annexed explanatory couplet:

Who wrote these lines?—He wrote them well;
For the same is wrote on the gates of hell.

For many years after 1689, according to a bye-law of the Corporation, no Roman Catholic was permitted to live in Bandon; but in the year 1806, it contained as many Popish as Protestant inhabitants.

August 15.—Mr. Justice Cressy wrote the following letter to the Lord Deputy from Wexford:

" Most Hon. Lord,

" According to the directions given by your Lordship, I have here, at the town of Wexford, as it came to my turn, made known his Majesty's pleasure to the country, wherein I cannot yet perceive but that the people, on all hands, rest satisfied therewith. The jails are here, in a manner, empty, and the indictments and complaints few, and of a small moment; but I find, that this country, which doth contain the most ancient English Plantators, and were lately the most forward professors of the Reformed Christian Religion in the kingdom, by the pernicious confluence of Priests, who here have raised a Romish Hierarchy of Bishops, Commissaries, Vicars-General, and Parochial Priests of their own, to the great derogation of his Majesty's Royal Power, and to the establishing of a foreign jurisdiction in all causes ecclesiastical, are now in a sort become principally Romish and Popish; so that the secular and common people do themselves groan under the burthen.

" Now, my Lord, this being directly against the laws established, not invading only, but even abrogating his Majesty's jurisdiction and princely Government in this his kingdom of Ireland, I held myself bound, not only by my oath as a Judge, and as a servant of the King, but even by my allegiance, to oppose this with all the force and strength that my place could afford; and, therefore, in my charge unto the Jury, did declare unto them, the quality and fearful consequences thereof; and, as far as I could, did endeavour to anticipate and prevent the policy of their Priests' Absolutions from perjury, and wilful breach of their oaths; but I fear all in vain, for they are all Recusants; not one Protestant among them. I shall this day press them to find their Bishop of Fernes, here placed amongst them by the Pope's authority; what they will do, I shall hereafter relate unto your Lordship. In the mean time, I have been privately solicited by one of their sect, a Professor of the Law, to look to myself; a man in years, likely ere long to lay my bones amongst them, and tendered me a Priest to confer with for a preparation. I told him, if he would bring me a beneficed Priest, or one that had spiritual jurisdiction amongst them, I would talk with him; but upon this, and my declaration of my distaste for his council, we parted; whether they may or will plot against me, or in what kind, I know not. I fear God, not them. I shall

be to my power, zealous to the service of God, and of his Majesty the King, my Lord and Master, and shall ever rest,

" Your Lordship's most faithful,

" And obliged Servant,

" A. Cressy.

" *Wexford, Aug.* 15, 1633."

(Strafford's Letters, vol. i. p. 103.*)*

Sept. 3.—Dr. John Bramhall, Chaplain to Lord Wentworth, was admitted Treasurer of Christ Church, Dublin. *(Ware's Bishops,* p. 293.*)*

Sept. 15.—Dr. Wm. Laud, Archbishop Elect of Canterbury, was chosen Chancellor of the University of Dublin. In a letter from this Prelate to the Lord Deputy, written a few days after his translation from the See of London, is the following remarkable passage:—" I have had an heaviness hanging upon me ever since I was nominated to this place, and I can give myself no account of it, unless it proceed from an apprehension, that there is more expected from me than the craziness of these times will give me leave to do." *(Strafford's Letters,* vol. i. p. 111.*)*

Oct. 15.—The Duke of York, afterwards James the Second, was born. He was ushered into the world along with a report of the discovery of a design to restore the Popish Religion in England. The Dæmon of Popery met this unfortunate Prince in his cradle, grew with his growth, strengthened with his strength, and at last laid him a degraded exile in a foreign grave.

This report was universally circulated through England, Scotland, and Ireland at this time; and had the authors of it been satisfied with asserting, that " the Queen's Chaplains, and the Popish Clergy, who were then actively, though secretly, employed, propaganda fide, in the British dominions," had formed such a design, they would not have been mistaken. But they went much farther, and charged it on the King's Ministers, the Privy Council, and the new made Archbishop of Canterbury; and the Papists themselves gave occasion for these suspicions, in shewing pretty openly their hopes of seeing very soon a change in favour of their Religion. Rapin, who asserts, on the authority of a Diary kept by Archbishop Laud, that a Cardinal's hat was offered to this Prelate in 1633, if he would assist in restoring the Popish Religion, gives a circumstantial account of the grounds and reasons of this opinion, in the tenth Volume of his History of England, p. 257.

No. XXV.

" *If I raise my voice against Popery, such as I have defined* " *it to your Lordship, it is because I know it to be the old stand-* " *ing curse of this unhappy land; the household Dæmon,* " *through whose influence the nation has been prevented, for* " *upwards of two centuries, from coalescing and blending into* " *one people.*"

(Letter to Lord Fingal, by the Author of the Letter to Mr. Canning, 2d Edition, London, printed for Hatchard, 1813.)

1633, *Nov.* 5.—Dr. Wm. Bedel, Bishop of Kilmore, wrote to the Lord Deputy on his arrival in Ireland, giving the following account of the state of Popery at that time. The Bishop stated—" That in the Irish Nation the Pope had a far greater kingdom than his Majesty had. That the said kingdom of the Pope was governed by the new congregation, 'De propaganda fide,' established not long before at Rome. That the Pope had there a Clergy depending on him, double in number to the English, the heads of which (as in 1814,) were bound together by a Corporal Oath, to maintain his power and greatness, against all persons whatsoever. That for the moulding of the people to the Pope's obedience, there was a great rabble of irregular Regulars, most of them the younger sons of noble houses, which made them the more insolent and incontroulable. That the Pope had erected an University in Dublin, to confront his Majesty's College there, and breed up the youth of the kingdom to his devotion, one Harris being Dean thereof, who had dispersed a scandalous pamphlet against the Lord Primate's Sermon at Wansteed, in the year 1629, (as the Popish Clergy in Ireland, in 1813, re-published some of the scandalous and virulent aspersions of Thomas Ward, on the Protestant religion.) That since the dissolving of their new Friaries in the City of Dublin, they had erected them in the country, (as in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries they have had them in the City of Dublin, and many other places in Ireland,) and had brought the people to such a sottish negligence, that they cared not to learn the Commandments, as God spake and left them, but flocked in multitudes to the hearing of such superstitious doctrines, as some of their own Priests were ashamed of. That a Synodical Meeting of their Clergy had, a short time before, been held at Drogheda, in which it was decreed, That it was not lawful to take the Oath of Allegiance; and, therefore, in such a conjuncture of

affairs, to think that the bridle of the army might (as some persons had suggested) be taken away, must have been the thought, not of a brain-sick, but of a brainless man; which, whosoever did endeavour, not only would oppose his Majesty's service, but expose his own neck to the skeins of those Irish cut-throats." *(Bedel's Life,* p. 56.*)*

On this information, the Lord Deputy applied for, and obtained his Majesty's leave to hold a Parliament in Ireland the ensuing year, which he managed with such firmness and ability, that he obtained a power sufficient to repress the insolence of the rebellious Papists, and acquired the good opinion of such of them as were peaceably inclined.

Dec. 6.—The Lord Deputy received a Letter from England, informing him of the trial and execution of one Arthur, an Irish Popish Priest, who had arrived in London from Lisbon about the end of the summer in this year. Being found guilty of High Treason, he was hanged, drawn, and quartered. At his death, he declared his innocence of the crime laid to his charge, but no one believed him. *(Strafford's Letters,* vol. i. p. 166.)

1634.—In the Parliament held by Lord Wentworth in this year, he endeavoured to provide a suitable maintenance for the Established Clergy of Ireland, by appropriating the alienated property of the Church to its original and proper use. He had before persuaded the Earl of Cork to surrender tithes of the annual value of two thousand pounds per annum; an enormous sum in those days.

A Convocation sitting at the same time with this Parliament, granted eight subsidies to the King, solicited a redress of grievances, and substituted the articles of the English Church for those which had been compiled by Archbishop Ussher.

April 17.—Dr. George Downham, Bishop of Derry, died in that City, and was buried in his Cathedral there He took a distinguished part among those learned Prelates, who, in the year 1626, protested against the toleration of Popery in Ireland. He had in his early days been Professor of Logic in the University of Cambridge, and was esteemed a learned man. *(Ware's Bishops,* p. 292.*)*

May 26.—Dr. John Bramhall, Archdeacon of Meath, and Chaplain to Lord Wentworth, was consecrated Bishop of Derry, in the Chapel of the Castle of Dublin. Of this active Prelate, we have the following account in his Life, written by Dr. John Vesey, Archbishop of Tuam, when Bishop of Limerick:

" He recovered to the Church, in the space of four years,

thirty (some say forty) thousand pounds per annum, whereof he gave an account, at his going to England, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. So that many a poor Vicar now eats of the trees the Bishop of Derry planted, and when he eats his meal, has reason to thank God for his benefactor; and many shall hereafter have their ground refreshed by his care and labour, that know not the head and spring of the river that makes them fruitful. It is not to be doubted, but that he would have recovered much more, but for the Rebellion of Ireland; after which he became as famous for those other gifts God had bestowed on him, as eminently serviceable to the Church, in asserting her doctrine against the Papists, as he had already her discipline and property against the malcontents among ourselves."

August 29.—Dr. Francis Gough, Bishop of Limerick, died in that City, and was buried in his Cathedral. *(Ware's Bishops*, p. 514.*)* He was one of those Prelates, who, not wishing to become "accessary to the eternal perdition of those unhappy people, who perish in the deluge of Catholic Apostacy," protested, in 1626, against the toleration of Popery in Ireland.

In this year, Ever Mac Mahon, a Popish Priest, and afterwards successively Titular Bishop of Down and Clogher, privately discovered to Sir George Radcliff, a confidential friend of Lord Wentworth, that there was at that time a design for a general rising in Ireland, to be seconded and assisted from abroad. *(Harris's Dublin.)* Mac Mahon, having an assurance of pardon, acknowledged that he was one of the conspirators, having been employed for some years on that account in foreign Courts, soliciting supplies for carrying on that "Work of Religion." Lord Wentworth communicated this intelligence to the King, who, at the same time, received from his Ambassadors on the Continent, some dark hints of the probability of a Rebellion in Ireland.

No. XXVI.

"*The Popish Religion hath a restless spirit, and will strive by these gradations; if it once get a connivance, it will press for toleration; if that should be obtained, the professors of it must have an equality; from thence they will aspire to superiority; and will never rest till they get a subversion of the true Religion.*"

(The Parliament of England to King James the First.)

1634, *August* 30.—The Queen sent for the Archbishop of Canterbury, this day, to Oatlands, and gave him "thanks for a

business which she had trusted him withal, promising him to be his friend, and that he should have immediate access to her when he had occasion."

The great business entrusted on this occasion, by this artful and intriguing Princess, to the Archbishop, was, (as Dr. Heylin, his Grace's biographer, conjectures,) the facilitating the safe and favourable reception of Panzani, the Pope's Legate at Court. This man had been sent into England, under the pretence of preventing a schism, which appeared likely to take place between the Romish Secular and Regular Priests; yet Heylin observes, that, under that pretence, "many other designs were muffled, which were not fit to be discovered unto vulgar eyes."

Panzani, by many secret artifices, worked himself into the favour of Cottington, Windebank, and other great men at Court, and at last grew so confident, as to propose this question to some of the Bishops, "Whether his Majesty would permit a Catholic Bishop to reside in the English nation, on being allowed to nominate that Bishop, and to limit the exercise of his function as he thought proper?"

The Bishops answered this question by another, "Whether the Pope would allow of such a Bishop of his Majesty's nominating, as held the Oath of Allegiance to be lawful, and should permit the taking of it by the Roman Catholic subjects?" The Legate replied, that "he had no authority to answer this question," and soon after took an opportunity to apply to the King to permit an agent from the Pope to reside in England, for the purpose of managing the Queen's religious concerns; to which the King, with the advice and consent of his Privy Council, assented, upon condition that the agent should not be a Priest. *(Heylin's Life of Laud*, vol. iv. p. 38.)

Nov. 24.—Thomas Ram, Bishop of Ferns, died of an apoplexy, in Dublin. He was one of those Prelates who drew up and signed the protestation against the toleration of Popery, in the year 1626. This Prelate built an Episcopal House, at Old Leighlin, for the benefit of his successors, and founded a library for the use of his Clergy, which was afterwards destroyed by the Popish Rebels in 1641. He was buried in a Chapel, at Gorey, in the County of Wexford, which he had built himself on an estate of his own acquisition. *(Ware's Bishops*, p. 443.)

Dec. 13.—Dr. George Webb, a native of Wiltshire, and Chaplain to the King, was consecrated Bishop of Limerick, in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. He had highly distinguished himself at Court, by his preaching, which was remarkable for

smoothness and elegance of style. He died of a dysentery, when prisoner to the Rebels in the Castle of Limerick, about the close of the year 1641. They permitted his body to be buried in St. Munchin's Church-yard in that City, but took it up again in twenty-four hours afterwards, expecting to find rings, or some other valuable booty buried with it. *(Ibid. p. 514.)*

1635, *Feb.* 21.—The Dutch of Walloon Churches in the Diocese of Norwich, petition the Bishop of that See, against certain injunctions issued to them by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Puritans espoused the cause of the congregations of these Churches, who took fire at an attempt being made to reconcile them to the Church of England, by accommodating them with French and Dutch translations of the English Liturgy, and requiring them to attend Divine Service at the Churches of the respective parishes in which they resided. *(Rapin, vol. x.)*

On this occasion, several malicious libels were published against the Archbishop, accusing him of an intention to restore the Popish Religion in England. *(Heylin's Life of Laud.)*

April 7.—Lord Wentworth wrote to Mr. Secretary Cooke, informing him, that he had sent orders to the Sheriffs of Londonderry, to require the tenants of the London Companies to keep their rents in their own hands, until his Majesty's pleasure should be known, and to stop the cutting of trees in all the proportions. *(Strafford's Letters, vol. i. p. 407.)*

In this year, a fine of seventy-five thousand pounds was levied on the London Companies for a breach of covenant in the plantations of Londonderry and Colerain. In a letter of Sir Thomas Philips, of Newtownlimevady, to King Charles I. (published in *Harris's Hibernica*, p. 132,) these Companies are accused of having, "for their private profit, neglected the planting of religion and civility in the immense tracts of land which had been intrusted by his Majesty to their care, in his royal zeal for God's service, and the safety of the Country; so that what his Majesty intended should have been (by a strong Protestant plantation) a terror to his enemies, was become (by the establishment of multitudes of disaffected Papists in it) a bait to invite them thither, where the chief tenants and inhabitants being Irish, are prepared to entertain them." *(Harris's Hibernica, p. 134.)*

The massacre in 1641, verified Sir Thomas Philips's apprehensions respecting the culpable negligence of the London Companies in planting the County of Derry, when, among other dreadful outrages, six hundred British Protestants were

murdered by Sir Phelim O'Neil and his Popish followers, at Garvagh, where a similar effort was made by their descendants, on the 26th of July, 1813. On this day, multitudes of these bigoted Papists, called Standard Men, flocked into that town from Feeny, Dungiven, Ballynascreen, Desertmartin, Maghera, and Swatteragh, to make a premeditated attack upon the unoffending Protestants at the fair, where they met with such a reception, as has kept them tolerably quiet in the day light ever since.

May 19.—The Lord Deputy received a letter from his friend, Mr. Garrard, in London, containing the following passage :

" Some exception hath been taken by my Lord's Grace of Canterbury, to the over great recourse of his Majesty's subjects to the Queen's Chapel, at Somerset House, and to Ambassadors houses in the city of London, which must needs be the cause of the growth of Popery in this kingdom. The King and the Council have taken it into consideration, and I hope will give a speedy remedy to this growing evil. It pleased his Grace to say, on this occasion, that the Papists were the most dangerous subjects of the Kingdom, and that betwixt them and the Puritans, the good Protestants would be ground to powder.

July 14.—The Lord Deputy wrote from the Abbey of Boyle, in the County of Roscommon, to Mr. Secretary Coke, informing him of the progress he was making in the establishment of an English Settlement in the Province of Connaught. In this letter, he expresses his apprehensions of an opposition which he afterwards met with in the prosecution of his plan from the County of Galway, concerning which he makes the following observation :—" For certain it is a country which lies out at a corner by itself, and all the inhabitants wholly natives and Papists, hardly an Englishman amongst them, whom they kept out with all the industry in the world; and, therefore, it would be of great security, that they were thoroughly lined with Englishmen indeed." *(Strafford's Letters,* vol. i. p. 444.*)*

No. XXVII.

" *On entend que tous les cultes soient libres et publiquement*
" *exerces. Mais nous avons rejete cet article, comme contraire*
" *aux canons, et aux conciles, a la Religion Catholique, a la*
" *tranquillitie de la vie, et ou bonheur de l'etat, par les funestes*
" *consequences qui en deriveraient.*"

(Pius VII. to the Cardinals,
February 5, 1808.

1635, *July* 15.—On this day, a Convocation of the Clergy assembled in Dublin, and sat during the Session of Parliament. The chief objects in Lord Wentworth's view at this time, were the improvement of the temporal estate of the Church of Ireland, and its union with the Church of England in the same Articles of Religion, and the same canons of discipline and worship. *(Ware,* vol. i. p. 119.*)*

Among other Acts passed in this Parliament was one of great consequence to the distressed church, projected and modelled by the Bishop of Derry. This Act made provisions for the preservation of the inheritance, rights, and profits of lands belonging to the church and persons ecclesiastical.

This limited the possessors of ecclesiastical property to term and rent. It prescribed what they might set, for what, and how long, and was considered the great security of succession.

In another Session of this Parliament, an Act was made for the benefit of the inferior clergy, providing for a restitution of the property which had been alienated from them, as well as for the preservation of what they possessed.

July 17.—Robert Echlin, Bishop of Down and Connor, died. This Prelate, in 1615, repaired to London, and represented to King James the First the state of his Diocese, from concealment and usurpations of the property belonging to it; upon which he obtained from his Majesty to the Lord Deputy, Sir Oliver St. John, empowering him to hold a commendam of any one dignity, or prebend, when void, within his own Diocese, to enable him to maintain the dignity of his situation, and to prosecute suits of law for the recovery of the rights of his distressed Bishoprick. *(Ware,* vol. i. p. 208.*)*

Oct. 4.—Doctor Henry Lesley, Dean of Down, and Treasurer of St. Patrick's, Dublin, was consecrated Bishop of Down and Connor, in St. Peter's Church, Drogheda.

He was a Prelate eminent for his piety, gravity, learning, loyalty, hospitality, and affability. He was universally skilled

in antiquity, especially in the writings of the ancient Greek and Latin Fathers. He perfectly understood the primitive Constitution and history of the Catholic Church; and no man knew better, or promoted more eagerly, the reformation of religion, according to the Church of England. *(Ware,* vol. i. p. 208.*)*

Nov. 16.—The Archbishop of Canterbury wrote to Lord Wentworth, giving him the first intimation of the cabals which were forming against this great and good Nobleman by the Queen's party at Court. "There are here, (said his Grace in this letter,) as I have casually discovered, some who, notwithstanding your great services in Ireland, which are most graciously accepted by the King, whisper, and perhaps speak louder where they think they may, against your proceedings in that country; and this is somewhat loudly spoken by "some on the Queen's side." And although I know a great part of this proceeds from your wise and noble proceedings against the Romish party in that Kingdom, yet that shall never be made the cause in public; but advantages will be taken (such as they can) from other occasions, to blast you and your honour, if they be able to do it." *(Strafford's Letters,* vol. i. p. 479.*)*

Such were the Jesuitical practices of this intriguing Queen and her Popish Counsellors, in effecting the ruin of one of the greatest statesmen and most faithful servants ever any King or country was blessed with. The wicked conspiracy succeeded. This great pillar of the realm was the victim of it; but, like another Samson, his fall was succeeded by the total ruin and destruction of the wretches who had contrived it.

Dec. 27.—Michael Boyle, Bishop of Waterford, died. He was a brother to Richard, Archbishop of Tuam, and uncle to Michael, Archbishop of Dublin. He was one of those Prelates, who, in 1726, protested against the toleration of Popery in Ireland. *(Ware,* vol. i. p. 539.*)*

About this time, the Lord Deputy received a letter from his friend, Mr. Garrard, in London, containing the following passage, illustrating the encouragement given at that time, by the Queen and her connections in France and Italy, to English Proselytes to Popery.

"Wat Montague triumphs in his new religion at Paris; not such a zealot there; he wears a chain of beads, with a cross hanging at them, about his neck waits on the King whenever he goes to Mass; writes over to his friends here, that he is not only reconciled to the Church of Rome, but is ready to die a martyr to his religion. The King gave him a present, a ring worth fourteen hundred pounds, which he sent

over by Sir Henry to shew the Queen. He is going to Rome, being, they say, the only favourite of Cardinal Barbarino, the Pope's nephew, whose letters he shewed here to his friends, so full of affection and immense expressions of love to him, that he is confident he shall make himself a better fortune than he could have done at home; which, I believe, is the true cause why he hath changed his religion." *(Strafford's Letters,* vol. i. p. 490.*)*

In this month, the Queen's Chapel in Somerset Yard was consecrated by her Popish Bishop; the ceremonies lasted three days, with Masses, preaching, and singing of Litanies; a representation of the glory of heaven was exhibited over the altar-piece, and multitudes of Papists resorted to the show from all parts of England. Under this buffoonery, however, more serious matters were concealed; for the Queen's Bishop and Chaplains, in conjunction with the swarms of Popish Priests and Jesuits, who had flocked into England on her marriage, were at this time busily employed in plotting the ruin of the Protestants in the British dominions. *(Strafford's Letters,* vol. i.*)*

The Queen (as Bishop Burnet observes) was, during her whole life, fond of intrigues, though she possessed neither the judgment nor secrecy necessary to conduct them; but her vivacity in conversation was such, and her management of the King so artful, that she acquired a complete ascendancy over him, which conduced in no small degree to his destruction.

Several Jesuits and Popish Priests got into livings as Dissenting Ministers, in the troubles which ensued after this time, when a deep plot against the Church of England was conducted by all the Popish Ecclesiastics in his Majesty's dominions, under the immediate management of the Queen's Popish agent. *(See Bishop Kennet's Register and Chronicle,* p. 231 and 781.*)*

1636, *April* 5.—Mr. Garrard, of London, wrote to Lord Wentworth, informing him, that the Archbishop of Canterbury had, a few days before, apprehended and imprisoned two Popish Priests, for having preached in English in the Queen's Chapel, where none were permitted to preach except the Capuchins and her Majesty's Chaplains. *(Lord Strafford's Letters,* vol. ii. p. 2.*)*

Mr. Garrard concluded his communication on this subject in the following words:—"There is going hence, one Mr. Abingdon, son-in-law to Lord Powis, to lie at Rome. I hear his entertainment is five hundred a year. One Lieutenant-Colonel Brett went hence before Christmas on the same

employment, but he died by the way. The Queen gives this allowance, and we have one here above this twelvemonth employed by the Pope, a Roman born, and (contrary to the stipulation made with the King and Council by Panzani) a Priest. What these men shall negotiate, either there or here, I know not." *(Ibid*, vol. ii. p. 2.*)*

What these perfidious men were negotiating at that time was not generally known, though suspected by many; but the issue of their Jesuitical negotiations appeared in the massacre of the Protestants of Ireland; the execrable murder of the King, and the overthrow of the Primitive and Apostolical Church of England.

No. XXVIII.

" *Can the Protestant Religion of this Nation flourish under* " *the protection of those, who think themselves obliged, on pain* " *of damnation, to do all that lies in their power for the extirpa-* " *tion of it ?*"

(Addison's Freeholder, No. 14.)

1636, *June* 2.—Lord Wentworth wrote an official letter to the Lord Primate, requiring and authorizing him to take proceedings against non-resident Clergymen and Popish Schoolmasters. *(Strafford's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 7.*)*

July 7.—The Lord Deputy wrote from London to Sir Christopher Wandersford, Master of the Rolls, and one of the Lords Justices, giving him the following account of his defence of his conduct in the government in Ireland, in refutation of those who had endeavoured to raise an outcry against him, as being " a severe, austere, hard-conditioned man, more like a Basha of Buda, than the Minister of a pious and Christian King." " No man," says Lord Wentworth, " can shew wherein I expressed this hardship in my nature; no friend I have will charge me with it in my private conversation; no creature has found it in the managing of my own private affairs; so, if I stand clear in all these respects, it must be confessed by any unprejudiced man, that it was not any thing within, but the necessity of his Majesty's service, which enforced me to a seeming strictness outwardly.

" This was the reason indeed; for when I found a crown, a church, and a people, spoiled, I could not imagine to redeem them from under the pressure, with gracious smiles and gentle looks: it would cost warmer water than so.

" True it is, that where a dominion is once gotten and

settled, it may be stayed and kept by soft and moderate counsels; but where a Sovereignty, (be it spoken with reverence,) was going down the hill, the nature of man does so easily slide into the paths of uncontrolled liberty, that it cannot be brought back without strength, nor be forced up hill, but with vigour and strength.

"Indeed, I know no other rule to govern by, but that of reward and punishment; and I must profess, that where I found a person well and entirely set for the service of my master, I would lay my hand under his foot, and add to his respect and power all I might; and where I found the contrary, I did not handle him in my arms, or soothe him in his untoward humour; but if he came in my reach, so far as honour and justice would warrant me, I must knock him soundly over the knuckles. But as soon as he became a new man, and applied himself as he ought to the government, I also change my temper, and express myself to him as unto that other, by all good offices in my power.

"If this be sharpness, if this be severity, I desire to be instructed better by your Majesty; for in truth, it does not seem so to me; however, if I were once told that your Majesty likes not to be thus served, I would readily conform myself, follow the bent and current of my own disposition, which is to be quiet, and not to have debates, or disputes with any."

Here the King interrupted Lord Wentworth, said that was no severity, that he wished him to go on in the same way, adding, that if he served him otherwise, he should not serve him as he expected. *(Strafford's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 21.*)*

After a few words more, the Lord Deputy kneeled down, kissed his Majesty's hand, the Council broke up, and the Puritanical and Popish accusers of this great and good man were, for that time, disappointed.

Nov. 30.—Lord Wentworth having defeated his enemies in England, returned to his Government in Ireland; and on this occasion, wrote a letter to his cousin, Mr. George Butler, concluding with the following characteristic passage:—"Here I find affairs in the condition I left them, and so have set my hand to the plough again; God Almighty direct it in that way which may be most for his service, and the King's, and so as I may be accepted in my account with him to salvation, however I be accepted here below, to my preferment or content." *(Ibid*, p. 40.*)*

Dec. 30.—The Lord Deputy wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, stating, that he had adjudged to the Bishop of

Killala, and given him possession of lands to the amount of one hundred pounds a year, which had been usurped from his See. "I will go on, (said he,) as I have begun, by the help of God, and bestow my uttermost in restoring this church to her patrimony, and if I fail in my intentions, the fault shall be somewhere else than in me." This was the man, whose memory has been grossly calumniated by the advocates of Irish Popery, from the day of his death to this very time. One of these infatuated men, in his attempt to justify the massacre of the Protestants in 1641, asserted, on the eve of the Rebellion in 1798, that Lord Strafford "had justly suffered death;" in Doctor Duigenan's refutation of which assertion it appears, that Ireland, among other blessings derived from the same source, is indebted to the Earl of Strafford for her linen manufacture.

1637, *Feb.* 28.—The King wrote to the Lord Deputy, "giving him the watch-word to have a more vigilant eye over the discontented party."

In this year, Dr. John Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, went to England to dispose of his estate there. At this time, he became acquainted with the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom he gave an account of his Stewardship in Ireland, which was very acceptable to him, as appeared not only from his expressions of kindness, but from the character he gave of him and of his services, when he presented him to the King. Having received much honour from that gracious Prince, he returned to Ireland, where, with six thousand pounds, for which he sold his English estate, he purchased another of good value, and began a plantation at Omagh, in the County of Tyrone, which he sometimes attended, when he was inclined to unbend himself with rural recreations. But the Rebellion breaking out a few years after, prevented his bringing that, or his more public designs, to the perfection he intended. *(Ware's Bishops*, p. 121.)

March 23.—The Lord Deputy received a letter from his friend, Mr. Garrard, in London, containing, among other things, the following detail:

"Dr. Haywood, a Parson of St. Giles in the Fields, brought a Petition, directed to my Lord's Grace of Canterbury, complaining, that in a very short time, a great part of his parishioners had become Papists, and refused to come to church. The wolf that has been among them is a Jesuit, one Morse, who, since this complaint, is, they say, by order apprehended, and committed to prison. Popery certainly increaseth amongst us, and will do so still, as long as there is

such access of all sorts of English to the Chapel at Somerset House, which is utterly forbidden, and punishable by the laws of the land.

" I wish and pray to God, with all my heart, the Bishops of England would take this growth of Popery into their consideration, and seek, by all means, to retard that, as well as punish, by suspension and other ways, those called Puritan Ministers. I love neither of their opinions, and so I leave them." *(Strafford's Letters,* vol. ii. p. 57.*)*

No. XXIX.

" *Cum magna malæ superest audacia Causæ,*
" *Creditur a multis fiduciæ.*"

(Juv. Sat. xiii. v. 189.*)*

1637, *April* 28.—The Lord Deputy received a letter from London, containing the following intelligence :—" Much ado we have here, both in town and country, about the increase of Papists, and a general fear conceived of bringing in Popery. The Archbishop of Canterbury lately complained of a Popish School-master, and a Popish Inn-keeper at Winchester, in whose house many gentlemen's sons of the western parts were bred up. He has since complained to the Lords of a Book, written by a Bishop of Geneva, intitled, ' *A Directory to a Pious Life,*' translated into English, and brought it up to Dr. Heywood, once his Chaplain, now the King's, to be licensed; who, after he had corrected it, and purged it of all the Popery that was in it, as praying to Saints and the Virgin Mary, &c. he did license it; yet the party *(semper eadem)* presented it totally as first meant, and the book was on every post, and on every stall, to be sold. The Archbishop having represented this to the House of Lords, obtained an order to call in and burn these books, which was accordingly executed.

" Morse, the Jesuit, who took such pains in the last summer, during the plague, to win dying souls to the Pope, and reconciled many to the Church of Rome, was arraigned at Newgate, and condemned by the Jury, but as yet judgment is not given on him." *(Strafford's Letters,* vol. ii. p. 74.*)*

May 15.—The Lord Deputy wrote a letter to Seignior Con, the Queen's Popish Agent in London, containing the following passage :

" Certainly it is my duty to witness this truth for his Majesty, that since I had the honour to be employed in this

place, he hath not been pleased that the hair of any man's head should be touched for the free exercise of his conscience. And for the administration of civil causes, such of the Romish religion, (and indeed, to say the truth, these are many,) as be sober in conversation, and faithful towards the crown, are, without prejudice, equally taken under the protection of the government, and gather themselves in season, and to all intents and purposes as beneficially of his Majesty's justice as any other subjects whatever.

"Nevertheless, there is a nation of the Irish," (as in 1816,) "the whilst, that wander abroad, most of them criminous; all lewdly affected people, that forth of an unjust, yet habitual hatred to the English government, delight to have it believed, and themselves pitied, as persecuted forth of their country, and ravished of their means, for their religion only; stirring and inciting all they can to Blood and Rebellion, and keeping themselves in countenance, by taking upon themselves, as Grand Seigniors, boasting and entitling themselves," (like their worthy descendants and representatives in 1816,) "to great dignities and territories, whose very names were scarcely heard of by their mean and beggarly parents. These impostors I should not once vouchsafe to mention, knowing full well there is no power left them, save to draw and hasten upon themselves, and as many as can be vitiated by their allurements, a certain and speedy ruin, were it not for their sake among us, who, in repose and thankfulness, bow under the power and goodness of his Majesty, whom these other ruffians prejudice extremely, awakening thus the eye of the State with apprehensions and jealousies, which otherwise might and would possess itself in safety and rest." *(Strafford's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 112.)

July 1.—The Archbishop of Canterbury procured an order to regulate the trade of printing, and prevent all abuses of that excellent art. By this order it was provided, that neither the patience of the State should be exercised, as in former times, (and in Ireland in 1814,) with continued libels, nor the church troubled with the intrusion of heretical doctrines.

July 3.—Mr. Garrard wrote from London to Lord Wentworth, informing him, that a man of the name of Pickering, for saying, "the King was a Papist in his heart, and that all Protestants were Devils," was fined heavily, and lost both his ears; a tremendous example to the demagogues of the Popish Board, and their English colleague, the Rev. Peter Gandolphy, author of the Translation of the Popish Mass, and the Introduction prefixed to it, published in London, by Keating,

Brown, and Keating, 38, Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, in the year 1812, and lately imported into Ireland, by the pious Editor of Ward's Hudibrastic Cantos on England's Reformation.

Mr. Gandolphy, in the Preface to his "Liturgy, or Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of Sacraments, &c. for the use of all Christians in the United Kingdom of England and Ireland," has the following passage:—"The attempt (viz. the Reformation) has not only completely failed, but the half-raised fabric is gradually dissolving into the Anti-Christian principles of Unitarian Deism; the Sacred Scriptures are opposed, the divinity of Christ is openly (by the impugners) disputed or denied," &c. &c.

Mr. Gandolphy and Dr. Dromgoole will, however, please to recollect, in the fervor of their zeal, that the Established Church of this great Protestant Empire is not accountable for any doctrines but her own; that she equally condemns all the erroneous opinions of the various recusants, whether Arian, Socinian, or Popish; and that, in all the distractions of the present times, her principles are rapidly gaining ground all over the British dominions, in Europe and elsewhere. The testimony of ages, notwithstanding the virulence with which the true Protestant faith of this realm is now assailed by the expiring spirit of Popery, will prove to succeeding generations, that the following eulogy on Isaac Causabon, on the Church of England, was just and characteristic:—"Ecclesiam habes in tuis regnis ita institutam, ut ad florentis quondam Ecclesiæ formam nulla hodie propius accedat quam tua: inter vel excessu vel defectu peccantes mediam viam secuta.

"Qua moderatione hoc primum assecuta est Ecclesia Anglicana, ut illi ipsi qui suam felicitatem ei invident sæpe tamen, ex aliarum comparatione illam coguntur laudare. Deinde ut etiam in remotissimis terris positæ Ecclesiæ, communione jungi cum tua vehentissime cupiant." *(Is. Causaubon, Epist. ad R. Jacobum.)*

As to the divisions among Protestants; the points in controversy between the Calvinists and Arminians in the Reformed Churches, have been agitated no less fiercely by the Dominicans on the one side, and the Jesuits on the other, in the Church of Rome: the Calvinists holding with the Dominicans, as the Arminians do with the Jesuits and Franciscans. *(See Dr. Heylin's Life of Archbishop Laud,* Book iv. p. 109.*)*

Aug. 15.—The Lord Deputy wrote from Clonmel to Mr. Secretary Coke, informing him, that he had discovered a nest of Irish traitors in Flanders, who held intelligence and corres-

pondence with their countrymen in Ulster, continually practising and plotting their return in arms.

Aug. 28.—The Archbishop of Canterbury wrote from Croydon to the Lord Deputy. His letter contained the following remarkable passage:

"You observe most rightly, that these men, (Prynne and his fellows,) do but begin with the church, that they might afterwards have free access to the State; and I would to God other men were of your Lordship's opinion; or, if they be so already, I would they had some of your zeal too, for timely prevention. But for that, we are all too secure, and will not believe there is any foul weather, till the storm break upon us." *(Earl Strafford's Correspondence,* vol. ii. p. 101.*)*

Oct. 15.—The Lord Deputy wrote to Mr. Secretary Windebanke, informing him, that one Walsh, the Popish Archbishop of Cashel, was a pensioner of Spain, and as dangerous and ill-affected a person as any in Ireland. "You would little imagine, (said the Lord Deputy,) that the Titular Bishoprick of Cashel should be worth above two thousand pounds a year, yet it is no less;" (and the Pope is the patron of this and all other Romish Bishopricks in Ireland in 1814.) "I think it is fated, that these Bishops of Cashel should not be faithful to the crown; for I remember, in some dispatches I have seen of Mr. Secretary Walsingham's, there is mention of a notable busy and malicious traitor, who was then also Titular Archbishop of Cashel. It is most certain, that the Irish do nothing in the world more publicly and constantly, than incite the Pope and the King of Spain to undertake their quarrel, and divers propositions I understand they have made to that purpose. They likewise hold, by means of the Pope's Clergy, continual intelligence here with these of the meer Irish, and believe themselves to be so strong in men, that they desire nothing of Spain but to furnish them with arms for 12,000 men; all the rest they would be able to do for themselves; their landing place is to be near Colerain or Derry." *(Strafford's Letters,* vol. ii. p. 3.*)*

No. XXX.

"*Quid rabidæ tradis ovile lupæ.*"—(Ovid.)

1637, *Oct.* 23.—Lord Conway wrote to the Lord Deputy, concluding his letter in these words:—"My Lady of Newport hath reconciled herself to the Church of Rome, and is the

convert of Wat Montague and Mr. Con. I shall ever continue in the faith that I now profess, &c.

" Conway and Kilulta."

In a subsequent letter, Lord Conway gave his noble friend the following account of the consequence of this Lady's conversion :—" My Lord of Newport was so fierce in complaining of his wife being made a Papist, that the matter was disputed at the Council Table, where the King did use such words of Wat Montague and Sir Tobia Matthew, (and we have a Montague and a Matthew advocating the cause of Popery in 1814,) that the fright made Wat keep his chamber longer than his sickness would have detained him ; and Don Tobia was in such perplexity, that I find he will make a very ill man to be a martyr, but now the dog doth again wag his tail."

Dec. 1.—Bishop Bedel wrote to the Lord Deputy in favour of Mr. King, the translator of the Bible into the Irish language. King, though an indefatigable friend to the best and truest interest of the Irish people, had been treated with neglect by all but this zealous and intrepid Prelate.

1638.—Archbishop Laud used his utmost exertions in this year to prevent the subversion of the Church of England by the spreading of the Socinian Heresy ; and having some time before taken care to suppress all books inculcating this heresy, he had received a letter of thanks for his exertions, penned by a Jesuit. About this time appeared a short discourse, called, " Disquisitio Brevis," in which some of the Socinian tenets were craftily inserted, as the best expedients to oppose the controversies between the Churches of England and Rome. This book was generally ascribed to Hales, of Eaton, a man of infinite reading, and no less ingenuity, but a bitter enemy of the true Christian Faith, as professed and taught by the Church of England. This man, after several long and able conferences with Archbishop Laud, was thoroughly convinced of his errors, and declared himself a true son of the Church of England, both for doctrine and discipline. He became afterwards Chaplain to the Archbishop, who promoted him to a Prebend in Windsor.

It may not be foreign to the present subject, at a time, when Dr. Dromgoole and Mr. Gandolphy, with infinitely more zeal than knowledge, are charging the Established Church of this great Protestant Empire with being the cause of all the heresies which have existed amongst us since the Reformation, to trace one of these heresies, and the worst and most prevalent of them, to its original source, as well as its revival since

the Reformation, and thus remind these intemperate advocates of the Catholic Apostacy, that they stand upon less tenable ground than they may perhaps at present suppose.

The venerable Martyr, Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, was bred under the immediate superintendance and care of St. John, the beloved disciple of our Lord. In that early age of the Church, many, if not all, of the heresies which have since divided and distracted the professors of the Christian Faith, are known to have originated. In the days of St. John, whose life was providentially extended beyond the usual time allotted to man, Ebion and Cerinthus broached that heresy on which those of the Arians and Socinians are founded; and, among the innumerable blessings which we derive from the Gospel of Truth, few, if any, can be more important to our security, from delusion or misapprehension, than the unanswerable refutation given to these fatal opinions in that inestimable Gospel which this Evangelist added to those of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, that nothing might be wanting to prove the Divinity of our Blessed Redeemer, and his consequent power to make a full and sufficient atonement for the sins of the whole world. Thus early did the grand deceiver of mankind attempt to corrupt the true and saving Christian Faith; and the identity of the tempter is clearly proved, from the similarity of these heresies in all subsequent ages of the Church, and under all the variety of denominations which their professors have assumed.

Against a Sect of this description, the venerable Ignatius, (for the recovery of whose Epistles we are indebted to Archbishop Ussher,) thus warns the Magnesians:

"I guard you beforehand against beasts in human shape, whom you ought not only to receive, but, if it be possible, not so much as to meet with them, only to pray for them, if they may at last repent, which will be difficult." Against the successors and representatives of these unhappy men in our own days, and our own country, it is now become but too necessary to warn the Christian Public. The Socinian heresy, after flourishing and declining on the Continent of Europe, after existing secretly, and almost unnoticed in England, for upwards of a century, was revived there some years ago by Dr. Priestley and some other persons, when it was utterly refuted and exposed by the learned Bishop Horsely, whose controversial works, as well as those of that eminent Divine, Charles Leslie, are worthy of the serious and attentive perusal of every man who values his own hopes of everlasting life,

and would transmit to his posterity the sound and genuine faith, as it was once delivered to the Saints.

The rapid progress of this refuted heresy in Ireland since the Rebellion of 1798, and the zeal with which it is now attempted to be propagated in the Province of Ulster, by emissaries from a Society in London, warrant these animadversions upon it; while, for the benefit of Messrs. Dromgoole and Gandolphy, this number of the Annals of Popery shall conclude with the following extract from the Preface to Mr. Charles Leslie's Dialogues on the Socinian Controversy:—

"The Papists, in defence of their darling doctrine of Transubstantiation, to account for the many palpable contradictions most justly charged upon it, make no scruple to resolve all the difficulty into this, that, that doctrine is a mystery, and, upon that account, unintelligible to our weak understanding; and, to support this argument, they are not afraid to put a senseless invention of their own upon the same level with the doctrine of the ever-blessed Trinity itself, thus blasphemously comparing what is revealed to us in the everlasting Gospel, to a wretched, human fabrication, which is not a mystery, but nonsense and contradiction, unintelligible in itself; and, our not comprehending it, so little chargeable on any defect of our intellectuals, that if we had the understanding of angels, we should be no more able to comprehend it, than to reconcile the grossest contradictions.

"Thus do these men betray the slight regard they have for the most fundamental doctrine of our common Christianity, and expose the most venerable mystery of our holy Religion to the scorn and derision of infidels and hereties."

A cheap edition of Dr. Magee's Vindication of the Atonement would be well received by many of the Dissenters of the Province of Ulster, and prove highly useful to them.

No. XXXI.

"*As long as the Priests of the Church of Rome are so very*
"*busy and active in their work, it can never be an unbecoming*
"*part in the Ministers of the Protestant Church, to shew an*
"*equal zeal and concern for the true Protestant Religion esta-*
"*blished among us.*"

(Dr. Edmund Gibson, Lord Bishop of London, on the Danger and Mischiefs of Popery, Sec. viii.—London, 1706.)

1638, *May* 10.—Mr. Garrard, Master of the Charter-house

in London, wrote to the Lord Deputy, giving him the following account of the progress of Popery in England:

"The Spanish Ambassador, the Conde de Oniate, accompanied by an Irish Gentleman of the Order of Calatrava, in this week came to Denmark House, to do his devotions in the Queen's Chapel there: he went off thence about ten o'clock; a dozen torches carried before him by his servants, and some behind him; he and the Irish Gentleman were in the front, with their beads in their hands, which hung at a cross; some English also were among them; so that with their own company, and many who followed after, they appeared to be a great trooop. They walked from Denmark House down the Strand in great formality, turned into Covent Garden, thence to Seignior Con's house in Long Acre, so to his own house in Queen Street. The next day the report went, that the Spanish Ambassador had gone in procession openly through the streets; but it was no other thing than what I have related to your Lordship; yet the King took it ill at his hands, and expostulated it with him, and gave order for questioning those English who were in his company.—'Tis true, notwithstanding all the care and vigilancy the King and Prelates take for the suppressing of Popery, yet it much increaseth about London, and these pompous shows of the sepulchre, (like the late raree show on the consecration of a Mass-house in Dublin, for tickets of admission to which many Protestants paid five shillings a-piece,) doth contribute much to it, for they grow common; they are not only set up now in the Queen's Chapel, for which there is some reason, but also in the Ambassador's houses, in Con's lodgings, nay, at York's house, and in my Lord of Worcester's house, if they be not lyars who tell it. Our great women fall away every day, (the consequence of the Queen's zeal for Popery.) My Lady Maltravers is declared a Papist, and also my Lady Catharine Howard, but 'tis love hath been the principal agent in her conversion; for, unknown to her father, the Earl of Suffolk, she is, or will be, married to the Lord D'Aubigny, second brother to the Duke of Lenox, who hath but a small fortune, under a thousand a year, most of it in France, where he had been bred a Papist. The Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir William Balfour, beat a Priest lately, for seeking to convert his wife: he had a suspicion that she resorted a little too much to Denmark-house, and staid long abroad, which made him one day send after her. Word being brought him where she was, he goes thither, finds her at her devotions in the Chapel; he beckons her out, she comes, accompanied with a Priest, who somewhat too

saucily reprehended the Lieutenant for disturbing the Lady in her devotions; for which he struck him two or three sound blows with his battoon, and the next day made his complaint to the King." *(Strafford's Letters,* vol. ii. p. 165.*)*

In this year, Archbishop Ussher published a small Treatise in Dublin, concerning the Mystery of the Incarnation of the Son of God, which was chiefly digested out of the Sermons he had before preached on this important subject.

September.—In this month, Bishop Bedel convened a Synod of all the Clergy of the Diocese of Kilmore, wherein he established some canons for the regulation and better government of his See. One of these canons establishes a law of the Twelve Tables among the Romans, which prohibits women from lamentations and outrageous howlings at funerals, a custom still prevailing in Ireland.

" Mulieres Lessum funeris ergo ne habento," say the laws of the Twelve Tables. " Ne in funeribus Mulieres luctum aut ululatum faciant," says the twelfth canon of Bedel's Synod. *(Ware's Bishops,* vol. i. p. 236.*)*

It is a singular fact, that the Romish Clergy of the Province of Ulster have lately endeavoured to introduce a regulation amongst their hearers similar to this of Bishop Bedel s, and have so far prevailed, that, in many places, ancient Latin hymns, sung to the Gregorian music, are substituted for the Irish cry. In some of the mountainous districts, however, the prohibition of the Irish howl, and the drinking of whiskey at funerals, are considered heretical innovations, and both practices most religiously adhered to.

The zeal of Bishop Bedel to convert the Irish natives from the fatal errors of Popery was very extraordinary, and holds out a bright example to the Bishops and Clergy of Ireland at this day, when facilities are possessed by them, which were beyond the reach of this truly apostolical Prelate. His attempts were upon the most knowing of the Priests, thinking that to be the speediest way to make them the instruments of spreading the Reformed Religion among the natives, which they could more effectually do, as they understood the Irish language. He prevailed on several Priests to change, and was so well satisfied with the sincerity of their conversion, that he promoted some of them to benefices; and he took great pains to work in these whom he trusted with the care of souls, a full conviction of the truth of religion, and a deep sense of the importance of it, or, to use the language of our Catechism, a true and lively faith. He was so happy in this, that of all the converts he had raised to benefices, there was

but one that relapsed during the Rebellion. There was a Convent of Friars very near him, on whom he took much pains, with great success; and, among those he converted, there was Friar Dennis O'Sheridan, the father of two Protestant Bishops, and the ancestor of the celebrated schoolmaster of Cavan.

October 10.—The Lord Deputy received the following letter from Henrietta Maria, Queen of England; a record worth preserving, as an evidence of the truth of an observation often made, of the propensity to intrigue, and attachment to the Romish Superstition, which marked the character of this deluded Princess.

" Monsieur Wentworth,

" Je vous ay escrit cy devant pour des recommendations; ou je vous ay recognu sy prompt à m'obliger, que cela m'a fait vous escrire moy même, pour vous en remercier; & aussi pour prier d'une chose, en quoy vous pouves continuer à m' obliger, plus qu'en aucun chose, qui est, que vous voulies souffrir q'une Devotion que la Peuple de ce Pais a toujours eu à une Place a Saint Patrick, ne soit point abolie; ils en useront sy modestement, que vous n'aures point de Raison de vous en repentir; & vous me feres un grand plaisir.

" Je donne charge à Mr. Antrim de Soliciter l'Affaire aupres de vous. C' est pourquoy je finirai, en vous assurant, que vous ne trouvéres point en moy une personne ingrate, mais une qui vous fera paroistre en toutes occasions le desir q'elle a de vous obliger, & qui sera toujours.

" Votre bien bonne Amie,

" Henriette Marie R."

The Lord Deputy managed this delicate business with his usual ability, disappointing, by the following admirable letter, the hopes of Popes Agents, without offending the prejudices of their royal dupe.

" *May it please your Most Excellent Majesty,*

" The gracious lines I received from your Majesty's own hand, concerning Saint Patrick's Purgatory, I shall convey to my posterity, as one of the greatest honours of my past life.

" For the thing itself, it was by act of State decry'd under the Government of the late Lords Justices, before my coming into this Kingdom; and since I read your Majesty's letter, I can, in truth, say, I am glad none of my counsel was in the matter.

" Yet being now absolutely taken away, there will be a greater difficulty to restore it, than would be barely to continue and tolerate such a devotion, prohibited by a smaller power, or discontinued for a shorter time, than this hath been. Besides, the place is in the midst of the Great Scottish Plantations; and I fear, at this time, where some men's zeal hath run them already not only beyond their wits, but almost forth of their allegiance too, it might furnish them with something to say in prejudice and scandal to his Majesty's Government; which, for the present indeed, is by all means to be avoided.

" Yet, considering we often observe, that may be had in due season with ease, which, mistimed, may prove unsafe, and very difficult to obtain; my most humble opinion is, your Majesty might do passing wisely, to let this devotion rest a while, till there may be a fitter opportunity apprehended, by which, to effect your Majesty's satisfaction therein; which gracious temper and forbearance shall also, in my judgment, dispose and bow all nearer your Majesty's desires, than any other way that can for the present be taken.

" And I beseech your Majesty to honour me with this belief, that my duties in fulfilling your commands are so broad awake, that in all, or any, where I may have the happiness and ability to serve to your Majesty's contentment, I shall not need the solicitation of my Lord of Antrim, or any other whatsoever, to incite me thereunto; there being nothing abroad which can put me so fast and diligently on, as my own great cheerfulness at home; which, unminded by any, shall, through all your gracious appointments, express me with all faith and attention,

" Your Majesty's most obedient and most
" Humble Servant,
" WENTWORTH."

Dublin Castle, Oct. 10, 1638.

No. XXXII.

" *Since fell Democracy, of Gallic birth,*
" *Roam'd from her native den, to plague the earth,*
" *The brutal bigotry of Erin's shore*
" *Hail'd, with her savage yell, the kindred roar—*
" *Demands her aid, a fellow fiend to save,*
" *And snatch expiring Popery from the grave.*"
(George Faulkner, Junior.)

1638, *Nov.* 11.—Dr. George Synge was consecrated Bishop

of Cloyne, by Archbishop Ussher, for whom he entertained the strongest sentiments of respect and friendship. While Dr. Synge was Dean of Dromore, one Malone, an Irish Jesuit, of the College of Louvain, published a bold paper, entitled, *A Challenge*, &c. which was learnedly and judiciously answered by Dr. Ussher, Bishop of Meath. About five years after, *(Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 167.) when the College of Louvain had long studied how to answer it, the said Malone did at last publish a tedious Reply, stuffed with scurrilous and virulent expressions against the learned answerer, his relatives and profession, (in the style of the Irish Magazine of 1814,) and full of quotations, either falsely cited out of the Fathers, or else out of divers superstitious authors; as also forged miracles, made use of merely to blind the eyes of ordinary readers. Some learned Divines dissuaded Ussher from rejoining thereto, in regard to the indignity of the railer, and virulence of the work; as also, because it would hinder him in other studies more necessary for the Church, and offered their endeavours to examine the same, which being accepted of by him, Dr. Synge prepared the way, by publishing an accurate piece, written with great spirit and life, as well as learning and judgment, under this title—"A Rejoinder to the Reply published by the Jesuits, under the name of William Malone, Part I. wherein the general answer to the College is cleared from all the Jesuit's cavils!"—*Dublin*, 1632, *quarto*. In this tract, the learned Doctor did so fully and clearly lay open the falsehood and disingenuity of the Jesuit's arguments, and quotations from the ancient records of the Fathers and of the Church, that he left him very little reason to boast of a victory. *(Harris's edition of Ware*, vol. i. p. 579.*)*

Nov. 13.—Sir Edward Stanhope wrote a letter to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, containing the following remarkable passage:—"And truly, (which God forbid) if a time of such calamity should come upon us, it would be like a thief in the night, take us unprovided and dismayed, like a sudden plague or deluge, which would infect and overflow much ground before it could be stayed, and the waters turn home into their own natural channel. Neither do I think the kingdom of Ireland either so fortified by the English plantations, by the peace, plenty, and obligement of the natives, or by the better life the Scots do there enjoy, nor the power that is, or may be, to curb them, will (if these break forth into war) restrain or keep the other quiet; since, when occasion may be laid hold of, I suspect the false hearts of the Irish Natives. I pray God may quit us of these fears, keep us from danger, settle the

hearts of those that waver, confirm the faithful, and confound, if not change, those who pray not for, nor defend the Jerusalem of our God."—*(Strafford's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 240.*)*

The Rebellion, which ensued three years after this letter was written, justified the apprehensions expressed in it, and affords a salutary lesson of the caution necessary to be used in these days, to avert similar consequences from similar causes.

Dec. 1.—Bishop Bedel again wrote to the Lord Deputy in favour of Mr. King, the translator of the Bible, into the Irish Language, who had been extremely ill used. " If these wrongs, my Lord," said this good Bishop, " reached only Mr. King's person, it were of less consideration ; but, through his side, that great work, the Translation of God's Book, so necessary for both his Majesty's kingdoms, is mortally wounded. Pardon me, I beseech your Lordship, if I be sensible of it. I omit to consider what feast our adversaries make of our rewarding him thus for that service, or what this example will avail to the alluring others to conformity." *(Burnet's Life of Bedel*, p. 105.*)*

This number of the Annals of Irish Popery cannot be more properly concluded, than by the following interesting Extract from " A short History of the Attempts that have been made to convert the Popish Natives of Ireland, to the Established Religion," written by Dr. John Richardson, Rector of Belturbet, in the Diocese of Kilmore, published in London, in the year 1713, 2d Edition, page 22 :—" It may be presumed, that according to the good practice of the wise and learned Bishop Bedel, it would contribute somewhat towards reclaiming the natives from their errors, if such as come over to our Church from the Romish communion, were encouraged according to their several circumstances and merits. It is not fit, indeed, that any man should be persuaded to change his Religion for the love of money, or any worldly consideration, because he who doth so is guilty of great hypocrisy and disingenuity before God. But, nevertheless, proselytes should be received with all civility and kindness ; and when there is cause to believe that they are men of honesty and integrity, due care should be taken to make up, in some measure, the loss which they generally suffer, by disobliging their friends and relations, and to make some compensation for that hatred and ill-will which they never fail of receiving from the party which they forsake, and for that doubtfulness and suspicion which too many will be ready to entertain of the truth and sincerity of their conversion, which cannot but create great trouble and uneasiness to any generous and virtuous mind. Besides, if proselytes be not

duly countenanced, this will discourage others, and it will be a great temptation to themselves, to return to their former errors."

These were some of the methods used by this great man, in converting the Irish natives; and the most gracious and merciful God (who never fails to prosper those who observe his own directions) was pleased to bless them with success.

And whereas the Irish are represented by some to be so very savage and untractable, that it is not only needless, but also very dangerous, to labour among them; the success which Bishop Bedel had, doth not only confute this, but the great esteem which they shewed to the best of English Bishops, (as they used to call him in his lifetime,) and the singular marks of honour and affection which they paid him at his funeral, even in the great heat and fury of the Rebellion, do shew, from experience, that the Irish may be drawn by the cords of a man; and that gentle usage, and Christian treatment, provided the truth is honestly and boldly propounded to them, will prevail, when the contrary will not.

It has been the misfortune of Ireland, for more than a century, that the Protestant Clergy of it, have despaired of converting their Roman Catholic Countrymen from the fatal errors of the Popish Religion; whilst the Romish Clergy, encouraged by the liberal spirit of the times, have been permitted to delude and corrupt them without mercy and without controul.

The fortieth Canon of the United Church of England and Ireland, orders, "that every Minister, being a Preacher, having any Popish Recusant or Recusants in his Parish, (and thought fit by the Bishop of the Diocese,) shall labour diligently with them, from time to time, to reclaim them from their errors. Whether this Canon has or has not been enforced and obeyed in Ireland for the last century, will be best ascertained by the progress of Popery amongst us during that time, and the consequent danger which has accrued to the true Religion amongst us.

No. XXXIII.

"*Superstitione qui est imbutus, quietus esse non potest.*"
(Cicero in Sertorio.)

1639, *Jan.* 12.—Thomas, Lord Viscount Wentworth, on being created Earl of Strafford, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, made an eloquent speech to King Charles the First, in the Presence-chamber, in Whitehall. (*Annals of the Reign of King Charles I.* vol. i. p. 312. *London*, 1681.)

In the spring of this year, the Earl having returned to his Government, obtained from the Parliament of Ireland four subsidies—*(Strafford's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 430.*)* together with the following public testimony of his conduct in this country: "For that your Majesty hath placed over us so just, wise, and profitable a Governor as the Right Hon. Thomas, Earl of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of this your said kingdom of Ireland, who, by his great care and travel of body and mind, sincere and upright administration of justice, without partiality, increase of your Majesty's revenues, without the least part or grievance to any of your well-disposed and loving subjects, and our great comfort and security, by the large and ample benefits which we have received, and hope to receive, by your Majesty's commission of grace for remedy of defective titles, procured hither by his Lordship from your sacred Majesty; his Lordship's great care and pains in restoration of the Church; the reinforcing of your army within this kingdom, and ordering the same with singular good discipline; his support of your Majesty's wholesome laws here established; his encouragement of your Judges and other officers, ministers and dispensers of laws, in the due and sincere administration of justice; his necessary and just strictness for the execution thereof; his due punishment of the contemners of the same; and his care to relieve and redress the poor and oppressed. For this your tender care over us, shewed by the Deputy, and supporting so good Governors, &c. we, in free recognition of your great goodness towards us, do, for the abbreviation of some parts of your Majesty's inestimable charges, most humbly and freely offer four entire subsidies, &c. &c."

Notwithstanding these great and acknowledged merits, this great man was not free from the attempts of the beast called Envy, but was most unworthily traduced by several persons, as the Lord Esmond, the ancestor of an unfortunate Irish Roman Catholic, who perished on the scaffold, in 1798, Sir Pierce Crosby and others, who, for raising scandalous rumours to his prejudice, were sentenced to make public acknowledgments, and, together with other persons concerned in the crime, to pay five thousand pounds damages to the object of their calumny. *(Annals of the Reign of King Charles I.* p. 812.*)*

In the mean time, the Lord Lieutenant appointed a Council of War, and gave orders to levy eight thousand foot in Ireland, which, together with two thousand foot, a thousand horse, which was the standing army of this country, and five hundred horse to be joined with them, were to be sent into Scotland,

under his Lordship's command. *(Strafford's Letters,* vol. i. p. 4.*)*

In this year, Archbishop Ussher published his celebrated and long expected work, intitled, "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," in which is inserted an History of Pelagius and his Heresy, which he dedicated to the King. To this Work he added a Chronological Index, in which the events of each century are clearly laid down. This book is so great a treasure of British and Irish Ecclesiastical Antiquities, that all who have since written with any success upon this subject, must own how much they are indebted to his labours. *(Ware's Bishops,* p. 108.*)*

About this time, Bishop Bedel, preparatory to his intended publication of the Holy Scriptures, in the Irish language, caused some of Chrysostom's and Leo's Homilies, which tended to commend the Scriptures in the highest strains of eloquence, to be translated both into the English and Irish, and reprinting his Catechism, added those to it in both languages, and they were well received, even by the Priests and Friars themselves.

No. XXXIV.

"Can we safely rely on the promises of him, whose Religion "allows him to make them, and, at the same time, obliges him to "break them?"

(Addison's Freeholder, No. 14.)

1639.—In this year, Sir James Ware published his Writers of Ireland, in two books. *(Ware's Antiquities,* vol. ii. p. 290.)

May 10.—The Lord Deputy wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, informing him of the result of an interview he had with the Earl of Antrim, which was the discovery of that Nobleman's inability to perform a promise he had made to the King, of raising an army of four thousand men, and maintaining them at his own expence.

The Earl was so little ashamed of his insincerity on this occasion, that he attempted to overawe the Lord Deputy, by boasting of the influence and resources he possessed, as the grandson of the great Tyrone. *(Strafford's Letters,* vol. ii. p. 335.)

The intimate friend and confederate of the Earl of Antrim, was Dr. William Enos, a Secular Priest, Titular Bishop of Ferns, and Apostolic Prothonotary. This bigoted Ecclesiastic took a leading part in the Rebellion that ensued; he joined

with the Pope's Nuncio, was very violent against the peace made with the King, and was afterwards one of the wicked agents employed by the Earl of Antrim, to debauch from their allegiance, the soldiers and inhabitants of Duncannon, Ross, and Waterford, in which he was but too successful.

May 18.—The Earl of Strafford, in a letter to Mr. Secretary Cooke, stated, that the Lord Primate had preached an excellent Sermon on the posture of affairs at that time, the preceding Sunday. His text was taken from Ecclesiastes, c. viii. v. 2. "I counsel thee to keep the King's Commandment, and that in regard of the Oath of God." *(Strafford's Letters,* vol. ii. p. 343.)

June 4.—The Lord Lieutenant wrote to Sir Henry Vane, expressing his disapprobation of accepting the Earl of Antrim's offers of raising an army of Irish, and disfurnishing his Majesty's stores by arming them; stating his apprehension of the dangerous consequences which might happen to arise from such a dangerous proceeding at so doubtful a time. *(Strafford's Letters,* vol. ii. p. 359.)

June 20.—The King wrote a short letter to the Earl of Strafford, concluding in the following remarkable manner:

"There is a Scottish proverb, that bids you put two locks on your door, when you make friends with a foe. So now, upon this pacification, I bid you to have a most careful eye upon the North of Ireland. Not that I think this caution is needful in respect of you, but to let you see I have a care of that kingdom, though I have too much trouble with these.

"So I rest your assured Friend,

"CHARLES, R."

About this time, Archibald Adair was deprived of his Bishoprick of Killala, on suspicion of being too favourable to the Scotch Covenanters. Bishop Bedel thought that this Prelate was wrongfully accused, and made a speech in his defence, which had no effect at that time, but Adair was afterwards made Bishop of Waterford. *(Gesta Hibernorum,* p. 178.)

Oct. 1.—The Parliament of Ireland met, according to prorogation, but with a temper quite different from what they had shewn in the former Session. A high ferment was raised in both Houses against the Earl of Strafford. In all the debates upon this occasion, the learned and indefatigable Sir James Ware, who represented the University of Dublin, in the House of Commons, exerted his utmost zeal and warmth in defence of the Lord Lieutenant, and vigorously opposed the sending a

Committee to England to impeach him there; but all was in vain—a remonstrance was drawn up against the devoted Earl, and a Select Committee of both Houses was sent to England to impeach him. *(Writers of Ireland*, Book i. p. 151.)

1640, *Feb.* 27.—The Irish Parliament assembled on this day, after its recess. A violent party in it, Puritan and Popish, joined in an impeachment against Sir George Radcliffe, Sir Richard Bolton, Lord Chancellor, Dr. John Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, and Sir Gerrard Lowther, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, upon general articles for subverting the laws, and introducing an arbitrary government. It was introduced by a pompous harangue from Captain Audley Mervin; but Sir James Ware opposed these measures with all his might, and, in his vigorous defence of these excellent persons, shewed that he had a quite different opinion of them from what the Popish Party in the House, and some mistaken and deluded Protestants, had. The impeachment, having no just foundation, fell to the ground; and, indeed, it was only designed to hinder the persons impeached from being witnesses on the Earl of Strafford's behalf. *(Harris's Life of Sir James Ware.)*

April 3.—The Lord Lieutenant embarked for England. He was sick of the gout and the dysentery, had a stormy passage over the Channel, and, when he arrived in London, his sickness had increased so much, and brought him to such weakness, that he was not able to sit up out of his bed half an hour in the day.

In the mean time his implacable enemies were using the most artful and indefatigable exertions, to deprive the Government of the able support of this great man, while they were, at the same time, plotting, with their associates in England, that dreadful rebellion which broke out in the ensuing year, and drenched this unhappy land with the blood of its best and most industrious inhabitants.

No. XXXV.

" *Before the days of change, still it is so,*
" *By a divine instinct, men's minds distrust*
" *Ensuing danger; as by proof we see*
" *The waters swell before a boisterous storm.*"
(Shakespeare's Richard III.)

1640, *March* 16.—Mr. Secretary Vane sent the Lords Justices of Ireland the following letter, by his Majesty's command.

" *Right Honourable,*

" His Majesty hath commanded me to acquaint your Lordships with an advice given him from abroad, and confirmed by his Majesty's Ministers in Spain and elsewhere, which, in this distempered time and conjuncture of affairs, deserves to be seriously considered, and an especial care and watchfulness to be had therein ; which is, that of late years, there have been passed from Spain (and the like may well have been from other parts) an unspeakable number of Irish Churchmen for England and Ireland, and some good old soldiers, under pretext of asking leave to raise men for the King of Spain ; whereas, it is observed, among the Irish Friars there (in Spain) a whisper runs, as if they expected a Rebellion in Ireland, and particularly in Connaught : wherefore, his Majesty thought fit to give your Lordships this notice, that in your wisdom you might manage the same, with that dexterity and secresy, as to discover and prevent so pernicious a design, if any such there should be, and to have a watchful eye on the proceedings and actions of those who come thither from abroad, on what pretext soever.

" And so herewith I rest,

" Your Lordship's most humble Servant,

" HENRY VANE."

(*Cox's Hibernia Anglicana*, Part II. p. 67.—London, 1690.)

If the unhappy distractions of the times had permitted this salutary warning to be attended to, the Rebellion which ensued might probably have been prevented. If a late Popish Bishop of Waterford had been arrested on his arrival in this City from Spain, in the year 1795, the succeeding Rebellion might have been delayed, if not prevented; and if three or four of the demagogues in the Popish Association, with a few of the Jesuits* of Dublin, Cork, or Castlebrown, were committed to the Tower of London, the Rebellion which is now *more than meditated* in Ireland, might perhaps be averted.

April 14.—A Convocation of the English Clergy assembled in the Chapel House of Saint Paul's Church, London.

At this Convocation, Canons were brought in against Popery and Socinianism, as well as Brownism, Anabaptism, and Familism.

" At the opening of this Assembly, an appropriate Sermon

* *The Jesuits of Cork are the Editors of a Polemical Magazine, published in that City, under the title of the Cork Repertory ; a publication teeming with slander and abuse of the British Government and Religion.*

was preached by Mr. Turner, one of the Residentiaries of St. Paul's, on Matt. c. x. v. 16; in the conclusion of which he justly observed, that the Bishops held not the reins of Discipline with an even hand, but that some of them were too easy and remiss in the discharge of their important duties." *(Heylin's Life of Laud,* vol. iv. p. 11.)

Nov. 3.—The English Parliament met. It had a sad and melancholy aspect upon the first entrance, which presaged some unusual and unnatural events. The King did not ride with his accustomed equipage, nor in his usual majesty, to Westminster, but went privately in his barge to the Parliament stairs, and after to the Church, as if it had been to a return of a prorogued or adjourned Parliament. He was also disappointed in his intention of having Sir Thomas Gardiner, the Recorder of London, elected Speaker, who, by the artifices of his enemies, was prevented from being returned as a Member of the House of Commons. Sir Thomas was a man of gravity and quickness, that had somewhat of authority and gracefulness in his person and presence, and was in all respects equal to the service. Mr. Lenthall, a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn, was chosen to be Speaker, a man of no ill reputation for his affection to the Government in Church and State, but of a very narrow and timorous nature, and of no experience or conversation in the affairs of the kingdom, beyond what the very drudgery of his profession engaged him in.

There was observed, at this time, a marvellous elated countenance in many of the Members of Parliament: the same men who, six months before, were thought to be of very moderate tempers, and to wish that gentle remedies might be applied, without opening the wound too wide, or exposing it to air, &c. &c. talked now in another dialect, both of things and persons, and said, "that they must now be of another temper than they were in the last Parliament; that they must not only sweep the House clean below, but pull down all the cobwebs which hung in the top and corners, that they might not breed dust, and so make a foul House hereafter; that they had now an opportunity to make their country happy, by removing all grievances, and pulling up the causes by the roots." *(Lord Clarendon's History,* vol. i. p. 96 and 97.)

Nov. 12.—The Lord Deputy Wandesford having notice of the Irish Remonstrance, (for a copy of which see *Rushworth,* p. 11,) and perceiving the fury of the Parliament of Ireland, took occasion to prorogue it on this day; but whatever he could do, was ineffectual to stem the tide which now ran too violent against him; and, therefore, being heart-broken with

his own and the Earl of Strafford's misfortunes, he died suddenly on the 3d day of December. *(Cox's Hibernia Anglicana,* Part ii. p. 65.)

Dec. 30.—Robert Lord Dillon, of Kilkenny West, afterwards Earl of Roscommon, and Sir William Parsons, Knight and Baronet, Master of the Court of Wards, and ancestor of the Earl of Rosse, were sworn into office as Lords Justices of Ireland.

No. XXXVI.

" *The Irish Papists being represented in a General Assembly,* " *chosen by themselves,* (like their Board in 1814,) *did assume,* " *usurp, and exercise the power to levy money,* (as in 1811, 1812, " 1813, and 1814,) *and many other Acts of Sovereign Autho-* " *rity, treating with Foreign Princes and Potentates for their* " *Government and Protection, &c. &c. &c.*" Act of Settlement, p. 2, line 1.—London Edition, 1662.)

1641, *Jan.* 4.—In that fatal spirit of conciliation, which indicates weakness, and invites aggression, King Charles I. directed a letter to his Government in Ireland, with orders (among other marks of condescension) that his subsidies should be reduced to a lesser rate than formerly; that Parliamentary Agents (such as the accusers of the Earl of Strafford, and the plotters of the ensuing Rebellion) should have free recourse into England; and that his subjects should have copies of records, certificates, Orders of Council, public letters, or other entries for the Declaration of their Grievances made. So that Doctor Borlase observes, *(History of the Irish Rebellion,* page 7,) that " if there had not been a general defection long anvilled in the minds of Irish Papists, the event of so horrible and unnatural a Rebellion, as a few months after happened, could not have been the issue of such remarkable condescensions."

The learned Doctor might have added, that these condescensions did but foster and invite Rebellion; they encouraged the fatal prosecution of the princely Governor, who would, if he had been supported as he deserved, have prevented this bloody Rebellion, and perhaps that greater, and, if possible, more atrocious one which succeeded it in England; they dismayed the loyal Protestants of Ireland, and, like similar condescensions in our own times, called forth into action the never-dying spirit of Popish Persecution.

Feb. 9.—In the same spirit of conciliation and conde-

scension, the King, finding the choice of Lord Dillon disliked by the Committee of the Irish Parliament, at their instance cancelled his commission, and, with their approbation, placed the government of this country in the hands of Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase, who, on taking the sword, applied themselves in vain to all manner of gentle lenitives to mollify the sharp humours of the times, not wishing even to go to law with those who were actively employed in preparing to make war on them and the devoted Protestants of Ireland.

The Committee of the Irish Parliament, which went to England privately to impeach the Earl of Strafford, during the administration of Sir Christopher Wandesford, consisted of the following persons:—Lords Gormanstown, Kilmallock, Costello, and Baltinglass, for the Upper House; Sir Nicholas Plunket, Sir Robert Digby, Richard Fitzgerald, and Nicholas Barnwall, for Leinster; Sir Hardress Waller, John Walsh, Sir Donough Mac Carty, for Munster; Robert Lynch, Geoffry Brown, and Thomas Burke, for Connaught; and Sir William Cole and Sir James Montgomery, for Uister. These were the bearers of the Irish Remonstrance; these were the inveterate and treacherous prosecutors of the Earl of Strafford; and we are told, in *Cox's Hibernia Anglicana*, that they were secretly instigated, (like the present Popish agitators in Ireland,) by the discontented part of the Parliament of England.

On the deprivation of Archibald Adair, Dr. John Maxwell was made Bishop of Killala in his place. This Bishop Maxwell was an excellent preacher, and a hearty Royalist; he was soon afterwards wounded, stripped naked, and left among the dead by the Irish Rebels, whose skeins never distinguished between a Prelate and a Fanatic. He was accidentally preserved by the Earl of Thoumond, who happened to pass through this scene of Popish cruelty on his way to Dublin. This Nobleman went afterwards to the King at Oxford, and was the first man who convinced his Majesty of the "innate hatred the Irish Rebels bore to all those of the Protestant religion." *(Cox's Anglicana*, Part ii. p. 60.*)*

Feb. 10.—In grateful acknowledgment of the King's conciliating and condescending letter of the 4th of January in this year, to his Privy Council and Lords Justices Elect in Ireland, his most dutiful Parliament, then sitting, ordered, (for reasons best known to the disaffected party in it,) that "the said letter should be forthwith entered among the ordinances and records of the House of Commons." *(Dr. Borlase's History of the Irish Rebellion*, page 7.*)*

1641, *March* 10.—All things being carefully prepared and

settled by the Committee of Irish conspirators, and their English associates, we are informed by the Earl of Clarendon, *(History of the Rebellion,* B. III. p. 124,*)* that the Earl of Strafford was brought to the Bar in Westminster Hall; the Lords sitting in the middle of the Hall in their robes; and the Commoners, and some strangers of quality, with the Scottish Commissioners, and the Committee for Ireland on either side; there being a close box on either side, in which sat the King and the (Popish) Queen, untaken notice of; his Majesty, out of kindness and curiosity, (perhaps conciliation and condescension,) desiring to hear all that could be alleged, of which (kindness, and curiosity, and conciliation, and condescension,) he afterwards repented, when his having been present at the trial was alleged and urged to him as an argument for the passing of the Bill of Attainder.

After the Earl's charge was read, and an introduction made by Mr. Pym, in which he called him the "wicked Earl," some Member of the House of Commons, being a Lawyer, pressed the evidence, (as is the common practice in Ireland at present,) with great license and sharpness of language; and, when the Earl had made his defence, replied with the same liberty upon whatsoever he said, taking all occasions of bitterly inveighing against his person; which reproachful way of carriage and language towards him was looked upon with so much approbation, that one of the managers (Mr. Palmer) lost all his credit and influence with them, and never recovered it, for using a decency and modesty in his carriage and language towards him, though the weight of his arguments pressed more upon the Earl than all the noise of the rest.

Lord Clarendon tells us, *(History of the Rebellion,* vol. ii. page 355,*)* that Mr. Pym brought an Irishman, of very mean and low condition, to support, as an evidence, one part of the charge against the Earl of Strafford, in which, as he feared that a person of so vile a quality would not be reasonably thought a competent informer, he, Mr. Pym, gave the fellow money to buy a satin suit and cloak, in which equipage he appeared at the trial, and gave his evidence.

No. XXXVII.

"*Falso libertatis vocabulum ostenditur ab iis, qui privatim* "*degeneres, in publicum exitiosi, nihil spei nisi per discordias* "*habeant.*"

(Taciti Ann. lib. xi. sec. 17.)

1641, *April* 21.—A Bill of Attainder against the Earl of

Strafford passed in the English House of Commons, with a majority of 204 against 59, after which it was sent up to the Lords. *(Rapin's History of England,* vol. xi. p. 132.*)*

May 4.—The English House of Lords passed the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford. Of the fourscore Lords who had been constantly present at the trial, but forty-six were present on this occasion. It was pretended, (said Rapin,) that such as absented themselves were terrified by the threats of the populace. The historian might have added, that these Lords had reason to be terrified; for he himself tells us, that several thousands of the inhabitants of London had, but a few days ago, presented to both Houses of Parliament a petition against the devoted Earl, as a sworn enemy to the city; and, on the preceding day, the rabble flocked together at Westminster, to overawe the King and the Parliament.

May 7.—The Earl of Strafford wrote to the King, releasing his Majesty from all his former promises and engagements to save his life. He then prepared himself for death with singular piety, with a severity in judging himself, and a humility and charity towards his enemies, which astonished his friend and constant attendant on this melancholy occasion, Archbishop Ussher, as well as his venerable Chaplain, Dr. Carre. *(Sir George Radcliffe's Essay towards the Life of the Earl of Strafford,* p. 4.*)*

Sunday. 9.—The King, with tears in his eyes, signed the Commission to pass the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford, and, in doing so, signed his own death-warrant.

Wednesday, 12.—The Earl of Strafford was executed on the scaffold; his Chaplain read prayers for him according to the Book of Common Prayer, and repeated the twenty-fifth Psalm in prose. In his last speech he foretold a part of the ensuing troubles, *(Radcliffe,* p. 5,*)* and which were soon after severely felt even by those who then surrounded him, for the purpose of glutting their eyes with a sight of his blood.

In the end of this month, the King declared Robert, Earl of Leicester, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; he being a person of excellent abilities by nature, great acquisitions from his own private industry and public employment abroad, of exceeding great temper and moderation, and never being engaged in any public pressures of the Commonwealth, was thought most likely to prove a just and gentle Governor, most pleasing and acceptable to the people.

The Roman Catholics now privately enjoyed the free exercise of their religion throughout the whole kingdom. They had,

by the over great indulgence of the late Governors, their Titular Archbishops, Bishops, Vicars General, Provincial Consistories, Deans, Abbots, Priors, Nuns, Priests, Jesuits, and Friars; multitudes of the two latter descriptions having a short time before come into Ireland from Spain, Italy, and other foreign parts. *(Sir J. Temple's Irish Rebellion,* p. 14.—*London Edition,* 1646.*)*

These Ecclesiastics came into this unhappy country, bound solemnly to the Pope in an unlimited submission, without profession or bond of allegiance to the King, full fraught with these absurd and pestilent doctrines which would sanctify rebellion and murder, and even change the very nature and essential differences of vice and virtue. With the impious trumpery of schools and councils, they filled the minds of their superstitious votaries, " contrary," says Walsh, the Irish Franciscan, " to the letter, sense, and design of the Gospel, the writings of the Apostles, and the commentaries of their successors, to the belief of the christian church for ten ages, and, moreover, to the clearest dictates of nature." *(Irish Remonstrance and Dedication.)*

Ecclesiastics of such a spirit, who had been witnesses of the grandeur of foreign Prelates, and the reverence paid to all others of their clergy on the continent, were mortified, as they ever must be, at their situation in a country where toleration is the utmost they can expect, and certainly more than can be granted to them with safety to the state.

They were at this time (as at present) unhappily suffered to erect a spiritual jurisdiction in Ireland, *(Carte's Ormonde,)* exercised under the Papal authority; and they used that jurisdiction, and the power it threw into their hands, to inflame the ignorant people, whom they had been permitted to delude, to one great effort, for the extirpation of their English oppressors, and the restoration of their religion to its ancient grandeur.

In this hope, Leland tells us, *(History of Ireland,* vol. iii. p. 95,*)* these men were but too much encouraged by the example of the Scotch, whose determined efforts in the cause of religion seemed to reproach the supineness of their neighbours, and to challenge them to a bold emulation of their conduct. If the Scotch were suffered to establish a new religion--a novelty!—the Irish deemed it more meritorious, and less offensive, to labour for the restoration of an old one. These were the sentiments which the Popish emissaries were now remarkably industrious to propagate, and they were as busy as their successors are at this day in " collecting the

columns of Catholicity, to unfurl the Oriflam and challenge the possession of the ark."

To these great plotters and instruments of the horrid Rebellion which ensued, may be added the Popish Lawyers. Sir John Temple says, *(History of the Irish Rebellion of* 1641, p *76,)* that "they had, in regard of their knowledge of the laws of the land, very great reputation and trust: they began at that time (as now) to stand up, like great Patriots, for the vindication of the liberties of the subject, and redress of their pretended grievances; and having, by their bold appearing therein, made a great party in the House of Commons, some of them did there magisterially obtrude, as undoubted maxims of law, the pernicious speculations of their own brains, which, though (as in our own day) plainly discerned to be full of virulency, and tending to sedition, yet so strangely were many Protestants and well-meaning men blinded with an apprehension of ease and redress, and so stupified with their bold accusations of the government, that most thought not fit, others durst not stand up to contradict their assertions; so that what they spake was received with great acclamation and much applause by most of the Protestant Members of the House, many of whom, under specious pretences of public zeal to the country, they had inveigled into their party."

And now, let any unprejudiced man, who is acquainted with the state of Ireland in 1816, put his hand upon his heart, and say, whether it is, or is not, similar to that in which it is known to have been on the eve of the Rebellion and Massacre of 1641; and whether the utmost vigilance of our government has not become necessary to preserve our connexion with Great Britain, as well as the very existence of the Protestant religion, and the lives of its professors in Ireland.

No. XXXVIII.

"*Toleration ought not to be granted to Popery, as Papists*
"*necessarily form a pernicious foreign faction, bearing allegiance*
"*to the Roman See, not to the National Metropolis.*"
(Milton on True Religion.)

1641, *June* 2.—A Bill was read in the English House of Commons for disarming all the Papists in the Kingdom. The Commons had some time before, received notice, that they were preparing to execute some great design, and that, by the Queen's orders, all Roman Catholics fasted every Saturday for the success of the same. The Nuncio, Rosetti, was still with her

Majesty; but the Commons ordering him to be brought to the Bar of the House to be examined, he absconded and left the kingdom. At the same time, Sir Kenelm Digby and Watt Montague fled into France. *(Rapin's History of England,* vol. xi. p. 74.*)*

July 13.—Archibald Adair was advanced, by the influence of the Puritanical Party, to the See of Waterford; he had been deprived of the Bishoprick of Killala, on the 18th of May, in the preceding year, for having used some seditious expressions.

July 19.—Dr. Griffith Williams was advanced from the Deanery of Bangor to the Bishoprick of Ossory. The Rebellion breaking out in less than a month after his consecration, he took refuge in England. Immediately after his departure, David Roth, Titular Bishop of this See, a learned but bigoted Papist, entered into possession of it, under the authority of (the Catholic Board of the day,) the general assembly of confederated Rebels in Kilkenny, within a stone's throw of the Black Abbey. *(See Ware's Bishops,* vol. i. p. 427.*)*

In the month of August, the Lords Justices, finding the Popish party in both Houses of Parliament to be grown to so great a height as was scarcely compatible with the government of the country, procured an adjournment for three months. In a few days afterwards, the Committee which had been sent to England to impeach the Earl of Strafford, arrived in Dublin, fully instructed by their jesuitical associates in London: they applied themselves, immediately after their return, to the Lords Justices and Council, desiring to have all those Acts and other graces, granted by his Majesty, made known unto the people by Proclamations, to be sent down into several parts of the country; which, while the Lords Justices took into their consideration, and sat daily composing Acts to be passed in the ensuing Session of Parliament, for the benefit of his Majesty and the good of his subjects, these conspirators retired, with seeming content and satisfaction, to their several habitations in the country, to refresh their wearied spirits, and meditate new achievements. *(See Sir John Temple's Irish Rebellion,* p. 15.*)*

In the mean time, as the month of October approached, the Priests, Friars, Jesuits, and all the different fraternities of the Popish Orders, most dexterously and indefatigably applied themselves in all parts of the country, to fix such impressions on the minds of all ranks and descriptions of Papists, as might make them ready to take fire upon the first occasion; a method of proceeding observable in many parts of Ireland at this day, and particularly on a late occasion, within the sacred walls of the ancient and loyal city of Londonderry.

The Popish Ecclesiatics of 1641 did, in their public devotions, during a considerable time before the massacre, recommend, by their prayers, the success of "a great design, much tending to the prosperity of the kingdom, and the advancement of the Catholic cause." And for the facilitating of the work, and stirring up of the people with greater animosity and cruelty to execute their designs on the time prefixed, they loudly, in all places, declaimed against the Protestants, telling the people that they were heretics, and not to be suffered to live any longer amongst them; that it was no more sin to kill an Englishman than a dog, and that it was a most mortal sin to relieve or protect any of them. "Negatur Ecclesiastica Sepultura Hæreticis et eorum fautoribus," says the *Rituale Romanum De Exequiis*, p. 191. "Negatur Misericordia Hæreticis," said these sanguinary zealots, in the true spirit of that religion which is one uniform system of corruption, "the parts of which are connected with each other, and conspire together to deceive, defraud, and domineer over mankind." *(See Temple's Irish Rebellion*, p. 78.*)*

Oct. 5.—This day was appointed by the Rebels of Ulster for the surprising of the city and garrison of Londonderry. *(Lord Maguire's Narrative in Borlase's Appendix*, p. 14.*)*

Oct. 11.—This being St. Canice's day, the Portrive of the Corporation of Irishtown was (according to custom) sworn in before the Bishop of Ossory; but this Bishop was the titular usurper already mentioned, who had possessed himself of the Deanery House.

On the death of this ambitious Ecclesiastic, in the following year, a splendid monument was erected to his memory in the Consistorial Court of Kilkenny, stating, among his other eminent merits, that he had whipped heresy out of that cathedral. It concluded with the following lines, in the spirit and style of Messrs. Dromgoole and Gandolphy:

"Ortus cuncta suos repetunt, matremque requirunt
"Et redit ad nihilum quod fuit ante nihil."

Bishop Parry, who succeeded to the See of Ossory, in 1672, ordered this inscription to be erased, but the greater part of it was legible in 1739, when the arms and images retained the remains of curious gilding and painting.

No. XXXIX.

" *Iram atque animos*
" *A crimine sumunt.*"

1641, *Oct.* 11.—Sir Wm. Cole gave notice to the Lords Justices and Council, that " there was a general resort made to Sir Phelim O'Neal's, in the County of Tyrone; as also to the house of the Lord Maguire, in the County of Fermanagh, and that by several suspected persons, (fit instruments for mischief;) as also that the said Lord Maguire had made many journeys within the pale, and other places, and had spent his time much in writing letters, and sending dispatches abroad."

Upon receipt of this intelligence, the Lords Justices and Council wrote to Sir William Cole, requiring him to be very vigilant and industrious to find out what should be the occasion of those several meetings.

Wednesday, 20.—Owen O'Conally, servant of Sir John Clotworthy, (one of the Earl of Strafford's enemies,) being at Moneymore, in the County of Derry, received a letter from Colonel Hugh Oge Mac Mahon, of Connaught, in the County of Monaghan, requiring his immediate presence at that place. Mac Mahon was grandson of the traitorous Earl of Tyrone. O'Conally obeyed the summons, and arrived at the place appointed that night; but finding the Colonel had set off for Dublin, he followed him, where he was entrusted with the secret intention of the Popish conspirators, to surprize his Majesty's Castle of Dublin, and destroy all the Protestants of Ireland on the Saturday following; the attack to be made at ten o'clock in the morning. *(Sir John Temple*, p. 19.*)*

Thursday, 21.—John Cormack and Flarty Mac Hugh, being sent to Sir William Cole by Bryan Mac Cohanaght Maguire, gave information of the intention of the Irish Papists to seize upon the Castle and city of Dublin, to murder the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland, and the rest of the Protestants, and to seize upon all the castles, forts, sea-ports, and holds, that were in possession of the Protestants of Ireland.

It appears by the examination of John Cormack, (taken upon oath at Westminster. November 18, 1644,) that Sir

William Cole dispatched letters to the Lords Justices and Council with this intelligence, on the day he received it, but they were either intercepted or lost, for they did not arrive at their destination. *(Temple*, p. 17.)

Friday, 22.—About nine o'clock this night, Owen O'Conally presented himself before Sir William Parsons, one of the Lords Justices, and informed him that there was a great conspiracy then on foot, for seizing the Castle of Dublin next day.

O'Conally was so much intoxicated with liquor, that he could not give this information with accuracy and clearness, so that it was not thoroughly credited, till he confirmed it, after having taken a sleep at Sir John Borlase's house in College-green, where the Lords Justices, and a few of the Privy Council, had assembled, on this alarming occasion. O'Conally farther deposed, that great numbers of the Irish Papists would be in town that night, determined on seizing the Castle, and the stores it contained, next morning; before which time, it had been planned, that the Protestants in the country parts of Ireland should be cut off, and that all the efforts of the Government could not save them.

The Lords Justices and Council being struck with a panic, at this unexpected result of the efforts which had been made to "conciliate the affections of the Irish Papists," omitted to send an order to seize the persons of the principal conspirators, Lord Maguire and Hugh Mac Mahon, of whose lodgings O'Conally had informed them, but contented themselves with the half-measure, of setting a watch upon those houses; by which means, and Sir William Parsons's imprudence in giving premature alarm, the report of a discovery went out, so that Moore, Plunket, Birn, and many of the chiefs in this conspiracy, with Paul O'Neil, a Popish Priest, who had been an active instrument in it, made their escape. *(Warner's History of the Rebellion and Civil War in Ireland*, vol. 1. b. 2. p. 55.)

Saturday, 23.—At five o'clock this morning, Lord Maguire and Hugh Mac Mahon were apprehended, by order of the Lords Justices.

Maguire, after having been traced from one house to another, was taken at last by the Sheriffs, on a cock-loft in Cook-street. *(Borlase*, p. 21.) At his lodgings were found some hatchets, with the handles newly cut off, many daggers, and several hammers. *(Warner*, vol. i. p. 56.)

No confession of any importance could be extorted from that infatuated Nobleman at this time; but afterwards, (on

the 26th of March, 1642,) when his examination was taken before Lord Lambert and Sir Robert Meredith, he acknowledged that his brother, Roger Maguire, and some other conspirators, had dispatched one Toole O'Conley, a Popish Priest, to Owen O'Neil, in Flanders, to acquaint him with their design; which said Priest, true to his trust, returned about a month before the time appointed for the execution thereof, and brought the intelligence, that the said Owen O'Neil would join them, in fifteen days after the insurrection, with his best assistance. He also deposed, that the only persons present at Loughross, when the day was fixed for the attack on the Castle of Dublin, were Ever Mac Mahon, Popish Vicar General of the diocese of Clogher, Thomas Mac Kearnan, a Friar of Dundalk, Sir Phelim O'Neal, Roger Moore, and Bryan O'Neal. *(Borlase*, p. 24.)

Mac Mahon and his servant were taken in his own lodgings, (in Oxmantown,) where at first they drew their swords, and made some little resistance, but finding themselves overpowered, they soon submitted, and were brought before the Council. *(Warner's History*, vol. i. p. 56.*)*

While O'Conally was examining, Mac Mahon walking about in Chichester-hall, drew with chalk several postures, some on gibbets, others grovelling on the ground, intimating how his fancy run on what was at that moment acting,—*(Borlase*, p. 21,*)*—and so little did he dread the event, that when he came to be examined, he told the Lords Justices and Council, that "all the forts and strong places in Ireland would be taken that day; that he, with the Lord Maguire, Colonel Birn, Captain Bryan O'Neal, and several other Irish gentlemen, were come up expressly to surprize the Castle of Dublin, and that twenty men out of each County in the kingdom were to be there to join them; that all the Lords and gentlemen in Ireland that were Papists were engaged in this plot; and that what was that day to be done in other parts of the country, was so far advanced by that time, that it was impossible for the wit of man to prevent it. He added, moreover, it was true they had him in their power, but he was sure he should be revenged." *(Warner*, vol. i. p. 57.*)*

No. XL.

" *Quapropter, de summa salute vestra P. C. de vestris conju-*
" *gibus ac liberis, de aris et focis, de fanis ac templis—de*
" *imperio, de libertate deque salute patriæ, decernite, diligenter,*
" *ut instituistis, ac fortiter.*"

(Cicero.)

1641, *Saturday, Oct.* 23.—On this fatal day, the Irish, every where intermingled with the English, needed but a hint from their leaders and Priests to begin hostilities against a people whom they hated on account of their religion, and envied for their riches and prosperity. The houses, cattle, and goods of the unwary English, were first seized. Those who heard of the commotions in their neighbourhood, instead of deserting their habitations, and assembling together for mutual protection, remained at home, in hopes of defending their property, and fell thus separately into the hands of their enemies. After rapacity had fully exerted itself, cruelty, and that the most barbarous that ever in any nation was known or heard of, began its operations. An universal massacre commenced of the English (Protestants) now defenceless, and passively resigned to their inhuman foes; no age, no sex, no condition was spared. The wife weeping for her butchered husband, and embracing her helpless children, was pierced with them, and perished by the same stroke; the old, the young, the vigorous, the infirm, underwent the like fate, and were confounded in one common ruin. In vain did flight save from the first assault; destruction was every where let loose, and met the hunted victims at every turn. In vain was recourse had to relations, to companions, to friends; all connexions were dissolved, and death was dealt by that hand from which protection was implored and expected. Without provocation, without opposition, the astonished English (Protestants,) being in profound peace and full security, were massacred by their nearest neighbours, with whom they had long upheld a continued intercourse of kindness and good offices. But death was the lightest punishment inflicted by those enraged Rebels; all the tortures which wanton cruelty could devise, all the lingering pains of body, the anguish of mind, the agonies of despair, could not satiate revenge, excited without injury, and cruelty derived from no cause.

To enter into the particulars, (as Sir John Temple has done,) would shock the least delicate humanity; such enormities, though attested by undoubted evidence, would appear almost incredible.

The weaker sex themselves, naturally tender and compassionate, here emulated their more robust companions in the practice of every cruelty. Even children, taught by the example, and encouraged by the exhortation of their parents, essayed their feeble blows on the dead carcases, or defenceless children of the English (Protestants) The very avarice of the Irish was not a sufficient restraint to their cruelty; such was their frenzy, that the cattle which they had seized, and by rapine had made their own, yet, because they bore the name of English, were wantonly slaughtered, or, when covered with wounds, turned loose into the woods and deserts.

The stately buildings or commodious habitations of the planters, as if upbraiding the sloth and ignorance of the natives, were consumed with fire, or laid level with the ground; and where the miserable owners shut up their houses, and prepared for defence, perished (as at Scullabogue, an hundred and fifty-seven years afterwards) in the flames, together with their wives and children; a double triumph was afforded to their insulting foes.

If any where a number assembled together, and, assuming courage from despair, were resolved to sweeten death by revenge upon their assassins, &c. &c. they were disarmed by capitulations and promises of safety, confirmed by the most solemn oaths; but no sooner had they surrendered, than the Rebels, (in the immutable spirit of Popery,) with perfidy equal to their cruelty, made them share the fate of their unhappy countrymen.

Others, more ingenious still in their barbarity, tempted their prisoners, by the fond hope of life, to embrue their hands in the blood of their friends, brothers, and parents; and, having thus rendered them accomplices in guilt, gave them that death which they sought to shun, by deserving it.

Amidst all these enormities, the sacred name of religion sounded on every side, not to stop the hands of these murderers, but to enforce their blows, and to steel their hearts against every movement of human or social sympathy. The English (Protestants) as heretics, abhorred of God, and detestable to all holy men, were marked out by the Priests for slaughter; and of all actions, to rid the world of these declared enemies to Catholic faith and piety, was represented as the most meritorious in its nature, which, in that rude

people, sufficiently inclined to atrocious deeds, was farther (as at the present day) stimulated by precept and national prejudices, empoisoned by those aversions, more deadly and incurable, which arose from an enraged superstition. While death finished the sufferings of each victim, the bigoted assassins, with joy and exultation, still echoed in his expiring ears, "that these agonies were but the commencement of torments infinite and eternal."

Such is the description given of this hellish massacre by Hume, in the sixth volume of his History, from page 410 to 436; and he styles it, "an event memorable in the annals of human kind, and worthy to be held in perpetual detestation and abhorrence." That he has not heightened the picture beyond reality, the writings of Temple, of Clarendon, of Rushworth, of Whitlock, cotemporary historians, and volumes of original depositions taken on the occasion, and now extant in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, sufficiently prove. *(Dr. Duigenan's Answer to Mr. Grattan's Address to the Citizens of Dublin on the eve of the Rebellion, in* 1798, *Second Edition, Dublin,* 1798, p. 52, &c.)

This number, and the First Part of the Annals of Irish Popery, cannot conclude with more propriety, than by the following extract from the Act of Parliament for celebrating the 23d day of October annually in Ireland; particularly as it is one of these Acts against which the Socinian Jesuits of Belfast lately proposed to petition the Imperial Parliament.

"Whereas many malignant and rebellious Papists and Jesuits, Friars, Seminary Priests, and other superstitious orders of the Popish pretended Clergy, most disloyally, treacherously, and wickedly conspired to surprize his Majesty's Castle of Dublin, the principal fort of this kingdom of Ireland, the city of Dublin, and all other cities and fortifications of this realm; and that all the Protestants and English throughout the whole kingdom that would join with them should be cut off; and finally, by a general Rebellion, to deprive our late Sovereign Lord, of ever-blessed memory, King Charles the First, of this his ancient and rightful crown and sovereignty of this kingdom, and to possess themselves thereof; all which was, by said conspirators, plotted and intended to be acted on the three-and-twentieth day of October, in the year of our Lord God, one thousand six hundred and forty-one; a conspiracy so generally inhuman, barbarous, and cruel, as the like was never before heard of in any age or kingdom; and if it had taken effect, in that fulness which was intended by the conspirators, it had occasioned the utter ruin

of this whole kingdom, and the government thereof. And, however, it pleased Almighty God, in his unsearchable wisdom and justice, as a just punishment, and deserved correction to his people for their sins, and the sins of this kingdom, to permit them, and afterwards the effecting of a great part of that destruction complotted by those wicked conspirators, whereby many thousand British and Protestants have been massacred; many thousands of others of them have been afflicted and tormented, with the most exquisite torments that malice could suggest; and all men's estates, as well as those whom they barbarously murdered, as all other good subjects, were wasted, ruined, and destroyed; yet, as his Divine Majesty hath in all ages shewn his power and mercy in the miraculous and gracious deliverance of his church, &c. &c. &c. We do humbly and justly acknowledge God's justice in our deserved punishment in those calamities, as well as his mercy in our deliverance, and, therefore, to his most holy name we do ascribe all honour, glory, and praise.—And to the end this unfeigned thankfulnes may never be forgotten, but may be had in perpetual remembrance, that all ages to come may yield praises to his Divine Majesty for the same.—Be it therefore enacted, by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, with the assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the three-and-twentieth day of October shall be kept and observed as an anniversary holiday in this kingdom for ever, &c. &c."

I have now finished the First Part of this Chronicle of Irish Popery; let the facts and authorities adduced in it speak for themselves.—" Magna est veritas, et prævalebit."

JOHN GRAHAM.

Glenone, in the County of Londonderry,
November 5th, 1816.

G. SIDNEY, Printer,
Northumberland-street, Strand.

ANNALS

OF

IRELAND,

ECCLESIASTICAL, CIVIL AND MILITARY,

From the 19*th of March,* 1535,
to the 12*th of July,* 1691.

BY THE

REV. JOHN GRAHAM, M.A.

CURATE OF LIFFORD, IN THE DIOCESE OF DERRY.

"Consilium futuri ex præterito venit."
SENECA, Ep. 38, Sec 13.

London:

PRINTED BY G. SIDNEY, NORTHUMBERLAND STREET, STRAND.

1818.

TO

THE PROTESTANTS

OF

THE UNITED EMPIRE

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

THESE ANNALS

ARE

HUMBLY AND RESPECTFULLY

DEDICATED,

BY THEIR FAITHFUL AND

DEVOTED SERVANT,

JOHN GRAHAM.

Lifford, in the County of Donegal,
November 5th, 1817.

ANNALS OF IRELAND,

ECCLESIASTICAL, CIVIL AND MILITARY.

No. I.

" *Crudelis ubique luctus et pavor*
" *Et plurima mortis imago.*"

VIRGIL.

1641, *Saturday, October* 23.—THE rebellion, which had been for upwards of fourteen years threatened in Ireland, and which had been repressed only by the vigour of the Earl of Strafford's government, broke out at this time with incredible fury. On this fatal day, the Irish, every where intermingled with the English, needed but a hint from their leaders and Priests to begin hostilities against a people whom they hated on account of their religion, and envied for their riches and prosperity. The houses, cattle, and goods of the unwary English were first seized. Those who heard of the commotions in their neighbourhood, instead of deserting their habitations, and assembling together for mutual protection, remained at home, in hopes of defending their property, and fell thus separately into the hands of their enemies. After rapacity had fully exerted itself, cruelty, and that the most barbarous that ever in any nation was known or heard of, began its operations. An universal massacre commenced of the English (Protestants) now defenceless, and passively resigned to their inhuman foes; no age, no sex, no condition, was spared. The wife weeping for her butchered husband, and embracing her helpless children, was pierced with them, and perished by the same stroke; the old, the young, the vigorous, the infirm, underwent the like fate, and were confounded in one common ruin. In vain did flight save from the first assault; destruction was every where let loose and met the hunted victims at every turn. In vain was recourse had to relations, to companions, to friends; all connexions were dissolved, and death was dealt by that hand from which protection was

implored and expected. Without provocation, without opposition, the astonished English (Protestants,) being in profound peace and full security, were massacred by their nearest neighbours, with whom they had long upheld a continued intercourse of kindness and good offices. But death was the lightest punishment inflicted by those enraged Rebels; all the tortures which wanton cruelty could devise, all the lingering pains of body, the anguish of mind, the agonies of despair, could not satiate revenge, excited without injury, and cruelty derived from no cause. To enter into the particulars would shock the least delicate humanity; such enormities, though attested by undoubted evidence, would appear almost incredible.

The weaker sex themselves, naturally tender and compassionate, here emulated their most robust companions in the practice of every cruelty. Even children, taught by the example, and encouraged by the exhortations of their parents, essayed their feeble blows on the dead carcases, or defenceless children of the English (Protestants.) The very avarice of the Irish was not a sufficient restraint to their cruelty; such was their frenzy, that the cattle which they had seized, and by rapine made their own, yet because they bore the name of English, were wantonly slaughtered, or when covered with wounds, turned loose into the woods and deserts.

The stately buildings, or commodious habitations of the planters, as if upbraiding the sloth and ignorance of the natives, were consumed with fire, or laid level with the ground; and where the miserable owners shut up their houses and prepared for defence, perished in the flames, together with their wives and children, a double triumph was afforded to their insulting foes. If any where a number assembled together, and assuming courage from despair, were resolved to sweeten death by revenge upon their assassins, they were disarmed by capitulations and promises of safety, confirmed by the most solemn oaths, then the Rebels, (in the immutable spirit of Popery,) with perfidy equal to their cruelty, made them share the fate of their unhappy countrymen. Others, more ingenious still in their barbarity, tempted their prisoners by the fond hope of life, to embrue their hands in the blood of their friends, brothers, and parents; and having thus rendered them accomplices in guilt, gave them that death which they sought to shun by deserving it.

Amidst all these enormities, the sacred name of religion sounded on every side, not to stop the hands of these murderers, but to enforce their blows, and to steel their hearts against every movement of human or social sympathy. The

English, as heretics abhorred of GOD, and detestable to all holy men, were marked out by the Priests for slaughter; and of all actions, to rid the world of these declared enemies to Catholic faith and piety, was represented as the most meritorious in its nature, which, in that rude people, sufficiently inclined to atrocious deeds, was farther stimulated by precepts and national prejudices, empoisoned by those aversions, more deadly and incurable, which arose from an enraged superstition. While death finished the sufferings of each victim, the bigotted assassins, with joy and exultation, still echoed in his expiring ears, that these agonies were but the commencement of torments infinite and eternal.

Such is the description given of this massacre by Hume, in the sixth volume of his History, from page 410 to 436, and he styles it an event memorable in the annals of human kind, and worthy to be held in perpetual detestation and abhorrence. That he has not heightened the picture beyond reality, the writings of TEMPLE, of CLARENDON, of RUSHWORTH, of WHITLOCK, cotemporary historians, and VOLUMES OF ORIGINAL DEPOSITIONS TAKEN ON THE OCCASION, and now extant in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, sufficiently prove. *(Dr. Duigenan's Answer to Mr. Grattan's Address to the Citizens of Dublin, on the eve of the Rebellion in* 1798. *Second Edition, Dublin,* 1798, *p.* 52, *&c.)*

Sunday, Oct. 24.—Lord Blaney having arrived in Dublin the preceding night, and brought the news that the Rebels of Monaghan had seized upon his castle, and that of Sir Henry Spotswood, in the same county; and Sir Arthur Tyringham sending intelligence of an insurrection, the city was filled with alarm. The Rebels were burning the houses, and plundering the property of the Protestants; all Ulster and at Newry, after plundering the King's stores, had put themselves under the command of Sir Con Mac Gennis, and one Creely, a Popish Priest. *(Dr. Borlase's History of the dismal effects of the Irish Insurrection, London,* 1680.*)*

Almost every hour, some, like Job's messengers, hasted to the state, as preserved only to acquaint the members of the government of the disasters of their relations and the sufferings of persecuted Protestants.

The situation of the government was at this time very critical. No money was in the treasury, and the main part of the inhabitants of the city being justly suspected of disaffection, the whole community being solicited to advance money on this emergent occasion, no greater sum than fifty pounds could be procured for them. Such as had escaped the fury of

the Rebels could contribute but little, many of them were so terrified with what they had seen and suffered, that, like inanimate bodies, they seemed senseless and stupid. *(Ibid.* p. 27.*)*

The terrors of the Protestants were greatly aggravated, by the rumours that were spread of the approach of a multitude of Rebels from the adjacent counties, and that ten thousand of them were assembled in a body upon Tara Hill. Nor were the common people the only persons who were thus terrified, all ranks of men participated in the panic, and many who consulted nothing but their fears, and who preferred their own particular safety before any other consideration, laid aside all thoughts of defence, and were preparing to retire with their effects to England; others who were detained by contrary winds, chose rather to endure all extremities on ship-board, than to hazard themselves on shore. Even some Scotch fishermen, who lay with their vessels within the bay in great number, catching herrings, and who had offered the government to land five hundred men, and to enter into arms for the defence of the city, were no sooner accepted, than they were terrified with a false alarm, and suddenly in the night put out to sea, *(Dr. Ferdinando Warner's History of the Rebellion and Civil War of Ireland, Dublin,* 1768, vol. i. p. 63.*)*

At this awful conjuncture many who recollected Archbishop Usher's conjecture in his sermon, preached before the state shortly after his ordination, in the year 1601, began to think he was a prophet. When this great man was just commencing his career in the church, many of the Irish Papists in and about Dublin, and some other parts of the country, had seemingly submitted to the parish churches, yet there were still very many of them, who kept their distance from the English, and stuck to their old and mischievous principles, and earnestly solicited for a toleration, or at least a connivance, to use their own way of worship, which this learned divine believed to be superstitious and idolatrous. And fearing, lest a connivance might be granted to them, and so a lukewarm indifferency to religion might, *(as it afterwards did in* 1778,*)* seize on the Protestants themselves; this pious young man was deeply touched with a sense of the evil of such an indulgence, and dangerous consequence of allowing liberty to that sort of people to exercise a religion so contrary to the truth; and fearing that the introduction of that religion tended, as it uniformly does, to the disturbance of the government in church and state, he preached a very remarkable sermon in Christ Church Cathedral, before the Lord Deputy and great officers of state, in which he freely gave his opinion in reference to a

toleration of the abominations of Popery. This he did from Ezekiel iv. 6.—"*And thou shalt bear the iniquity of the house of Judah forty days: I have appointed thee a day for each year.*"

He made, then, his conjecture with reference to Ireland. "From this year I reckon FORTY YEARS," and then those whom you now embrace shall be your ruin, and "YOU SHALL BEAR THEIR INIQUITY." This, then uttered by him in his sermon, seemed only to be the present thoughts of a young man, who, though related closely to many Papists, and nephew of the celebrated Jesuit, Stapilhurst, was no friend to Popery; but afterwards, (says Dr. Parr, his chaplain and biographer,) when it came to pass at the expiration of forty years, that is, from 1601 to 1641, when the Irish Rebellion broke out, and the Papists had slain so many thousands of Protestants, and harassed the whole nation by a bloody war, then those who lived to see that day, began to think he was a prophet. *(See Dr. Parr's Life and Correspondence of Archbishop Usher, London,* 1686, p. 9.*)*

A short time before the breaking out of the rebellion, this venerable prelate retired into England. "*Monitu proculdubio divino tempestivus ab Hiberniâ recessit, priusquam funestæ calamitates erupissent & illi Lupi bipedales, belluæque depredatrices, dispersas oves, horribili lanienâ jugulessent.*" *(Armachanus Redivivus,* p. 39.*)*

The Lords Justices having secured the castle by a company of foot, under the command of Sir Francis Willoughby, a privy counsellor, and a known and experienced soldier, appointed Sir Charles Coote, who was also a privy counsellor, Governor of the city of Dublin, wherein, as in other services, he proved afterwards signally eminent and noble. They also sent messengers to the Earl of Ormond, then at his house in Carrick, desiring him to repair to Dublin with his troop, which he did about the beginning of November, contrary to the expectation of many of the Rebels, who had been led to suppose he would join them. *(Borlase,* p. 27.*)*

On this day, Rory Maguire, who had, on the preceding day hanged seventeen Protestants in the church of Clones, seized Mr. Middleton, at Castleskeagh, alias Ballybalfure, in the county of Fermanagh, robbed him of his money, burned the county records in this gentleman's possession, and compelled him to declare himself a Papist, after which he hanged him, and his wife and children, and put one hundred persons in the town to death. *(Ibid,* p. 58, &c.*)*

Monday, Oct. 25.—The Lords Justices and Council dis-

patched letters to the King, then in Scotland, by Sir Henry Spotswood; and to the Earl of Leicester, the Lord Lieutenant, at that time in England, by Owen O'Connolly, announcing the commencement of the rebellion. In the latter Epistle, the Lords Justices and Council stated, that THE REBELLION HAD BEEN KINDLED BY THE POPISH PRIESTS, JESUITS, AND OTHER FRIARS. They expressed their (vain) hope that the old English of the pale, and some other parts, would continue constant to the King in their fidelity, as they did in former rebellions. In these straits, said they, we must, under GOD, depend on aid forth of England, for our present supply, with all speed, especially money, we having none; and arms, which we shall exceedingly want; without which, we are very doubtful what account we shall give to the King of his kingdom. *(The Irish Rebellion, or an History of the beginnings, and first progresse of the generall Rebellion raised within the Kingdom of Ireland, upon the three and twentieth day of October*, 1641: *together with the barbarous cruelties and bloody massacres which ensued thereupon. By Sir John Temple, Knight, Master of the Rolles, and one of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council within the Kingdom of Ireland, London*, 1646, p. 34.)

Wednesday, Oct. 27.—The government sent an express with commissions to the Lords Viscounts of Clandebays and Ards, to Sir William and Sir Robert Stewart, and several other gentlemen of quality in the North, to raise and arm the Scots in Ulster, for the prosecution of the Rebels by fire and sword, at the same time empowering them to receive and protect such of the lower sort of them as would submit to his Majesty's grace and mercy. These dispatches were all sent by sea, as the Rebels had stopped the passes, and hindered all manner of intercourse with the capital. *(Ibid*, p. 36.)

At the same time the Lords of the pale repaired to the Council Board, and there declared, with great protestations, heir loyal affections to his Majesty, together with their readiness to concur in suppressing the rebellion; whether there was any "MENTAL RESERVATION" in these solemn protestations, the sequel will shew.

About this time, commissions were issued to the following Roman Catholic noblemen and gentlemen, the government being willing to continue all proofs imaginable of their confidence in them, viz.

Lord Gormanstown, in the County of Meath.
Lord Mountgarret, in the County of Kilkenny.
Nicholas Barnewall, in Dublin.
Walter Bagenal, in the County of Carlow.

Sir Thomas Nugent, in the County of Meath.
Sir Robert Talbot, in the County of Wicklow.
Sir James Dillon, of Ballymulvy, } in the
and } County of
Sir James Dillon, of the Castle of Ballymahon, } Longford.

And several others, as well in Munster, as in Connaught and Ulster. Actuated by the immutable spirit of Popery, these men betrayed, in a short time, the trust reposed in them, joined the Rebels, and proved more violent against the Protestants than those who first appeared in the rebellion. *(See Borlase,* p. 28.*)*

Thursday, Oct. 28.—The Popish Lords and gentlemen of the English pale having preferred a petition to the Lords Justices and Council, against an expression in the proclamation of this rebellion, stating that "IT WAS THE RESULT OF A CONSPIRACY OF IRISH PAPISTS," without distinction of any, obtained the satisfaction of having another issued this day, declaring that by such words, the government intended only such of the old meer Irish, the province of Ulster, not the old English of the pale, &c.

This was one of the many frauds practised by the Papists, from time to time, on the Protestant government of Ireland, for it soon, as already mentioned, became evident that the Lords and gentlemen of the English pale, who demanded the explanatory proclamation, were as deeply concerned in the rebellion as any other persons in the kingdom.

No. II.

"*Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo.*"
(HOR.)

1641, *October* 28.—A proclamation was issued by the Lords Justices and Council, commanding all persons, not dwellers in the city and suburbs, to depart within an hour after the publication thereof, upon pain of death. This proclamation was found necessary, on account of the great concourse of people from all parts of Ireland to the metropolis. *(Borlase,* p. 28.*)*

On this day, information was given to the government by Dr. Henry Jones, who had been prisoner to the Rebels, at Cavan, that they intended to lay siege to Drogheda; upon which timely notice, the necessary preparations for defence were made, and Sir Henry Tichborn was appointed Governor of the town. *(Ibid,* p. 29.*)*

Oct. 29.—A report prevailed, that the Rebels were sanctioned in their attack upon the Protestants of Ireland by a commission from the King, under the great seal at Edinburgh, on the first of this month.

Oct. 30.—Another proclamation was issued by the government, contradicting the above mentioned report, and stating, that the Lords Justices and Council was vested with full power and authority to prosecute and subdue the Rebels.

Nov. 1.—A proclamation was issued, offering a pardon and protection to such of the Rebels in the Counties of Meath, Westmeath, Loath, and Longford, as had not been guilty of the crime of murder, but this availed but little, for these Rebels were linked and bound together in the indissoluble tie of bigotry and superstition. They proceeded in their bloodthirsty courses, in concert with their confederates in Ulster, stripping, wounding, and turning the Protestants out of their houses; they sent them naked and desolate in miserable weather, to Dublin, where their numbers grew at length so burthensome, that though thousands were shipped away soon after they arrived there, and such as could serve in the army were daily enlisted, yet they brought so great an extremity and want of provisions in the city, that multitudes perished in it for want of the common necessaries of life. *(Borlase,* p. 30.*)*

Many persons of good rank and quality came into Dublin, covered with old rags, and some without any other covering than a little twisted straw to hide their nakedness. Some reverend ministers escaped with their lives, sorely wounded—wives came bitterly lamenting the murder of their husbands—mothers lamenting their children barbarously destroyed before their faces. Some were so over wearied with long travel, that they came creeping on their knees, others frozen up with cold, ready to give up the ghost in the streets. To add to their miseries, they found all manner of relief utterly disproportionable to their wants, the Popish inhabitants refusing to minister the least comfort to them, so that those sad creatures appeared like living ghosts in every street. Many empty houses in the city were, by special direction, taken for them; barns, stables, and out-houses filled with them, yet many lay in the open streets, and there most miserably perished. Those of a better quality, who could not bring themselves to beg, crept into private places, and some of them, who had not friends to relieve them, wasted away silently, and died unnoticed. All the church-yards in the city were of too narrow a compass to contain the dead, so that the government was obliged to procure two large pieces of ground, one on each

side of the river, to be set apart for this purpose. *(Temple,* p. 62.*)*

At this time the venerable Bishop Bedell, after being obliged to draw up a remonstrance for the Rebels of Cavan, was, in a manner, a prisoner in his palace at Kilmore, where a considerable number of Protestants had gathered round him for protection. In this situation he received a message from the Titular Bishop of his diocese, one Swiney, desiring to be admitted into the episcopal house, with strong assurances to Bedell, that he would protect him. This offer was, however, declined, by a letter published in Latin, in Bishop Burnet's interesting History of this primitive prelate, written in a style, as his learned biographer observes, fit for one of the most eloquent of the Roman authors. *(Life of Bedell,* p. 146.*)*

Bishop Bedell's letter to Dr. Swiney, translated by Bishop Burnet:

" Reverend Brother,

" I am sensible of your civility in offering to protect me by your presence in the midst of this tumult, and upon the like occasion I would not be wanting to do the like charitable office to you; but there are many things that hinder me from making use of the favour you now offer me.

" My house is straight, and there is a great number of miserable people of all ranks, ages, and of both sexes, that have fled hither as to a sanctuary: besides that, some of them are sick, among whom my own son is one. But that which is beyond the rest, is the difference of our way of worship. I do not say of our religion, for I have ever thought, and have published it in our writings, that we have one common christian religion. Under our present miseries, we comfort ourselves with the reading of the Holy Scriptures, with daily prayers, which we offer up to God in our vulgar tongue, and with the singing of Psalms; and since we find so little truth among men, we rely on the truth of God, and on his assistance. These things would offend your company, if not yourself; nor could others be hindered, who would pretend that they came to see you, if you were among us; and under that colour those murderers would break in upon us, who, after they have robbed us of all that belongs to us, would, in conclusion, think they did God good service by our slaughter.

" For my own part, I am resolved to trust to the divine protection. To a Christian and a Bishop that is now almost seventy, no death for the cause of Christ, can be bitter. On the contrary, nothing is more desirable; and although I ask

nothing for myself alone, yet, if you will require the people, under an anathema, not to do any other acts of violence to those whom they have so often beaten, spoiled, and stripped, it will be both acceptable to GOD, honourable to yourself, and happy to the people, if they obey you. But if not—consider that GOD WILL REMEMBER ALL THAT IS NOW DONE. To whom, reverend brother, I do heartily commend you.

" Your's, in CHRIST,

" WILL. KILMORE.

" *November 2*, 1641.

" *To my Reverend and loving Brother, D. Swiney.*"

This eloquent epistle was thrown away upon the wretched bigot to whom it was addressed, who, in a short time afterwards, took possession of the cathedral of Kilmore, and after stripping and robbing this truly Christian Bishop, turned him out of his Palace and settled himself in it, where he often wallowed in his own vomit, on that hallowed spot, so lately the solemn scene of piety and virtue. *(Life of Bishop Bedell,* p. 157.*)*

Nov. 3.—According to a vote of the English Parliament, this day the papers of Lord Viscount Dillon, of Costilough, were seized. On his arrival in London, with a remonstrance sent by him from the Rebels of the County of Longford, among whom his relative Sir James Dillon, of Ballymulvy, Member of Parliament for that County, was a secret leader, and held a Colonel's commission. This paper was signed by twenty-six persons of the name of Farrel, the ancient proprietors of that County. An observation made by the late Gerald O'Farrel, Esq. Assistant Barrister for the County of Longford, and Vicar General of the diocese of Meath, an upright and highly respectable descendant and representative of this family, is worth recording in this place. " *The government and legislature,*" (said he,) " *had better beware of attempting to conciliate the Roman Catholics of Ireland by reiterated concessions—for although they should grant all the demands of the laity—shew me the man who can say that their clergy have ever suffered a document to issue from their hands by which the extent of their pretensions and expectations can be ascertained.*"

Upon these pretensions and expectations, Dr. Swiney's conduct to Bishop Bedell, connected with the Ribbonman's oath at the present day, may enable us to form an opinion.

Nov. 4.—The Lords Justices sent a reinforcement to Sir Henry Tichborn, at Drogheda, which happily arrived there next day. This they were enabled to do by three thousand

pounds happening to lie most opportunely in the hands of the Vice Treasurer, which had been intended for the satisfaction of a public engagement in England. Among these troops were two regiments of poor stripped Protestants, one commanded by Lord Lambert, and the other by Sir Charles Coote. *(Borlase,* p. 29.*)*

On this day Sir Phelim O'Neill and Roger M'Guire, gave notice to their confederates, from the Rebel camp at Newry, of their having received a commission from the King, under the great seal of Scotland.

This pretended commission was disclaimed by Lord Maguire afterwards; and it appears that one PLUNKET, a worthy branch of the Cavan family of Popish advocates, having taken an old broad seal from an obsolete patent out of Farnham Abbey, fixed it to this forged commission, to seduce the vulgar into an opinion of the loyalty of those who had excited them to take arms. *(See Borlase,* p. 30.*)*

Nov. 5.—Miseries still increasing, the Lords Justices and Council sent a second dispatch to the King, and at the same time wrote pressing letters for assistance to the Privy Council of England, and the Speakers of both Houses of Parliament.

Nov. 6.—The Rebels of Cavan, commanded by Philip Mac Hugh Mac Shane O'Reilly, Knight of the Shire for that County, preferred a remonstrance to the Lords Justices, which Dr. Jones and Mr. Waldron presented to their Lordships, who, for the purpose of gaining time, returned an answer as moderate and as satisfactory as was consistent with their duty. The Rebels had empowered Dr. Jones, (whose wife and children they kept as hostages,) to assure the government that there should be a cessation of arms, until the return of the answer of the Lords Justices, but according to their well known duplicity, they mustered all their forces in the mean time, summoning all the inhabitants of the County, from sixteen to sixty years of age, to appear at Virginia, a town twelve miles from Cavan, on the Monday after they had sent off their remonstrance to Dublin. *(Borlase,* p. 31.*)*

No. III.

" *There is such a connection between superstition and atheism,* " *and their allies, cruelty and tyranny, that the wisest and most* " *experienced statesmen and moralists have declared it to be* " *indissoluble.*"

(Preface to the Fourth Dialogue of the Pursuits of Literature.)

1641, *Nov.* 11.—The Lords Justices and Council finding great inconvenience from the great concourse of people from all parts of Ireland to the metropolis, issued a proclamation for the discovery and removal of all such persons as came to the city, or continued in it, without just and necessary cause. *(Borlase's Appendix,* p. 24.*)*

About this time the Rebels in the pale, and other places, caused masses to be said openly in the churches, expelled the ministers, and compelled many persons to become Papists; openly professing that NO PROTESTANT SHOULD BE SUFFERED TO LIVE IN IRELAND. An account of this was given in a letter from the Lords Justices to the Lord Lieutenant, which is to be found in Dr. Borlase's Appendix, containing the following complaint:—

" While they thus insult over all the Protestants, destroying them for no other reason but because they are Protestants, we let fall nothing against them touching religion, yet they feign things against us, tending that way, to give some colour to their cruel proceedings.

Nov. 12.—The following order of the Lords and Commons, in the Parliament of England, arrived in Dublin, and was reprinted there to the great encouragement of the government and Protestants of Ireland.

The Lords and Commons in this present Parliament, being advertized of the dangerous conspiracy and rebellion in Ireland, by the treacherous and wicked instigation of Romish Priests and Jesuits, for the bloody massacre and destruction of all Protestants living there, and for the utter depriving of his Royal Majesty and the crown of England of the government of that kingdom, under pretence of setting up the Popish religion, have thereupon taken into consideration how these mischievous attempts might be most speedily and effectually prevented, &c. &c. and have ordered and provided for a present supply of money, and raising of six thousand foot, and two thousand horse, with arms, munition, and store of victuals and other necessaries. *(Temple's Appendix,* p. 10.*)*

Notwithstanding the hopes held out in this order, multitudes of people, about this time, embarked in the bay of Dublin for England. And that which heightened the public calamity was the dreadful severity of the weather, being such a dismal and tempestuous season, as had not been experienced in the memory of man. Yet the terror of the rebels incomparably prevailing beyond the rage of the sea, most of those who could provide themselves with shipping, though at never so excessive rates, quitted the city; and such was the violence of the winds, such continuing impetuous storms, as several barks were cast away. Some, in three months after their going from hence, could gain no port in England, and almost all of them that put to sea were in great danger of perishing. *(Temple*, p. 64 *)*

Nov. 16.—The Irish Parliament met according to adjournment. On this occasion, it became evident that many more were tainted with the infection than appeared in rebellion. With the utmost artifice and cunning, the best varnish was put by the disaffected members on all the actions and cruelties of the rebels, though none of them, like the modern champions of Popery, attempted to justify the horrible massacre which was then going on.

Nov. 21.—On this day the rebels appeared in force before Drogheda. *(Temple's Appendix*, p. 15 *)*

Nov. 23.—Bishop Bedell wrote his last letter of spiritual advice and direction. It was to a Mrs. Dillon, who had been a zealous and devout Protestant; but had been fatally deluded in her widowhood, by a son of the Earl of Rosscommon, and supposing him to have been a Protestant, married him. This gentleman used no violence to his wife or her children by her former husband; but he bred up his children by her in his own superstition, and he was at this time engaged in the rebellion. This lady, therefore, desired that the Bishop, whose neighbour and constant hearer she had been, would send her such instructions, in this sad calamity, as might both direct and support her. Upon which he wrote her a long and valuable letter, containing the following passage, of which, a practical use may be made in these times also.

" Now, because we know not how soon we may be called to sanctify God's name, by making profession of our faith, you may, perhaps, desire to know what to say in that day.

" You may openly profess your not doubting any article of the Catholic faith, shortly laid down in the creed, or more largely laid down in the Holy Scriptures; but that you consent not to certain opinions, which are no points of faith,

which have been brought into common belief without warrant of Scriptures, or pure antiquity, as, namely,—

" That it is of necessity to salvation to be under the Pope :

" That the Scriptures ought not to be read to the common people :

" That the doctrine of Holy Scripture is not sufficient to salvation :

" That the service of GOD ought to be in a language not understood by the people :

" That the communion should not be administered to them in both kinds :

" That the bread in the Lord's Supper is transubtantiated into his body :

" That he is there sacrificed for the quick and the dead :

" That there is any purgatory besides CHRIST'S blood :

" That our good works can merit heaven :

" That the saints hear our prayers and know our hearts :

" That images are to be worshipped :

" That the Pope is infallible and can command angels :

" That we ought to pray to the dead and for the dead."

These were the " NOVELTIES " charged upon Popery, by Bishop Bedell, and it will puzzle Dromgoole and Gandolphy to defend them. *(See Bishop Burnet's Life of Bedell,* p. 154.*)*

Nov. 24.—On this day, thirteen hundred of the rebels attempted to surprize Lord Moore's house at Mellifont; but his Lordship, with twenty-four musqueteers, and fifteen horsemen, defended it while their ammunition lasted. They were, at last, obliged to submit, on promise of quarter to the foot; but the horse charged vigorously through the enemy and got safe into Drogheda. The rebels, with their usual perfidy, did not observe their promise of quarter to the prisoners taken at this place, the siege of which retarded their approach to Drogheda. *(Borlase,* p. 37.*)*

Nov. 25.—The King returned from Scotland. *(Rapin's History of England,* vol. xi. p. 185.*)*

Nov. 27.—The Lords Justices sent six hundred foot, and a troop of horse, to the relief of Drogheda. Such was the negligence of the Captains, and the disorderly conduct of the soldiers, that, notwithstanding they had been three days in readiness to march, they went no farther that night than Swords, a village six miles distant from Dublin. *(Temple's Siege of Tredagh,* p. 15.*)*

Nov. 28.—The government received an account of the approach of Sir Phelim O'Neil, and Sir Con Mac Gennis, to

Lessnegarvy, (now called Lisburn,) with four thousand men, and their attack upon that place in two divisions. The strength of the town did not exceed four hundred foot, with one troop of horse, and part of another; but they repulsed the rebels, killing many of them, without any considerable loss, and taking six pair of colours. *(Borlase*, p. 88.*)*

This defeat provoked Sir Phelim O'Neil and his barbarous followers to a degree of rage truly diabolical. Lord Caulfield, who had been conveyed prisoner to one of the houses of O'Neil, was wantonly and basely murdered: fifty others in the same place fell by the skeins of the Irish. *(Manuscript Depositions, quoted by Dr. Leland, in his History of Ireland*, vol. iii. p. 131.*)*

On this day, Sir Henry Tichborn having notice from the Lords Justices, that the reinforcement sent to him from Dublin, was likely to be attacked in the way by the rebels, marched out of Drogheda with a competent force to meet them; but they stopping that night at Balrudry, eight miles from Drogheda, he missed of them, and returned into the town.

Nov. 29.—The reinforcement for Drogheda being betrayed by Lord Gormanstown's groom, not without his master's privity, were waylaid, and defeated near Julianstown, at Gellingstownbridge, not more than an hundred of the men, beside the Major that led them, and two Captains, escaping into Drogheda. *(Borlase*, p. 38.*)*

The news of this unhappy defeat was brought the very same day, being Monday, the 29th of November, at evening, to the Lords Justices, as they sat in council. It troubled them very much; as it was a matter of great rejoicing among the Popish inhabitants of the city, so it bred a general consternation and sorrow among the English and Protestants. *(Temple's Appendix*, p. 17.*)*

On the same day, Sir Charles Coote was commanded into the County of Wicklow, with such forces as the state could then raise, to relieve the castle of Wicklow, then besieged by the rebels, who, some days before, had, with miserable slaughter and cruelty, surprized his Majesty's forts of Cairisfort, Arkloefort, Chichesterfort, and all the houses of the English in that County; the garrison in Lord Esmonde's house, with the rebels in all the adjacent parts of Wexford, threatening to assault Dublin, approaching within two miles of it in actual hostility. *(Borlase*, p. 38.*)*

And now the Popish Lords and gentlemen of the pale thought it high time to discover themselves. They certainly

had not only long entertained defection in their thoughts; but were the first contrivers and bringers of the northern rebels into this execrable plot; and four days after the defeat of the English soldiers at Julianstown, Lord Gormanstown issued a writ, in consequence of which, the Earl of Fingal, with all the Popish Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale, with a number of others, amounting to at least a thousand persons, entered into a solemn confederacy with the rebels. *(Temple,* p. 21.*)*

No. IV.

" *Inde furor—quod Solos credit habendos,*
" *Esse Deos quos ipse colit.*"
(JUVENAL, SAT. XV.)

1641.—In about a week after the meeting of the Papists of the pale, on the hill of Crofty, another meeting was held on Tara hill, attended by the Earl of Fingal, Lord Gormanstown, and the rest of the Lords and gentry of the pale, together with Sir Thomas Nugent, and one PLUNKET, A POPISH LAWYER, and a multitude of others. The work of this day was to frame an answer to a summons made by the state for calling the Lords of the pale to Dublin; which answer being brought ready drawn by Lord Gormanstown, was perused by PLUNKET, and then signed by the Lords. *(Borlase,* p. 40.*)*

Dec. 2.—Many Popish gentlemen, who, in the several counties of the pale had been made Captains, and received arms from the state at the commencement of the rebellion, joined the rebels now, and brought their companies with them. Nicholas White, son and heir to Sir Nicholas White, of Leixlip, set the example on this day. He carried the matter so handsomely, (so much in the "*semper eadem*" style,) that his company ran away to the rebels, as he pretended, without his consent, or even his knowledge, any longer time before their departure than to give him opportunity to come and acquaint the state therewith, and his own disability to hinder the same. But before it was possible to use any means of prevention, the men were all gone with their arms and ammunition to the rebels. Many other of the Captains desired no such fine cover for their intentions; but delivered themselves and their arms up to be disposed of by the rebel chieftains, without any farther scruple or compliment to the state. Whereupon the Lords Justices finding how notoriously they had been abused by the very great confidence they reposed in the Papists of the pale, who were now turning their own

weapons against them, took such order and with such diligence made stay of several of those arms which had been issued from the castle to these traitors, that, of one thousand seven hundred musquets, &c. which had been distributed among the several counties of the pale, they recovered again into their hands nine hundred and fifty. *(See Temple's Appendix, p. 24.)*

Dec. 3.—The Lords Justices and Council finding their dangers daily to increase through the near approach of the rebels to the city of Dublin, and feeling their own want of strength to repress their bold attempts, or to preserve the poor English round about them out of their bloody hands, resolved now, in these their high extremities, to try the effects of those large protestations and great professions of loyalty the Lords of the pale had lately made to them, and to give them a fair opportunity of rendering a most acceptable service to his Majesty and the state. Letters of summons were accordingly written in the following words, and sent to the Earl of Fingal, Lord Viscount Gormanstown, and the rest of the Lords of the pale.

"After our very hearty commendations to your Lordships, forasmuch as we have present occasion to conferre with you concerning the present estate of the kingdome, and the safety thereof in these times of danger, we pray and require your Lordships to be with us here on the eighth day of this month, at which time others of the peers are also to be here. And this being to no other end, we bid your Lordships very heartily farewell. From his Majesty's castle of Dublin, the 3rd of December, 1641.

"Your very loving friends,

"William Parsons,
"John Borlase,
"Ormonde Ossory,
"Ant. Medensis,
"Ad. Loftus,
"R. Dillon,
"Geo. Shirley,
"J. Temple,
"Robert Meredith."

To our very good Lords, George, Earl of Kildare, the Earl of Ormonde, Earl of Antrim, Earl of Fingal, Viscount Gormanstown, Viscount Netterville, Lords Trimblestown, Dunsany, Slane, Howth, Louth, and Lambert. *(Temple's Appendix, p. 23; Borlase, p. 41.)*

Dec. 8.—On this day the remonstrance of the County of Longford, full of pretended grievances, gave rise to a solemn debate by the Lords and Commons in the parliament of England, the issue of which was a vote—that "*they would never give consent to any toleration of the Popish religion in Ireland, or in any other part of his Majesty's dominions.*" This vote was afterwards alleged as a chief cause of the rebellion, and a sufficient excuse for the Irish Papists intriguing with foreign powers for assistance; but it plainly appears, that these intrigues had been conducted for many years, and the rebellion and massacre in Ireland, far advanced in their progress before the English parliament came to this determination. *(See Borlase*, p. 34.*)*

This day being appointed for the meeting of the Lords of the Pale at the council board, in the Castle of Dublin, the Earl of Kildare, with the Lords Fitzwilliam and Howth attended, and no more of the twelve to whom the letters had been written, the administration thought fit to put off the conference. *(Warner's History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in Ireland*, vol. i. p. 148.*)*

Dec. 9.—The Lords Justices and Council being informed, that Lord Netterville's second son had convened a tumultuous meeting of several gentlemen and others, at Swords, where they encamped in arms, issued a proclamation, requiring them, whatever their intent might be, (which it was conceived might have been mistaken,) to separate immediately, and that Netterville, Blakeney, King, and six others of the principal persons so assembled, should appear at the council the next morning, to shew cause for their assembling there. *(Ibid*, p. 149.*)*

No. V.

"*They who were perpetually clamorous that the severity of* "*the laws should slacken as to their particular, were the most* "*imperious among men, most decretory in their sentences, and* "*most impatient of any disagreeing from them, though in the* "*least minute and particular.*"

(King Charles I. Eikone Basilike, sec. 17.)

Dec. 9.—Instead of obeying the proclamation of the Lords Justices and Council, the insurgents at Swords detained the messenger who carried it to them in custody a day and a night, threatening to hang him. At last they returned the following answer—"that they were so terrified by the rising out of some

horse and foot in Dublin, who had killed four Catholics, for no other reason but because they bore that name, that they did not chuse to stay in their houses; and, therefore, they resolved to continue together, till they had an assurance from the Council of their safety, and might run no hazard by their obedience." *(Warner*, vol. i. p. 149.*)*

On this day Mr. Purcel, of Tipperary, commonly called the Baron of Loghmo, excited the Papists to disarm and rob the Protestant gentlemen of that County.

At the same time the rebellion appeared in the Counties of Wexford, Kilkenny, Carlow, Westmeath, Roscommon; and in Galway, they surprized several castles belonging to the Earl of Clanrickard. This gallant nobleman, in the general defection of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, continued faithful to his allegiance, and eminently serviceable to the state, and the Lords Justices were justly blamed for not reposing more confidence in him than they did, though they had no small grounds to justify their suspicions in the treacherous conduct of the Popish Lords and gentlemen of the pale. The Earl of Clanrickard was a Peer of England as well as Ireland, *(See Warner*, vol. i. p. 128,*)* and by a particular commission, Governor of the County and town of Galway. By an hereditary inclination, as well as by his own principles, he was strongly attached to the crown, and having received particular obligations from the King, he remembered them with a gratitude which is not common in any age, and then was very extraordinary.

Dec. 10.—The Earl of Castlehaven presented himself at the Council Board, and produced the copy of an oath tendered to him by the rebels, which he refused to swear. The Lords Justices and Council sent this document to England, inclosed in a letter to the Lord Lieutenant, stating that the rebels had sent it into all parts of Ireland to be tendered to the people, pressing them to take the Sacrament at the same time with it. *(Temple's Appendix*, p. 49.*)*

Dec. 13.—On receiving the answer of the insurgents at Swords, the Lords Justices and Council published a manifesto, declaring "that one of the four whom the soldiers killed in Santry, was a Protestant, and that they had been all guilty of rebellious acts, and, therefore, commanding Netterville and his followers to separate immediately, and appear at the castle in five days after to give an account of their conduct, giving them the word of the state, that they might all securely and safely repair thither, without danger of any trouble whatsoever." So far from obeying this proclamation, Netterville's

party seized a vessel which lay at Clontarf, within three miles of Dublin, and plundering it of all its cargo, lodged their booty in the house of King, one of their leaders at Swords. *(Borlase.* p. 41.*)*

Dec. 14.—A warrant was directed to the Earl of Ormonde by the government of Ireland, authorising him to suppress the rebels of the pale, particularly those who had assembled at Clontarf, Roheny, and Kilbarrack. *(Temple's Appendix,* p. 28.*)*

Dec. 15.—In obedience to this order, the Earl of Ormonde sent Sir Charles Coote privately with some forces to Clontarf, where he burned part of the town, and among other houses, a part of that of Mr. King, in whose house the plunder of the vessel seized by the insurgents had been lodged. *(Ibid,* p. 29.*)*

In revenge for this, the rebels sent two parties into the immediate neighbourhood of Dublin, viz. one to Santry, and another to Finglas, where they displayed their banners within two miles of the seat of government, and plundered the Protestants. Sir Charles Coote attacked them in both places with a thousand men, who put them to flight, and burned the parts of these two towns in which the rebels had been quartered.

Geoghegan, a Popish historian, assigns the attack upon the rebels at Santry, as a cause of the massacre of the Protestants of Ulster, which had commenced nearly two months before, and the greater part of it executed before this time. With the usual falsehood and effrontery of such writers, Geoghegan says, that "eighty Catholics were massacred at Santry and Clontarf, in the beginning of the month of November, 1641; that there were six times more Catholics than Protestants massacred; and that the crime of the Irish was to have followed the barbarous example of their English neighbours. *(See Warner's History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars of Ireland,* vol. i. p. 150.*)*

About this time the rebels declared Lord Viscount Gormanstown, General of the forces to be raised in the pale, Hugh Birne, Lieutenant-General, and the Earl of Fingal, General of the horse. They then gave power to these Generals to nominate Captains in each Barony in the pale, and to raise eight soldiers in each ploughland, (a ploughland containing, according to the ancient estimation, 120 acres,) and every ploughland was required to maintain the soldiers raised in it. *(Temple, Appendix,* p. 30.*)*

The city of Dublin began about this time to be very closely pressed, and looked with great anxiety for succour from

England; whilst to strengthen their party as much as possible, the Lords of the pale sent manifestoes and declarations into Munster and Connaught, and all the rich trading towns and sea ports in Ireland. *(Warner*, vol. i. p. 154.*)*

The whole Province of Munster broke into rebellion in the middle of December, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Lord President. On his retiring into Cork, for want of forces to support him, the rebels collected in great numbers at several of the towns and strong holds in Munster, and though they did not, in that barbarous manner as they in Ulster, hew down, cut in pieces, hang, drown, or presently murder all the English (Protestants) among them, yet many horrid murders they committed, used several kinds of cruelty to many particular persons, and for all the rest that fell into their hands, they robbed and violently deprived them of all their goods and cattle, stripped them of all their clothes, and leaving them quite naked, suffered most of them, in that lamentable state, to pass to Cork, Youghal, Kinsale, and other ports, there to embark their miserable carcases for England in the depth of winter. *(Temple*, p. 36.*)*

Dec. 18.—Bishop Bedell, with his two sons, and his son-in-law, Mr. Clogy, were seized in the Palace at Kilmore by the rebels, and conducted prisoners to the Castle of Cloughoughter, the only place of strength in the County of Cavan. It is a small tower in the midst of a lake, about a musket-shot from the shore; and although there had been a little island about it anciently, yet the water had so gained upon it, that there was not above a foot of ground uncovered by water, except that on which the tower stood.

The rebels did not suffer their prisoners to carry any thing with them, for the Titular Bishop, Swiney, took possession of all that belonged to the Bishop, along with his palace. *(Burnet's Life of Bedell*, p. 157.*)*

Dec. 19.—Swiney, the Popish Bishop of Kilmore, celebrated mass in the cathedral of that diocese; and on the same day, Bishop Bedell preached to his afflicted friends in the Castle of Cloughoughter, on the epistle of the day, which set before them the pattern of the sufferings of Christ.

During all their religious exercises in this dismal prison, their keepers gave them no disturbance, seeming, (as Bishop Burnet observes,) to have their natures so much changed, that it looked like a second stopping the mouths of lions. They often told the Bishop, that they had no personal quarrel to him, and no other cause to be severe to him, but because he was an Englishman. *(Ibid*, p. 159.*)*

On this day Sir Phelim O'Neil declared to Doctor Robert Maxwell, Rector of Tynan, in the County of Armagh, that if the Popish Lords and gentlemen of the other Provinces, then not in arms, would not rise, but leave him in the lurch for all, he would produce his warrant, signed with their hands, and written in their own blood, that should bring them to the gallows; and that they sate every day at Council Board, and whispered in the Lords Justices ear, men who were as deep in that business as himself. *(Dr. Maxwell's Examination,* p. 3.*)*

Dec. 20.—On this day the rebels drowned one hundred and eighty Protestants, men, women, and children, at the bridge of Portadown. *(Temple,* p. 134.*)*

This night, the rebels who were besieging Drogheda, being encouraged by the Popish inhabitants, attempted to take the town about midnight. They approached the walls with a terrible shout, which the Governor answered from the Mount with his cannon, continuiug the same for two hours, the townsmen in the interim being commanded to keep within doors. *(Borlase,* p. 63.*)*

Dec. 21.—Early this morning, the rebels who had attacked Drogheda in the preceding night, were repulsed with considerable slaughter. This danger was no sooner over, than new conspiracies were hatched in the town, and a clandestine oath taken by certain of the conspirators to seize the soldiers in their sleep, and kill them in their beds. This discovery was made by a Popish Priest, at a time when the garrison was beginning to be much distressed by want of provisions. *(See Borlase,* p. 63.*)*

This miscarriage of the rebels in their grand attack upon Drogheda, has been attributed by Carte and others to Thomas Dease, Popish Bishop of Meath, who had prevented a thousand men of Westmeath from joining them the day before, by whose aid they would probably have carried the town.

For this crime Dease was severely censured by the Synods of Kells and Waterford. He had laboured earnestly, says Carte, to keep the nobility and gentry of his diocese from embarking in the war, which he maintained to be groundless and unjust. *Columbanus ad Hibernos,* No. 11, p. 154, says, that Dease "did not deem the war unjust," as appeared from his subsequent connection with the confederates, but he deemed it *precipitate* on the part of the Irish, who, at that time, had neither artillery nor ammunition, nor the sinews of war.

Dec. 22.—The rebels approaching to Finglass, within two

miles of Dublin, were defeated by Colonel Crafford, after a very doubtful engagement. *(Borlase*, p. 43.*)*

Dec. 23.—A commission was issued to Dr. Henry Jones, Dean of Kilmore, and certain of the clergy, to take upon oath the examination of such sufferers in this rebellion, as should think fit to repair to them for that purpose. *(Temple's Appendix*, p. 12.*)*

Dec. 25.—Bishop Bedell preached to his fellow-prisoners in the Castle of Cloughoughter, on Galatians iv. 4, 5, and administered the Sacrament to them, their keepers having been so charitable as to furnish them with bread and wine.

Dec. 26.—Mr. William Bedell, the Bishop's eldest son, preached to his venerable father, and his friends in prison with him, on St. Stephen's last words, which afforded proper matter for their meditations, who were every day in expectation when they should be put to give such a testimony of their faith as that first martyr had done. *(Bedell's Life*, p. 159.*)*

No. VI.

" All combinations and associations, under whatever plausible " character, with the real design to direct, controul, counteract, " or overawe the regular deliberation and action of the consti- " tuted authorities, are destructive of the fundamental principles " of government."

(Washington's Farewell Address.)

1641, *Dec.* 26.—William Chappel, Bishop of Cork and Ross, fled into England to avoid the fury of the rebellion at this time raging in the Province of Munster. In his journey from Milford to London, he was seized at Tenby for not having a pass, and detained seven weeks in prison. His choice collection of books was put on shipboard at Cork, but were all lost at Minehead, in the passage. This prelate was a close and subtle disputant. The following anecdote of his prowess in this way is preserved by Dr. Borlase. *(Reduct.* p. 157.*)* " At a commencement, at Cambridge, in the presence of King James the First, he so warmly opposed his respondent, Doctor Roberts, that unable to solve his arguments, he fell into a swoon in the pulpit: whereupon the King undertook to maintain the thesis, against whom Mr. Chappel so well prosecuted his argument, that the King openly gave thanks to God, that the opponent was his subject, and not the subject of any other prince." Alluding to this circumstance, the Titular Dean of Cork, long afterwards, refused to enter

into a disputation with him, although pressed to it by the Lord President, alleging that it had been a custom with him to kill his respondent.

On the 11th of June, in this year, Bishop Chappel was impeached by the Commons for misconduct in his office as Provost of the College of Dublin, from which he had been promoted to the Sees of Cork and Ross. Mr. Robert Bysse, a noted lawyer, made a severe speech against him. Walter Harris, in his addenda to Sir James Ware's History of the Bishops of Ireland, observes, that the true cause of this parliamentary prosecution of the Bishop of Cork, was the vigour and activity he shewed in enforcing uniformity and strict discipline in the College, in opposition to the schism and fanaticism of the times, from whence he fell under the imputation of Arminianism. *(See Ware's Bishops,* p. 567, *and the Life of Bishop Chappel, written by himself, in Latin Verse, Hearn's Tracts,* vol. v. p. 264.*)*

Dec. 28.—The Lords Justices and Council published a proclamation, " Requiring all persons, other than such as had necessary causes to Dublin, such as the Lords Justices, the Lieutenant-General of the army, or the Governor of his Majesty's forces in the city of Dublin, should approve, or other than such as should bring provision to the city to be sold, should forbear coming to the city or suburbs, upon pain of death." This proclamation was now become necessary from the scarcity of provisions, and the resort of spies and traitors to the city.

A regulation was also made at the same time, that all corn masters, within fifteen miles of Dublin, should be careful to send their corn to the city, to be sold at the rates following, viz. wheat, pease, and beans, at twenty shillings a Dublin peck; and oats at six shillings and eight-pence a barrel.

The market was somewhat relieved by this measure, as the holders of provisions sent it in, on the foregoing terms, rather than have it seized by the rebels, under Lord Gormanstown's warrant, for the use of the Popish army besieging Drogheda, or burned by the King's soldiers to prevent its falling into other hands.

About this time Sir Thomas Carey, and a Popish Priest of the name of Cale, a Doctor of Sorbonne, offered some propositions from the rebels to the Council Board for a treaty. These propositions were four in number, but were afterwards increased to eighteen, paralleled in vanity and insolence only by the pretensions of the Popish Board and the demagogues of Ireland at the present day.

It may not be amiss, at this time, to transcribe the sixth, seventh, and eleventh of these propositions, held forth by the Popish rebels of 1641, and their representatives and advocates in 1814, as the *means to reduce Ireland unto peace and order.*

" VI.—That it may be enacted by parliament, that the act of the 2d of Queen Elizabeth in Ireland, and all other acts made against Catholics, or the Catholic religion, since the 20th of Henry VIII. may be repealed.

" VII.—That the *Bishoprics*, *Deaneries*, and *all other spiritual promotions* in this kingdom, and all *Frieries* and *Nunneries* may be restored to the Catholic owners, and likewise *all impropriations of tythes*, and that the sites, ambits, and precincts of all religious houses of the *Monks* may be restored to them; but as to the rest of their temporal possessions, it is not designed to take them from the present proprietors, till GOD shall otherwise incline their own hearts.

" XI.—That all plantations made since 1610 may be avoided (rendered void) by parliament, if the parliament shall hold it just, and their possessions restored to them or their heirs, from whom the same were taken; they, nevertheless, answering to the crown the rents and services proportionable, reserved upon the undertakers."

Propositions, says Borlase, (p. 47,) so destructive to the crown of England, the English interest, and *Protestant religion*, that I conceive none are so hardy as to maintain their rationality, as long as the crown of England is able to improve the power of their conquest.

More I might add, (and the demand of *simple repeal in* 1814, implies them all;) but each proposition carrieth in itself its *insolence and vanity*, which, by the rebels' success on the British, through their treacheries and surprisals, they were encouraged to propose with such audacity. *(Dismal Effects of the Irish Insurrection*, p. 44, &c.

The state, however, to gain time, till supplies might come, listened to an offer made by some Popish Priests, to treat with the rebels, whereupon Dr. Cale, pretending how far he could prevail with them, was admitted thereunto by a warrant from the state, in confidence that he could obtain better terms than the former. But Sir Phelim O'Neal would yield to no treaty, unless the Lord Maguire, Mac Mahon, and the rest of the prisoners in the Castle might be freed, which the state refusing with indignation, that design ended. *(Ibid*, p. 48.*)*

About this time, two barbarous murders were committed in the County of Dublin, one of them in the immediate neighbourhood of the city. The wife of the Rev. James Smith was

carried by the rebels from Deans-grange to Stillorgan, and there hanged with her servant; and the Rev. Mr. Pardoe was murdered at Balruddery, where his body was thrown upon a dunghill, and his head eaten by swine. *(Depositions of the Rev. Thomas Clehero, of Dublin,* p. 2, *and of the Rev. Joseph Smithson,* p. 1, *preserved in Trinity College, Dublin.)*

Dec. 31.—Sir Simon Harcourt, a gallant old officer of great experience in the wars of Flanders, landed in Dublin with his regiment of twelve hundred foot, and with the news of three hundred unarmed men more that were almost within the harbour. He was appointed by the parliament Governor of the city, and his arrival caused a general joy among the well affected. But his reinforcement, though it revived the drooping spirits of the Government and Protestants of Ireland, and enabled them to send out some parties to clear the country within a few miles of Dublin, was far from sufficient to reduce the rebels, *(Warner,* vol. i. p. 160,*)* who had by this time so ordered their affairs, that by their sudden surprises, their sharp and bloody executions, their barbarous stripping and despoiling of all sorts that fell into their hands, they had cleared the inland Counties of all the British (Protestant) inhabitants. Upon this success, they became so confident of prevailing, even to the total *extirpation* of all the British and Protestants, that they proceeded to set down a certain form of government, nominated the persons whom they intended to entrust with the management of their affairs, determined on *what laws they would have revoked,* what statutes newly enacted. In the mean time, like their representatives in our own days, to embarrass and intimidate the constituted authorities of the country, they erected a *Convention* or *Board,* which they styled the *Supreme Council,* investing it with absolute power and authority to *order and govern the whole kingdom.*

This Assembly consisted of certain *noblemen, gentlemen, three or four lawyers, and one physician,* who being elected unto this charge, had the place of their residence appointed in the city of *Kilkenny,* where they sate ordinarily for the dispatch of all the great and weighty affairs of their state. They erected several Courts of Judicature, they *made a new Broad Seal,* appointed several great officers of state, coined money, settled an excise, (like the tenpenny poll-tax in 1813.) and performed *many other acts of regal power. (See Temple,* Part II. p. 54.*)*

No. VII.

"*Tantum* RELIGIO *potuit suadere malorum ?*"

1642, *January* 1.—The King issued a proclamation against the Irish rebels, given under his signet at the Palace of Westminster. This proclamation coming out so late, and only forty copies of it being published, was afterwards interpreted by the English parliament as an encouragement to the rebels. *(Borlase*, p. 54.*)*

On this day the rebels entered the archiepiscopal city of Cashel, took possession of it, killing fifteen men and women, all Protestants. They seized the Rev. Edward Banks, with some other clergymen of this neighbourhood, and put them into close confinement in a dismal dungeon, where they were confined for twelve weeks. *(Mr. Bank's Examination, Temple*, p. 94.*)*

Jan. 3.—The King orders five members of the House of Commons to be accused of High Treason. One of the articles of impeachment was, that they had traiterously endeavoured, by foul aspersions upon his Majesty and his government, to alienate the affections of the people, and to make his Majesty odious to them. *(Rushworth*, vol. iv. p. 473, *and Nalson*, vol. ii. p. 811.*)*

One of these aspersions, which was most industriously propagated, was, that the King had a hand in the Irish rebellion. *Rapin*, (vol. xi. p. 271,) observes, that there was but too much reason to believe this accusation was not unfounded, considering in what juncture of time it broke out, and the rebels' declaration that they had the King's and Queen's authority for what they did; but the confession of Lord Maguire at his execution, as well as the discovery of the manner in which Plunket, the Popish Lawyer, fabricated the forged commission, may serve to refute this opinion—whilst a full share of the guilt of the rebellion and massacre devolves upon the Queen, Rosetti, the Pope's Nuncio, some of the ministers of the neighbouring powers, and the swarm of Popish Ecclesiastics who had lately hurried into England and Ireland from various parts of the continent.

In the declaration of both Houses of Parliament, presented to the King at Newmarket, on the 9th of March in this year, the third article stated, that the Irish rebellion had been framed and contrived in England; that the Queen had formed a design

against the Protestant religion, for the success of which Count Rosetti had enjoined fasting and praying to be observed every week by the English Papists—which was proved by one of his letters to a Popish Priest in Lancashire.

The Irish, after massacreing without resistance, between sixty and eighty Englishmen in their quarters at Portna, on the Banside, in the County of Antrim, collected this day on each side of that river, and proceeded with fire and sword from Portna to Ballentoy. This is testified by an evidence of their own party, Gilduffe O'Cahan, of Dunoeverick, father of one of their leaders. *(See Depositions in Trinity College, Dublin, County of Antrim,* p. 4233.*)*

This, with the massacre of Lord Grandison's troop of horse at Tanderagee, a short time before, has been assigned as a cause of the shameful act perpetrated by the Scots in Island Magee, five days afterwards.

Jan. 4.—The Rev. Edward Slacke, of Gusteen, in the County of Fermanagh, deposed, that the rebels there took his BIBLE, opened it, and laying the open side in a puddle of water, leaped and trampled upon it, saying, a plague upon it, THIS BIBLE HATH BRED ALL THE QUARREL; and one of them said, he hoped within a few weeks all the Bibles in Ireland should be used as that was, and none of them be left in the kingdom. *(Temple,* p. 109.*)*

On the same day, Adam Clover, of Slonosie, in the County of Cavan, deposed before Dean Jones, and the other Commissioners, that James O'Reilly, Hugh Brady, and other rebels in that County, did often take into their hands Protestant BIBLES, and wetting them in dirty water, did, five or six times, dash the same on the face of him, the said deponent, and other Protestants, saying, "come, I know you love a good lesson—here is an excellent one for you; come to-morrow and you shall have as good a sermon,"—using other scornful and disgraceful words to them. Mr. Clover further said, that dragging divers Protestants by the hair of the head, and in other cruel ways, into the church, they there robbed, stripped, and whipped them most cruelly, saying, if you come to-morrow you shall hear the like sermon. He also saw upon the highway, a woman, left by the rebels stripped to her smock, attacked by three women and some children, who, after stripping her of that her only covering in bitter frost and snow, miserably rent and tore her, so that she fell in labour in their hands, and both she and her child died there. *(Temple, from manuscript depositions in the College of Dublin,* p. 99, 101, 108.*)*

Jan. 5.—The King made the following solemn declaration in a speech to the Common Council of London:—

Whereas, there are divers suspicions raised that I am a favourer of the Popish religion, I do profess, in the name of the King, that I did, and ever will, and that to the utmost of my power, be a prosecutor of all such as any ways oppose the laws and statutes of this kingdom, either Papists or Separatists; and not only so, but will maintain and defend that true Protestant religion which my Father did profess, and will continue in it during my life. *(Rushworth,* vol. iv. p. 479.*)*

Jan. 6.—Teig O'Connor, Sligo General of the Rebels, having sat in Council with his followers, and a Convent of Friars, in the Abbey of Sligo, for three days, seized on all the Protestants of that town, (many of whom they had compelled to become Papists,) and lodged them in the jail. About midnight these unhappy persons were attacked in their prisons by Captain Charles O'Connor, a Friar, aided by two butchers, named John Buts and Robert Buts, with Captain Hugh O'Connor, Teig O'Sheil, Kedagh O'Hart, Richard Walsh, Thomas Walsh, and divers others, who stripped them stark naked, murdered most of them with swords, axes, and skeins, and then used the dead bodies in the most barbarous and shameful manner.

The Irish who came into the jail to carry out these bodies for burial, stood up to the mid-leg in blood. They buried the mangled remains of these victims of Popery in the garden of the Rev. Mr. Ricrofts, Minister of Sligo. This information, containing many other particulars of the same kind, was made before the Commissioners on the 3d of December, 1643, by Mrs. Jane Stewart, wife of an opulent merchant in Sligo, who had been robbed of all his property by the rebels. *(MSS. Dep. and Temple,* p. 119.*)*

Jan. 7.—Bishop Bedell was relieved by exchange from his dreary prison in the Castle of Cloughoughter. Sir James Craig, Sir Francis Hamilton, and Sir Arthur Forbes, afterwards Lord Granard, having retired to two strong houses in that neighbourhood, and being besieged by the rebels in them, had made a resolute sally in which, among other prisoners, they took four men of considerable interest, whom they exchanged for the Bishop, his two sons, and his son-in-law, the Rev. Mr. Clogy; but, though the Irish promised to suffer the Bishop, with the other three, a safe passage to Dublin, yet (with their usual perfidy) they would not let them out of the country, intending to make some further advantage by having them still among them. They were, therefore, lodged in the

house of an Irish Minister, the Rev. Dennis O'Sheridan, to whom some respect was shewn by the rebels, on account of his extraction, though he had forsaken the Popish religion, and had married an English woman. This worthy man, who has been already mentioned as the convert of Bishop Bedell, and the ancestor of a family eminent for literary talent, continued firm in his religion, and relieved many in their extremity. Here the Bishop spent the few remaining days of his pilgrimage, having his latter end so full in view, that he seemed dead to the world, and every thing in it, and to be hastening for the coming of the day of God. During the last Sabbaths of his life, though there were three Ministers present, he read all the prayers and lessons himself, and preached on all those days. *(See his Life by Bishop Burnet,* p. 160.*)*

Jan. 7.—This day William Clerke, of the County of Armagh, tanner, made oath before Dean Jones and the other Commissioners, that he, with one hundred men, women, and children, or thereabouts, were by the Rebels driven like hogs about six miles, to a river called the Band, (Bann,) in which space the aforesaid christians were most barbarously used, by forcing them to go on fast with swords and pikes, thrusting them into their sides; three were murdered on the way, and the rest they drove to the river aforesaid, and there they forced them to go upon the bridge, which was cut down, and with their pikes, swords, and other weapons, thrust them down headlong into the said river, and those who assayed to swim to the shore the rebels stood and shot at. *(MSS. Depositions quoted in Temple,* p. 93.*)*

Edward Deane, of Ocram, in the County of Wicklow, made oath before the Commissioners, that the Irish rebels issued a Proclamation, that all English men and women, (meaning, as usual, by the term, Protestants,) that did not depart the country within twenty-four hours, should be hanged, drawn, and quartered; and that the Irish houses that kept any of the English children should be burned. He further deposed, that the said rebels burned two Protestant Bibles, and then said that it was hell fire that burned them. *(Ib.* 108.*)*

On this day the city of London presented a petition to the King, representing the fears and distractions then prevailing in the city, by reason of the progress of the rebels in Ireland, fomented by the Papists of England and their adherents.—The King replied to this article of the petition, that as for the business of Ireland, there was nothing on his part unoffered or undone, and that he hoped by the speedy advice and assistance of his Parliament, that great and necessary work would

be put in a sure forwardness, to which he would contribute all in his power. *(Rushworth,* vol. iv. p. 481 ; *Nalson,* vol. ii. p. 481.*)*

No. VIII.

" *They make an oathe to the Pope, cleane contrarie to the* " *oathe that they make us, so that they seeme to be his subjectes,* " *and not ours.*"

(Henry VIII. of the Romish Clergy, Hall's Chronicle, p. 203.)

1642, *Jan.* 8.—The Scotch garrison sallied from the garrison of Carrickfergus, and cruelly massacred several Irish families in Island Magee, in the County of Antrim. The number of those who were cut off on this occasion has been enormously exaggerated by the Popish writers, and the time of the perpetration of this barbarous act wilfully mis-stated to have been at the commencement of the rebellion ; but by the testimonies of the surviving Irish, though they might be supposed inclined to exaggerate their own danger and the sufferings of their friends, the number of the persons murdered on this unhappy occasion appears to have been nearer to thirty persons than thirty families, and the date of the transaction is ascertained beyond all doubt, by the deposition of Bryan Magee, a Roman Catholic, and the son of Owen Magee, whose family were among the chief sufferers in the massacre. *(See Magee's deposition in Trinity College, Dublin, in page 2716, of the volume lettered, County of Antrim.)*

The impudent falsehoods propagated respecting the time when this unhappy event occurred, and the number of those who perished by it, originated in a miserable pamphlet published in London, by an anonymous writer in 1662, in which the number massacred is said to have been three thousand, and that " *this was the first massacre on either side.*"

Dr. Curry, in his History of the Civil Wars of Ireland, published in 1775, revived these falsehoods, and vainly attempted to support them by the authority of a tract falsely ascribed to Lord Clarendon. Plowden and Milner re-echoed the cry ; but they were all refuted in Walter's Hibernian Magazine, for December, 1803, page 738.

This day the King issued a Proclamation, straitly charging and commanding, that the last Wednesday of every month should be observed as a solemn fast throughout his dominion of England and Wales, during the troubles in Ireland, shewing,

in his own person and court, an example thereof, which was accordingly observed for some years, and considerable collections were gathered at most churches on that day, for the miserable people of Ireland. Sir Benjamin Rudyard made the following speech on this subject in the House of Commons :—

" Mr. Speaker---This day is appointed for a charitable work---a work of bowels and compassion. I pray God we may never have the like occasion to move, to stir up, our charity. These miserable people are made so, *because of their religion.* He that will not suffer for his religion, is unworthy to be saved by it ; and he is unworthy to enjoy it, that will not relieve those that suffer for it. I did know, but the last year here in England, some, and they no Papists, who were resolved to make Ireland their retreat, as the safer kingdom of the two. We do now see a great, a dismal change, God knows whose turn shall be next, it is wrapped up in his providence---that which happens to one country, may happen to any ; time and chance comes upon all, though guided by a certain hand. The right way to make a man sensible of another's calamity, is to think himself in the same case and condition, and then to do as he would be done unto. Wherefore, Mr. Speaker, let our gift be a matter of bounty, not of covetousness, that it may abound to our account in the day of reckoning. He that sows plentifully shall reap plentifully ; I am sure, he that lends to the Lord hath the best security, and cannot be a loser."

The first precedent of this fast, which ushered in the succeeding charity, was by the House of Lords, kept in the Abbey of Westminster, where the Archbishop of York, and the Lord Primate of Ireland, preached to the Lords ; as in St. Margaret's, Westminster, Mr. Calamy, and Mr. Marshal, preached to the House of Commons. *(Borlase,* p. 55.*)*

Jan. 9.---On this day Bishop Bedell preached on the whole of the forty-fourth Psalm, being the first of the Psalms appointed for that day, and very suitable to the miseries the Protestants were in at that time. They were then indeed the " scorn and derision of them that were round about them. The voice of the blasphemer, the enemy and avenger, resounded on all sides. Their souls were brought low, even to the dust ; and for the sake of Him they served, they were killed all day, and counted as sheep appointed to be slain." *(See Bishop Bedell's Life,* p. 161.*)*

Jan. 11.---The garrison of Drogheda, being in great extremities, was seasonably relieved on this day by a pinnace, a frigate, and a gabbard, with two shallops and a vessel laden

with biscuit and ammunition, sent by the Lords Justices and Council. When these vessels first appeared, the disaffected townsmen endeavoured to dishearten the garrison, by persuading the soldiers that they were ships from Spain, coming with supplies to the rebels. The contrary being, however, soon ascertained, the soldiers gave themselves up to strong demonstrations of joy, and, encouraged by the Friars in the town, drank to very great excess.

Jan. 12.---At four o'clock this morning the rebels, by the help and treacherous intimation of their friends in Drogheda, who had seduced even the sentinels from the guards into a state of drunkenness the preceding night, made a breach in the wall of that town, at which many of their best soldiers and chief commanders, to the number of five hundred, entered unheard. Having marched as far as the quay, they gave a shout, which the Governor hearing, instantly ran down with his pistols in his hands, and had the garrison alarmed by the beating of a drum. The rebels were soon repulsed, and many of them killed. It was discovered that morning, that the partizans of the rebels had their doors marked with chalk, a practice said to have been imitated by the disaffected in Dublin in the rebellion of 1798. *(See Borlase,* p. 63.*)*

On this day Thomas Wenslaw and John Simpson, of the County of Fermanagh, gentlemen, made oath before Dean Jones, and the other Commissioners, that in the Castle of Lissgoole in that County, there were one hundred and fifty-two men, women, and children burned or smothered when said Castle was set on fire, not above two or three escaping. *(MSS. Deposition, quoted by Temple,* p. 91.*)*

Jan. 14.---The King, in his second message to the Parliament of England, recommended to the consideration of the members of it the affairs of Ireland; in which he stated, that the good of the kingdom, and the interest of the true religion, were highly and nearly concerned. *(Rushworth,* vol. iv. p. 488; *and Nalson,* vol. ii. p. 858.*)*

It was the misfortune of Ireland that the King and the Parliament of England, though they expressed an equal desire to assist this country, differed in the mode of relief to be adopted, and delayed sending it, until the Popish rebels had been completely organized, and formed into a strong body of forces. The King wanted to have an English army sent into Ireland, and blamed the Commons for not hastening the levies. The Commons, on their side, suspected that the King's aim was to leave England unprovided of men, arms, and ammunition, and insisted upon the treaty with Scotland, for ten

thousand men for that service, being concluded. They even hinted, that although the King seemed to press the relief of Ireland, he had no real intention that it should be relieved. Necessity, however, about this time obliged the King and both Houses of Parliament, to accept of two thousand five hundred Scots, who were sent into the North of Ireland, where they did good service. *(See Rapin,* vol. xi. p. 289 and 298.*)*

Jan. 15.—On this day the Castle of Limerick was invested by the rebels. Captain George Courtney, the constable, defended it till the 23d of June following, when it was taken. At the same time the Castles of Bonrattie, Rossmanagher, Cappagh, Dromline, Michaelstown, and many others in the province of Munster, were besieged. *(Borlase,* p. 87.*)*

Jan. 16.—The Members of the Privy Council in Ireland signed an instrument, declaring that they would send in their plate next day, to help to satisfy the officers of the army, who had warmly remonstrated on their condition. A messenger was sent to the absent members for their subscription. When the paper was presented to Dr. Anthony Martin, Bishop of Meath, he told the messenger, as the truth was, that he had neither plate nor any thing else to convert into money, but a few old gowns, his house having been pillaged and burned in the beginning of the troubles, and all he had seized by the rebels. The Lords Justices, and some of the Privy Council, who favoured the measures of the English Parliament, and had found in the Bishop of Meath a formidable opponent in the Irish House of Lords, taking this answer for an affront, committed that Prelate a prisoner to one of the Sheriffs of Dublin. He petitioned the Council Board the week following, desiring to be removed to his own house, but his petition was rejected. He applied to the King for relief, setting forth his poverty and hardships, and was at last enlarged, after a considerable restraint. *(See Carte's Life of Ormond,* vol. i. p. 387, *and Ware's Bishops* p. 158.*)*

No. IX.

" Istuc est sapere, non quod ante pedes modo est videre; sed " etiam illa quæ futura sunt Prospicere."

Ter. Adelph.

1642, *Jan.* 16.—On this day, being Sunday, Bishop Bedell preached on the 79th Psalm, the first of those appointed for the day. This Psalm afforded abundant matter of reflection to this afflicted Prelate, and the surrounding Protestants, whose

case at that time might, with great propriety, be compared to that of the Jews, when the Heathens had "come into their inheritance, defiled their holy temple," and "made their Jerusalem an heap of stones." The dead bodies of the Protestants of Ireland, were then given to be "meat for the fowls of the air, and the beasts of the land. Their blood was shed like water in all directions, and there was no man to bury them. They had become an open shame to their enemies, a very scorn and derision unto them that were round about them." It therefore well became those who still survived this storm of persecution, to adopt, at least, a part of the mournful petitions, contained in this Psalm, which they accordingly did in the following words:—"O remember not against us former iniquities. Let thy tender mercies speedily prevent us, for we are brought very low. Let the sighing of the prisoner come before thee, according to the greatness of thy power, preserve THOU those that are appointed to die." *(See Bishop Bedell's Life, p. 161.)*

Jan. 18.—On this day a commission was issued under the great seal, authorising Dean Jones and the Commissioners already appointed, to enquire what lands had been seized, and what murders committed by the rebels; what numbers of the Protestants had perished in the way to Dublin, or any other place; whether they fled, and how many HAD TURNED PAPISTS since the 22d of Oct. in the preceding year. About this time the Earl of Ormonde, upon his return to Dublin, had a message from Lord Gormanstown, complaining of his burning the country and hanging people on his expedition, and threatening, that Lady Ormonde and her children, who were prisoners with the rebels, should answer it, if he did such things in future.

The Earl refused to receive this message in a way that might be interpreted a correspondence with a rebel; and, therefore, caused the person who brought it to be examined before the council. The board approved of his Lordship's writing a letter to Lord Gormanstown; in which he told him, that nobody had been hanged by his authority in that expedition, but that he should not disavow any thing he should do in pursuance of his orders, nor cease to prosecute the rebels, for fear of what might befall him and his family; and that if his wife and children, who were in their power, suffered any thing from them, he would never revenge it upon women or children, as not only BASE AND UNCHRISTIAN, but also infinitely below the value of such as were so dear to him. *(Warner's Ireland,* vol. i. p. 162.*)*

Jan. 19.---Margaret Perkin and Elizabeth Bursel, deposed upon oath, before the Commissioners, that the rebels threw a child of Thomas Straton, of Newtown, into a cauldron of boiling water, in which he was instantly scalded to death. *(Temple, App.* p. 101.*)*

Jan. 22.---The Parliament of England sent a message to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, for the loan of one hundred thousand pounds, or so much thereof as could conveniently be forthwith raised, for levying of forces to suppress the rebels in Ireland. *(Rapin,* vol. xi. p. 300.

The petitioners of the county of Essex, at this time, thanked the Commons for their extraordinary care, representing to them withal, that the whole kingdom was in danger from the Papists. The petitioners of Hartford prayed, that the Papists might be fully disarmed, and both concurred in the unreasonable and fanatical demand of removing the Bishops from the House of Peers. *(See Rushworth,* vol iv. p. 536 and 537*)*

Jan. 23.--- Bishop Bedell preached on the last ten verses of the seventy first Psalm, observing the great fitness that was in them to express his present condition, especially in these words, " O God, thou hast taught me from my youth, and hitherto have I declared thy wondrous works. Now, also, when I am old and grey headed, forsake me not. Oh ! what great troubles and adversities hast thou shewed me ! and yet didst thou turn and refresh me ; yea, and broughtest me from the deep of the earth again."

Jan. 24.---The Rev. William Liston and the Rev. Thomas Fullerton, after being kept two days without meat or drink, were murdered by the rebels near Manorhamilton, in the county of Leitrim. *(Deposition of Andrew Adair, of the County of Mayo,* page 6, *quoted in Borlase's App.* page 118.*)*

On this day both Houses of the English Parliament recommended to the King to garrison the town and Castle of Carrickfergus, with 2500 Scotch soldiers, to be paid by England. The King was unwilling to agree to this proposal, as being prejudicial to the crown of England, and not wishing to repose so great a trust in auxiliary forces. *(Borlase,* page 89.*)*

Jan. 25.---Henry Fisher, of Powerscourt, in the county of Wicklow, deposed, before the Commissioners, that the rebels entered the parish church at that place, and burned the pews, pulpit, chests, and Bibles of said church, with extreme violence and triumph, expressing their hatred to religion. *(Temple, App.* p. 108.*)*

Jan. 27.---The King yielded to the importunity of Parliament,

and consented to garrison the town and Castle of Carrickfergus with Scottish troops.

At this time the Parliament passed a Bill of loan towards the relief of Ireland, beginning thus :---

" Whereas, since the beginning of the late rebellion in Ireland, divers cruel murders and massacres of the Protestants there have been, and are daily committed by *Popish rebels* in that kingdom ; by occasion whereof, great numbers of godly and religious people there inhabiting together, with their wives, and children, and families, for the preservation of their lives, have been enforced to forsake their habitations, means, and livelihood in that kingdom, and to flee for succour into several parts of his Majesty's realm of England, and dominion of Wales, having nothing left to depend upon but the charitable benevolence of well-disposed persons."

The Lords and Commons, now assembled in Parliament, taking the same into their charitable considerations, for the honour of Almighty GOD, and the preservation of the TRUE PROTESTANT RELIGION, and the professors thereof, have resolved presently themselves to contribute towards the necessities of the said POOR DISTRESSED CHRISTIANS, who, being many in number, it is thought expedient, that through all his Majesty's realm of England, and dominion of Wales, a general collection should be with all expedition made for that purpose, &c. *(Borlase*, p. 90.)

Jan. 30.---On this day, being the last Sabbath in which Bishop Bedell had strength to preach, he preached on the hundredth and forty-fourth Psalm, the first appointed for that day ; and when he came to the words in the seventh verse, which are also repeated in the eleventh---" Send thine hand from above, rid me and deliver me out of great waters, from the hand of strange children, whose mouth speaketh vanity, and whose right hand is a right hand of falsehood."---He repeated them again and again, with so much zeal and affection, that it appeared how much he was hastening to the day of GOD, and he dwelt so long upon them, with so many sighs, that all the little assembly about him melted into tears, and looked on this as a presage of his approaching dissolution. *(Bishop Bedell's Life*, p. 262.)

Jan. 31.---Bishop Bedell sickened, and his disease proved an ague ; on the fourth day of it, apprehending a speedy change, he called for his sons and his sons' wives, and spoke to them several times in a most pathetic and spiritual manner. The substance of these discourses is given at length in his life, and the following passage is to be found near the end of it :---

" Chuse rather with Moses to suffer affliction with the people of GOD, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season, which will be bitterness in the latter end. Look therefore for sufferings, and to be daily made partakers of the sufferings of CHRIST, to fill up that which is behind, of the affliction of CHRIST in your flesh, for his body's sake, which is the church.

" What can you look for but one woe after another, while the man of sin is thus suffered to rage, and to make havoc of GOD's people at his pleasure; while men are *divided about trifles*, that ought to have been more vigilant over us, and careful of those, whose blood is precious in GOD's sight, though now shed every where like water."

No. X.

" *Though grievous wolves have entered in among us, not*
" *sparing the flock, yet I trust the great shepherd of his flock*
" *will save and deliver them out of all places where they have*
" *been scattered in this cloudy and dark day, that they shall be*
" *no more a prey to the heathen, neither shall the beasts of the*
" *land devour them, but they shall dwell safely, and none shall*
" *make them afraid.*"

Bishop Bedell's dying words.

1642, *Feb.* 1.---On or about this day, by the means of Joane Hamskin, formerly a Protestant, but a meer Irish woman, and lately turned to mass, a great number of Protestants were forced by the rebels into a thatched house, in the parish of Kilmore, in the County of Armagh, and there burned to death; three only escaping, all of the others, who attempted to escape the flames, were forced back by the surrounding mob.

When the house fell in, the combustible part of it was consumed before the bodies of all these miserable victims of Popery were reduced to ashes, and they lay there an hideous spectacle for some time afterwards. *(See the examination of Jane Constable of Drumcad, in the County of Armagh.--- Temple*, page 103.*)*

At the same time John Sherring, returning from his farm at the silver works, in the County of Tipperary, was attacked by his landlord's brother. Mr. John Kennedy, a cruel rebel, who, with a multitude of Irish rebellious soldiers, attacked him and twenty-one other Protestants, men and women, whom they stripped of their clothes, and then with stones,

pole-axes, skeins, swords, pikes, darts, and other weapons, most barbarously put to death.

While this horrible act was perpetrating, a tremendous storm of thunder, lightning, wind, hailstones, and rain came on. The time being the Sabbath-day, and about an hour before night, the former part of the day being all very fair, the superstitious assassins were at first terrified by the storm, and confessed it to be a sign of God's anger, and threatening of them for their cruelty; but recovering from their terror, in a short time, they persisted in their bloody work till they finished it.

The chief actor in this savage scene soon afterwards lost his senses, and drowned himself in the next river to the silver-works; whilst his brother, John Kennedy, Esq. with all the Popish gentry in this part of the country, especially the O'Brians and Coghlans, were inciting and assisting the rebels in all the murders, robberies, and acts of treason which they committed. *(See Temple, Appendix.* page 116.*)*

Feb. 2.---A declaration of both Houses of Parliament was published in England, to encourage propositions for the lands of the rebels in Ireland from the United Provinces of Holland. *(Act.* 17, *Car. Prim.)*

Feb. 7.---At midnight Bishop Bedell expired, and obtained his crown. which, in some sort, was a crown of martyrdom; for, no doubt, the sad weight of sorrow that lay upon his mind, and his ill usage in his imprisonment, had much hastened his death, and he suffered more in his mind by what he had lived to see and hear the last fifteen weeks of his life, than he could have done if he had fallen by the sword among the first of those that felt the rage of the Irish. His friends went about his burying, and since that could not be obtained but by the new intruding Bishop's leave, Mr. Clogy and Mr. Sheridan went to ask it, and Mr. Dillon was prevailed with by his wife to go and second their desire. They found the Bishop, if such he may be called, lying in his own vomit, and saw a sad change in that house, which was before a *house of prayer and of good works*, but was now a den of thieves, and a nest of uncleanness. The Bishop, when he was awakened out of his drunkenness, at first objected to the request made of him by these gentlemen, and said, that the church-yard was holy ground, and was no more to be *defiled* with the bodies of *heretics*, but he consented to grant it at last. *(Bedell's Life*, p. 168.*)*

Feb. 8.---In answer to the oath of association which was now circulated over the whole Island, the Lords Justices and Council issued a proclamation, declaring sixty-five gentlemen

by name, with their aiders and confederates, to be traitors and rebels, and requiring all his Majesty's good subjects to pursue them with fire and sword, and to apprehend and kill them. It was further therein declared, that whosoever, before the five and-twentieth day of March, should kill, and bring to the Lords Justices, the heads of Sir Phelim O'Neil, Sir Con. Magenis, Rory Maguire, Phil. O'Reilly, or C. Mac Mahon, who were the principal conspirators, and the first actors in this rebellion, should have, by way of reward, for the head of Sir Phelim O'Neil, one thousand pounds, and for each head of the others before named six hundred pounds, with a full pardon for all the offences of those who should so kill these persons, or bring in any of their heads; and if any one should kill them and not bring in their heads, upon due proof of their being killed, should receive as a reward for killing Sir Phelim O'Neil eight hundred pounds, and for the others four hundred each, with pardon as before.

The oath of association which called forth this proclamation was somewhat in the style of M. Quarantotti's late qualification of the oath proposed in the rejected Bill for the alleged relief of the Irish Roman Catholics---It was an oath of *adherence to the cause of the Popish religion, and of allegiance to the King*, at the same time that those who took it were in open rebellion against the King, and putting his Protestant subjects to death in the most ignominious and cruel manner.

This exhibits a sample of the *Propaganda construction* of an oath. This was (in Quarantotti's words) to take an oath in "such a sense only, as shall preserve the *orthodox* faith;" thus may the Roman Catholics of Ireland swear allegiance to an heretical sovereign, and declare their attachment to the constitution of a Protestant state. *(See Warner's History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars of Ireland,* vol. i. p. 163, *and Quarantotti's late letter to Dr. Poynter.)*

Feb. 9.—On this day Bishop Bedell was buried in the churchyard of Kilmore, in the County of Cavan. The Irish did him unusual honour at his burial, for the chiefs of the rebels gathered their forces together, and accompanied his body from Mr. Sheridan's house to the place of interment in great solemnity. Such was the homage paid at this dreadful period to the integrity and piety of this christian Prelate, the commanders of the rebels desired the Bishop's son-in-law, the Rev. Mr. Clogy, to bury him according to the office prescribed by the church; but though these men were so civil as to offer it, yet it was not thought adviseable to provoke the rabble so much as perhaps that might have done, so it was passed over. But

the Irish discharged a volley of shot over his grave, and cried out in Latin, *Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum*, for they had often said, that as they esteemed him THE BEST OF THE ENGLISH BISHOPS, so he should be the last that should be left among them.

It may not be amiss to add here a few words upon the character of this *best of English Bishops*, as he appears to have been, even on the testimony of the Popish rebels of 1641.

What is it that could have extorted from these men such an involuntary burst of admiration at his funeral, and induce even one of their *Priests*, who attended it, to exclaim, in direct opposition to the uncharitable tenets of his church, *O sit anima mea cum Bedello!* It was not his compliance with their superstitions—he spoke no smooth things—prophesied no deceit to them—he said not there was peace when there was no peace for them, and by this boldness and integrity he was the means of rescuing many individuals and families from the deluge of Catholic apostacy, in which millions of our deluded countrymen have perished, and are perishing still.

No, it was this exemplary Prelate's unfeigned love to God, and love to man—his admirable life and conversation, and his pity for perishing sinners, which gained him not only the universal applause of the wise and the learned men of his time, but extorted even from the bigotted and ferocious persecutors of the Protestants of Ireland, the marks of enthusiastic admiration which they exhibited when they saw him laid in his grave.

He had a true and generous notion of religion, and did not look upon it so much as a *system of opinions, or a set of forms*, as a *divine discipline that reforms the heart and life.* It is not (he would often say) *leaves, but fruit that I seek.*

This was the true principle of his great zeal against Popery. It was not the peevishness of a party, the sourness of a speculative man, nor the concern of an interested person that wrought upon him, but he considered the *corruptions of the Romish church* as an effectual course of *enervating the true design of christianity*, and he looked on the church of Rome not only as *idolatrous*, but as the *antichristian Babylon*, concerning which Saint John saw all those visions which are recorded in his *Revelation.*

In taking a devise, according to the universal custom of these times, he chose one adapted to remind him of his obligations to *purity* and *humility.* It was a flaming crucible, with this motto, in Hebrew, *take from me all my tin;* the word in Hebrew that signifies tin being bedil. This imported, that (contrary to the Popish doctrine of *human merit*) he

thought that every thing in *himself* was but base alloy, and, therefore, prayed that *God* would cleanse him from it.

He was exactly conformable to the forms and rules of our church. He went constantly to common prayer in his cathedral, and often read it himself, and assisted in it always with great reverence and affection. He took care to have the public service performed strictly according to the rubrick, so that a Curate of another parish being employed to read prayers in the cathedral that added somewhat to the collects, the Bishop, observing he did this once or twice, went from his place to the reader's pew, took the book out of his hand, and in the hearing of the congregation, suspended him for his presumption, reading the rest of the service himself.

His devotion in the closet was only known to HIM who commanded him to pray in secret.

In his family he prayed *thrice a day* in a *set form* which he repeated without book. This he did in the morning, and before dinner, and after supper. Every day after dinner and supper, there was a chapter of the *Holy Bible* read at his table, whosoever was present, whether Protestant or Papist, and he usually explained the difficulties that occurred.

But to draw the character of this admirable Prelate justly, would be to transcribe his life written by Bishop Burnet, from materials compiled by the Rev. Mr. Clogy, of Cavan, a book now out of print, and of course not as generally known to the public as it deserves to be. The second edition of it, from which the foregoing particulars were taken, was published in Dublin, in 1736.

No. XI.

" *There is such a connexion between superstition and atheism,*
" *and their allies cruelty and tyranny, that the wisest and most*
" *experienced Statesmen and Moralists have declared it to be*
" *indissoluble.*"

(Preface to the Fourth Dialogue of the Pursuits of Literature, p. 22.)

1642, *Feb.* 9.—Cashel, Clonmel, Dungarvan, Fetherd, and many other places in the province of Munster, having been surrendered to the rebels, the Lord President, with the Earl of Barrymore, Lord Dungarvan, Lord Broghill, Sir Hardress Waller, Sir Edward Denny, Sir John Brown, and Captain William Kingsmill, with serjeant-Major Searl, 600 infantry, and 300 horse, resolved to give them battle; but the rebels,

being on the other side of a mountain, privately avoided them, though *four to one*, and got into Cashel. The Lord President upon this entered Buttevant, an ancient town in the Barony of Orrery, belonging to the Earl of Barrymore, and an old nest of Abbots, Priests, and Friars, from which, in a short time afterwards, he found it prudent to retreat into Cork.

Feb. 10.—Stephen Read, a boy, aged about six years, the son of a Protestant widow, who had been stripped of all she possessed, and lost some of her children by want and famine, was attacked in the house of James Gray, in the town of Cavan, by six Irish children of that town, who suddenly fell upon him with sticks and stones. They put out his eyes, and so wounded and bruised him that he died in a few days after. *(Temple,* page 100.*)*

Feb. 11.---Lord Montgarret, with the rebels under his command, entered Mayallo, now Mallow, in the County of Cork. This town being the inheritance of Captain William Jephson, consisting of one street, containing about 200 houses, with two strong Castles. Here Lord Muskerry, contrary to his promises, joined the rebels, which encouraged them very much, as he had a considerable estate and a large sum of money in his possession. *(Borlase,* page 84.*)*

On this day Lieutenant Greenham, with a party of horse and foot, sallied from Drogheda, and routed sixty of the enemy, taking a lieutenant, ensign, and several other prisoners. *(Ib.* p. 64.*)*

Feb. 12.---Lieutenant Greenham, and a party sallied again from Drogheda, routed a division of the besiegers, took some grain, and burned some of the rebels' quarters. Though the garrison was in some degree relieved by these sallies, yet the soldiers were reduced to great extremities, being compelled to live on dogs, cats, and horses. *(Ib.)*

Feb. 14.—A prey of 80 cows and 200 sheep were providentially taken from the rebels by the garrison of Drogheda, whilst they obtained a relief by sea sufficient to maintain them for three months. On this morning, about four o'clock, Sir Phelim O'Neil, marching silently, with all the force he could muster, made so bold an attempt as to apply scaling ladders to the walls, especially near St. Laurence's gate, where sometimes a sentinel had been omitted; they had fixed two of these ladders, and on each of them an assailant mounted; the sentinel missed fire at them, on which they mounted higher, when the same sentinel knocked them down with the but of his musquet, and cried out to the guard, who instantly plied the rest so warmly with shot, that they left thirteen of their ladders

and many of their dead behind them, nor could all the endeavours of their officers prevail on them to return to the attack. *(Borlase,* page 64.*)*

On this day the rebels of Munster laid siege to the Castle of Rathbarry, which was relieved after a siege of nine months, by Sir Charles Vavasor and Captain Jephson, who brought the garrison into Bandon and burned the Castle. *(Ib.* page 87.*)*

On the same day, and shortly afterwards, the rebels seized the Castles of Dundede and Dunowen, with the Castle of Tralee, in the County of Kerry, Clare-castle, Clonlowane, (Clonloghan, in the Barony of Bunratty) and twenty-six other Castles in the County of Clare. *(Ib.)*

The King sent this day the following message to both Houses of Parliament :—" that his Majesty may manifest how impatient he is till he finde out a full remedie to compose the present distempers, he is pleased to signify, that he will by proclamation, require *that all statutes concerning recusants,* be with all care, diligence, and severity, *put in execution.*

" That his Majesty is resolved, that the seven condemned Priests shall be immediately banished (if his Parliament shall consent thereto.) And his Majesty will present order (if it shall be held fit by both Houses) that a proclamation issue to require *all Romish Priests,* within twenty days, to depart the kingdom ; and if any shall be apprehended after that time, his Majesty assures both Houses, on the *word of a King,* that he will grant no pardon to any such without consent of his Parliament.

" For Ireland, in behalf of which his Majesty's heart bleeds, as he hath concurred with all propositions made for that service by his Parliament, so he is resolved to leave nothing undone for its relief, which shall fall within his possible power, nor will refuse to venture his own person in that war, if his Parliament shall think it convenient for the reduction of that miserable kingdom. *(Black Letter Pamphlets, at Parry's, in Anglesea-street, Dublin.)*

Feb. 16.—On the death of Dr. Potter, the King granted Archbishop Usher the Bishopric of Carlisle, to hold *in commendam* with the Primacy of Ireland, and upon this day he received the administration of it. On this See, although it was much sunk in its value by the Scotch and English armies quartering there, he made a shift to subsist, until the House of Commons seized on all Bishops' lands, and then they voted him a pension of four hundred pounds a year, in consideration of his great losses in Ireland, and his exemplary merits ; yet it

is said, he never received it above once or twice at most. *(Ware's Bishops,* p. 109.*)*

Feb. 22.—Both Houses of Parliament petitioned the King respecting the Militia, beseeching such an answer from his Majesty as might raise in them a confidence that they should not be exposed to the practices of those who thirsted after the ruin of the kingdom, and the kindling of a combustion in England, such as they had in a great measure effected in Ireland; from which latter country they had daily information it was intended by these persons, with the aid of the English Papists, to invade England.

Feb. 23.—Mr. Richard Bealing, and the Rebels under his command, summoned the Castle of Lismore to surrender; but Lord Broghill, who commanded the garrison in it, could not be wrought on, by promises or threats, and dared the Rebels to assault as soon as they liked. Bealing threatened the assault in half an hour, but intelligence arriving in the mean time of the landing of Sir Charles Vavasor, at Youghall, with a thousand men, the Rebels fled into Dungarvan. *(Borlase,* p. 85.*)*

About this time, Sir Phelim O'Neil and the Northern Rebels began to taunt the Lords of the English Pale with old miscarriages, and to renew the ancient animosities which had subsisted between them. The harsh and scornful usage of the old English by the Northern Irish, after so solemn a conjunction between them, bred in the former a great consternation and trouble, and made so sad an impression upon Lord Viscount Gormanstown, who had been the chief instrument to effect the solemn confederacy between them, that it broke his heart, and he died soon after. His dying declaration is worth recording for the benefit of the Irish nobility and gentry of the Popish religion at this day.

He died "lamenting his treachery and infidelity, owning that he had not only been the *ruin of himself and his posterity,* but the great *fire-brand of his country,* out of vain and ambitious ends, or for the setting up of *fond superstitious inventions,* entertaining such designs as had already caused huge streams of blood to be shed, and were now likely to terminate in nothing but the extirpation of the old English families out of those plentiful parts of the country, wherein they had most happily seated themselves, and which they had most pleasantly enjoyed since the days of King Henry the Second."—Others had the same apprehensions, but being now involved with the Ulster forces, and having outstood the date of his Majesty's favour, the next course was to *colour their proceedings by pretence of*

grievances; that by confounding of dates, and by forgeries and calumnies, (*which they never spare to vent and publish* when they would withdraw their fellow-subjects from their obedience,) they might palliate the atrocious crimes for which they dreaded a just and severe punishment. *(See Borlase,* p. 69.)

Feb. 24.—On this day the King again offered to go in person to Ireland, intending to raise his guard of two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, out of the Counties near Chester, and to engage his crown lands for the relief of his miserable Protestant subjects in this country. The Parliament, however, voted—"That for his Majesty to go in person to Ireland, would but subject him to the casualty of war, and the secret practices and conspiracies of the Rebels. That it would be an encouragement to them, impair the means, and increase the expense of reducing them, and withal dishearten the adventurers to subscribe and pay in their money. That it would also interrupt the proceedings of Parliament, increase the jealousies and fears of the people, and bereave the Parliament of that advantage whereby they were induced to undertake the war, upon promise, that it should be managed by *their* advice—so that the journey would be against the law." They also voted, "that whosoever should assist the King in this expedition, should be an enemy to the commonwealth; and that the Sheriffs of Counties should raise power to suppress any levies he should make for that purpose."

The Lords Justices and Council of Ireland, at the same time, wrote him a discouraging letter; by which it appeared, that they were acting in concert with the Parliament, and dreaded lest the King should strengthen himself, either by subduing the Irish Rebels, or making peace with them. The latter began by this time to feel most acutely the effects of their own cruel proceedings against their Protestant fellow-subjects, few of whom could endure any ordinary Papist, much less a Rebel, to be admitted amongst them.

No. XII.

"*Falsi pravique tenax.*"—VIRGIL.

1642; *Feb.* 24.—Proposals were made to the Parliament for the speedy raising of money for the reduction of Ireland. These proposals were, that to such persons as should be willing to advance money for that service, should be allotted, according to a certain proportion, the Rebels' lands that should be confiscated; which was approved of by both houses, and an

act passed accordingly, to which the King gave the Royal Assent. Two millions and an half of those acres, which should be forfeited, were by this act, to be assigned and divided amongst the adventurers, after this proportion, viz.

For each adventure of
- 200*l.* 1000 acres in Ulster;
- 300*l.* 1000 acres in Connaught;
- 450*l.* 1000 acres in Munster;
- 600*l.* 1000 acres in Leinster;

(*Rapin*, vol. xi. p. 395, and *Rushworth*, vol. iv. p. 556.)

Feb. 26.—The Governor of Drogheda sallied from that town with two hundred and twenty foot, and an hundred and twenty horse. With this force he advanced first to Beaubeck, where he secured some corn and hay; he then advanced to Smithstown, where he attacked the Rebels and killed three hundred of them. At the same time, Serjeant Major Fortescue took two pair of colours, Captain Bryan a drum and eight score cows, near Gellingstown, where, not long before, the Rebels had obtained a victory.

These successes were followed up by Lord Moore with six hundred foot, an hundred and twenty horse, and two pieces of cannon; he attacked Stanhime Castle, but finding it unexpectedly fortified, and his guns being rendered useless by an heavy fall of rain, he fell back upon the village of Colp, where his men loaded themselves with corn, and returned to Drogheda without opposition. In a few days afterwards, Stanhime Castle was abandoned, and scarce a day passed over in which the Rebels did not experience the bitter fruits of their presumptuous folly. *(See Borlase*, p. 651.*)*

Feb. 28.—After a tedious expectation and many promises, at last, towards the end of this month, the Lord Lieutenant's regiment of 1500 foot, under Lieutenant Colonel Monck, and 400 horse, under Sir R. Grenville, arrived at Dublin. If the government was disappointed at so inconsiderable a supply of men, they were much more chagrined, that they brought neither money nor provisions, for both which the state was in the utmost distress. The garrison of Drogheda had been already seventeen weeks behind in their pay; the rest of the army, old and new, had received none for two months; and none of the arrears of the old army had been discharged. The Council, therefore, compelled the inhabitants of Dublin, on whom the soldiers were billeted for their lodging, to give them credit for their diet, on their promise of speedy payment, which the professions of the King and Parliament of England had long given them reason to expect. *(See Warner*, vol. i. page 165.*)*

Warner, after recording the foregoing circumstances, gives an extract from an order issued about this time to the Lieutenant-General of the forces, " not only to kill and destroy the Rebels and their adherents, but to burn, waste, and consume all towns, houses, and places, where they had been relieved and harboured, with all the corn and hay there; and also, to kill and destroy all the male inhabitants of these places who were capable of bearing arms." The historian adds a question tending to justify the cruelties of the ignorant and savage Irish, by a comparison of their conduct with it; but in the very next sentence, he owns, that Lord Ormond, to whom this cruel order was given, never executed it, nor would he entrust his party to any subordinate officers lest it should be executed. That when he came up to the Rebels, he burned a few villages, and some houses near them, in order to draw them out of their fastnesses; and finding that way ineffectual, he attacked them in their entrenchments, drove them out, and routed them, without any violence to their neutral companions, who were capable of bearing arms. Ireland contained but few neutral men capable of bearing arms in this or any other rebellion, and, therefore, Mr. Warner's apology for the cruelties of 1641, is as futile as any of those which have ever been advanced by the more modern candidates for Popish popularity.

Feb. 29.—The Rev. John Kerdiffe, of the County of Tyrone, deposed before Dean Jones, and the other Commissioners, that Friar Malone, of Skerries, did take the Bibles of some poor men out of a boat at that place, cut them into pieces, and cast them into the fire, with these words, that he would deal in like manner with all Protestant and Puritan Bibles. (*Temple*, p. 108.)

March 1.—Lieutenant-Colonel Sir John Borlase, junior, attacked the Rebels, near Drogheda, with four companies of foot, and beat them with much disadvantage, securing at that time two hundred pounds worth of corn, and burning such of their quarters as had remained at Colp.

On the same day Lord Moore and the Governor marched against the Rebels, and routed them in a position where they had thickly lined the hedges and ditches. In this last encounter Captain Bellengoley distinguished himself; a Lieutenant and thirteen Rebels killed, a Captain of the O'Neals taken prisoner, and the Castle of Colp reduced, after much hazard. The whole of the private soldiers, who garrisoned the Castle (twenty-six in number) were slain in the assault, and the Captain was taken prisoner. (*Borlase*, p. 66.)

On this day the Friars in Drogheda sent a second invitation

to Sir Phelim O'Neil, by Father Thomas, brother to the Lord of Slane, offering to betray the town to him, by making or discovering a breach in the wall, through which he might march six men abreast.

Dr. Robert Maxwell, Rector of Tynan, in the County of Armagh, (afterwards Bishop of Kilmore,) saw this Father Thomas about the same time in Armagh, where Sir Phelim O'Neil introduced him to him in this manner:—"This is the Friar that said Mass at Finglass upon Sunday morning, and in the afternoon did beat Sir Charles Coote at Swords. I hope (added the Military Monk) to say Mass in Christ Church, Dublin, within eight weeks." *(Dr. Maxwell's Examination,* page 3.*)*

On this day Alexander Creighton, of Glasslough, in the County of Monaghan, gentleman, deposed upon oath before the Commissioners, that he heard it credibly reported among the Rebels at Glasslough, that Hugh Mac O'Degan, a Popish Priest, had done a most meritorious act, in drawing betwixt forty and fifty English and Scottish persons, in the Parish of Ganalley, in the County of Fermanagh, to a reconciliation with the Church of Rome; and, after giving them the Sacrament, demanded of them, whether Christ's body was really in the Sacrament or no; and they said yes. He then demanded of them further, whether they held the Pope to be the Supreme Head of the Church; they likewise answered, he was. Upon this the Priest told them they were in a good faith; and, for fear they should fall from it, and turn Heretics, he and the Rebels that were with him cut all their throats. (*Mr. Creighton's Examination, Temple,* p. 109.)

No. XIII.

"*Pope Adrian exhorted the Diet of Nuremberg, in the year* 1523, *to be unanimous in their endeavours to extinguish the devouring flame of Lutheran heresy, and bring back to a sense of their duty the Arch-heretic and his abettors; but if the ulcerations and extent of the cancer should appear to be such as to leave no place for mild and lenient medicaments, recourse should be had to the cautery and the knife.*"

Gol. Stat. Imb. 25.

1642, *March* 3.—Lord Moore advanced with a party of 400 foot and 80 horse, on the north side of Drogheda, amongst his traiterous tenants, at Tallagh-hallon, where Sir Phelim

O'Neil and Colonel Mac Bryan had confederated together the preceding night.

The Rebels instantly appeared wtih eight pair of colours, being entrenched much to their advantage.

Our infantry, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Byron, commenced an attack upon them, and pressing them closely, they took to their heels, leaving about 400 men and seven Captains dead on the field. One hundred muskets and a great number of pikes were taken, and among the prisoners were Rory Mac Art, Mac Cross, Mac Mahon, Barnewall of Rahasket, and some Popish Priests and Friars.

Some of the flying Rebels attempted to secure themselves in an adjoining bog, from which they were in a short time dislodged by a drake from Lord Moore's army. This hot skirmish took place within sight of the walls of Drogheda, and Lord Moore behaved with the greatest gallantry in it.

The Rebels recognized him and endeavoured to seize him, but though he was some distance from the main body of his men, and had but seven soldiers with him, he charged through his assailants, killed several of them, scattered the rest, and got off clear. In the mean time, Darcy, of Platten, in Meath, after some hesitation, surrendered his house, when he found that two pieces of cannon were to be brought from Dogheda to batter it. (*Borlase*, page 66 and 67.)

About this time Sir Charles Coote hanged a Popish Priest of the name of Higgins, who officiated in Naas, and about it. The execution of this man gave just offence to Lord Ormond, who had taken him into his protection, because so far from being engaged in the rebellion, or giving any encouragement to it, he had distinguished himself greatly by saving the Protestants of that part of the country from spoil and slaughter, and had relieved several whom he found had been stripped and plundered. Lord Ormond remonstrated very warmly with the Lords Justices, and insisted that Coote should be tried, for having hanged, not only an innocent but a meritorious subject, without examination, trial, or warrant. But the Lords Justices were determined to support Sir Charles Coote; it was supposed with the double design of provoking Lord Ormond to resign his command, and to prevent all submissions which might lead to a pacification with the Rebels. (*Warner*, vol. i. page 183.)

Those who are acquainted with the history of Popery will not be surprised to find the Romish Bishops assembled at Jamestown, on the 13th of August, 1650, charging the Marquis of Ormond, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with the murder of this Mr. Higgins, and another Priest of the name of White

Higgins's case has been stated a hard one; it undoubtedly was, but not chargeable upon the man who, of all others, was most innocent of it, and by whom it was most warmly resented. The case of Friar White was as follows:—

The Marquis of Ormond, being upon his march with his army, quartered one night at Clonin, with the Earl of Westmeath and his family. During supper, at which many of the officers were present, Lady Westmeath expressed some trouble in her countenance, which the Marquis, who sat next to her, observing, asked her what the matter was? She whispered to him, that she was in great apprehension for the safety of an honest person in her house, and much feared the soldiers would ill-use him, as he was a Romish Priest. The Marquis replied, that *if he was in the house, and kept himself there,* he was in no danger; for as the soldiers would attempt nothing while he staid there, so he would leave a guard at his departure that should secure it against stragglers, or any party that should stay behind—which they did accordingly. In the morning, when he was ready to march, he received information that the Rebels were possessed of a pass by which he was to go; whereupon he sent some troops to get a ford, three miles from the way the army was to march, and by that means to come upon the rear of the Rebels by the time the army should come to the pass. After a short encounter, in which many were killed, the Rebels were put to flight, and the pass gained. In this action, Father White, the innocent Friar for whom the Countess of Westmeath had interceded the night before, was taken on horseback, with a case of pistols in his hands. As soon as he was taken, he desired to be brought before the Marquis, to whom he pleaded, that he was the person for whom the Lady had besought his favour the night before, adding, that his Lordship had promised he should be safe. The Marquis told him, if he were the same person, it was his own fault if he was not safe; if he had staid in the Earl of Westmeath's house, this would not have befallen him; that it was now out of his power to preserve him, himself being bound to follow the orders he had received from the Lords Justices, who had forbidden quarter to be given to those found in arms, and more particularly to the Popish Priests so found, as being the well known incendiaries of the rebellion, and the chief actors in the unparelleled cruelties practised in it. Nevertheless, the Marquis did endeavour to save this man, at least until he might be brought to Dublin; but the whole army, possessed with a bitter spirit against the Romish Clergy, mutinied upon it, and, in the end, compelled the Marquis to leave

Friar White to that justice, which they were authorised and commanded to execute—and so he was put to death. See Borlase, page 206, where he makes the following observation on this occasion :—

" Who can now, upon these two instances, and no others can or have been given, reasonably and honestly say, that the Marquis of Ormond hath had his hands defiled with the blood of Priests ? And from the time that he had the chief power committed to him, there was not one Priest, (how maliciously, treacherously, or rebelliously they behaved themselves against the King's service, and the person of the Lord Lieutenant,) who suffered death ; and all other acts of blood and rage which he found unnecessary, though sometimes almost unavoidable in the most just war, were declined and discountenanced by him ; nay, for his respect unto affairs of this nature, his anxiety that they might be evenly and without passion carried on, he did often undergo, even with his own party, the suspicion of not being sufficiently faithful—the consequence of which was, many censures on his conduct. The truth is, the rebellion was odious to him ; yet his desire to reclaim the Irish by mercy, palliated what otherwise might have finished the war sooner than it had its termination." So much for Popish candour and gratitude.

March 3.—Some forces sallied from Drogheda under the command of Colonel Wainman. They advanced to Marlington, three miles from the town, and having pillaged it, and burned some houses, they returned with a considerable quantity of all sorts of grain. *(Borlase,* p. 66.)

The army was now deemed strong enough to raise the blockade of Drogheda, and the disgrace and danger of suffering the Rebels to reduce that important place, were strongly represented to the Lords Justices ; but they were averse to any vigorous proceedings ; they affected to dread the numbers of the Rebels, and the rank and influence of their leaders ; so that, instead of making a regular attempt to relieve this garrison, they resolved to try the effect of a diversion. (*Carte and Leland,* vol. iii. p. 164.)

On the same day, an order was given to the Earl of Ormond to go, with three thousand foot and five hundred horse, against the Rebels in the Counties of Dublin and Meath, and to burn and destroy, as he should think fit, the places, towns, and houses where they and their adherents usually resided, but to take care that no corn, hay, or houses should be burned within five miles of Dublin ; and though he was allowed to march into such places as he saw fit, between the sea and the Boyne,

yet he was on no consideration allowed to pass that river. Not content with having tied him up so strictly in their instructions, Parsons wrote him a letter, in which he acquainted him "that having considered of the expedition, and some consequences of it, concerning his Lordship, they had resolved to entreat him earnestly to stay at home, and let them send away the army under the conduct of Sir Simon Harcourt, wherein they desired his Lordship's approbation;" but the King having entrusted him particularly with the command of his army, the Earl refused to let it march upon an expedition of such consequence, and in which so much liberty of plunder and spoil was given, under the conduct of any General besides himself. When he was advanced to some distance from Dublin, he sent out some parties to waste and pillage the country, in order to draw some of the Rebels to him, and to make it be believed that he was marching to raise the siege of Drogheda. The report of his march had the effect expected; Sir Phelim O'Neil sent away his cannon to Dundalk, and the whole force of the Rebels quitted the neighbourhood of the besieged town, dispersed themselves in great haste, and fled towards the north. (*Warner*, vol. i. p. 166.)

On this day the Lord President of Munster, Sir William St. Leger, took the town of Dungarvan.

At this time it appeared, by the depositions taken before Dean Jones, and the other Commissioners appointed for that purpose, that the rebellion, which had at that time raged with unparalleled fury for five months, and was likely to desolate the whole kingdom, had been contrived and plotted in a convent of Franciscan Friars at Multifarnham, in the County of Westmeath, after the parliamentary recess in the preceding summer.

Among many other things, it was debated there, "what course should be taken with the English, and all others, that were found, in the whole kingdom, to be Protestants?"

Some were only for their banishment, as the King of Spain had sent the Moors out of Grenada, with some of their goods; others were urgent that all Protestants should be universally cut of; the King of Spain's lenity being his and his Queen's act, not the advice of the Council of Spain, which afterwards, it was observed, cost Christendom dear, the Moors surviving to return with their swords, and constantly infesting the Spaniards from Algiers and Sallee.

These disputes continued a long time, and when the conspirators had determined what to do with the Protestants of Ireland, they proceeded, in confidence of their success, to determine what course they would pursue respecting the mode of govern-

ment they should establish; a system of piracy was to be adopted in all the sea-ports, and two hundred thousand men were to be embodied into a standing army, to be officered from O'Neil's regiment in Flanders, and other nurseries established on the Continent for training up the Irish in arms and rebellion.

No. XIV.

"*They bawl for freedom in their senseless mood,*
"*Yet still revolt when truth would set them free.*"
MILTON.

1642, *March* 5.—The Earl of Ormond conveyed to the Lords Justices an account of Sir Phelim O'Neil's having raised the siege of Drogheda. The Earl represented to the government the necessity of pursuing the Rebels vigorously, desiring for this purpose, that his commission might be enlarged, and that he might be permitted to continue his march to Newry; but this overture was rejected by the Lords Justices, who repeated their injunctions, that this gallant nobleman should not pass the river Boyne. No reason whatever was adduced for this unaccountable restriction. (*Leland*, vol. iii. page 165.)

About this time the Rebels laid close siege to the Castle of Geashel, in the King's County, held out against them by Lady Offalia, the aged widow of Sir Robert Digby. This Lady received the following letter from the Rebels, during the siege, to which she sent the subjoined answer, and seconded it by a gallant and unparalleled defence of her Castle:—

"Honourable—We, his Majesty's *loyal* subjects, being at present employed in his Highness's service, for the taking of this your Castle, you are, therefore, to deliver unto us, free possession of your said Castle, promising faithfully, that your Ladyship, together with the rest in the said Castle restant, shall have a reasonable composition; otherwise, upon the not yielding of the Castle, we do assure you, that we will burn the whole town, KILL ALL THE PROTETANTS, and spare neither man, woman, nor child, upon taking the Castle. Consider, Madam, of this our offer, and impute not the blame of your own folly unto us; think not that here we brag.—Your Ladyship, upon submission, shall have a safe convoy to secure you from the hands of your enemies, and to lead you where you please.

" A speedy reply is desired, with all expedition, and thus we surcease.

" HENRY DEMPSY,
" CHARLES DEMPSY,
" ANDREW FITZPATRICK,
" CON. DEMPSY,
" PHELIM DEMPSY,
" JOHN VICKARS,
" JAMES MAC DONNEL.

" To the honourable and thrice virtuous
" the Lady Digby, these give."

The Lady Offalia, her answer to the Rebels. Superscribed—For her cousin Henry Dempsy and the rest ———:

" I received your letter, wherein you threaten to sack this Castle, by his Majesty's authority. I am and ever have been a loyal subject, and a good neighbour amongst you, and therefore cannot but wonder at such an assault.

" I thank you for the offer of a convoy, wherein I hold little safety, and therefore my resolution is, that being free from offending his Majesty, or doing wrong to any of you, I will live and die innocently, and will do my best to defend my own, leaving the issue to GOD: and though I have been, and still am desirous to avoid the shedding of christian blood, yet being provoked, your threats shall no whit dismay me.

" LETTICE OFFALIA."

This noble old lady was the only daughter of Gerald, eldest son of Gerald, Earl of Kildare, brother of Earl Thomas, who was beheaded in the eighth year of Henry Eighth's reign. Her father died, without succeeding to the title of his father, but by the special favour of King James, she was granted the title of Offaly, which belonged of right to the eldest sons of the Earl of Kildare. *(Borlase,* page 77.*)*

March 7.—The Earl of Ormond left Dublin, and arriving near Drogheda, with three thousand infantry, and five hundred cavalry, he received intelligence that the Rebels had killed all the Protestants in Atherdee, (now Ardee.) On his march he laid waste the County of Meath, and burned several of the houses of the Lords of the Pale. On this day Magdalen Redman, and Isabel Porter, of Dowris, in the King's County, widows, deposed before the Commissioners, that they and divers other Protestants their neighbours, and among the rest twenty-two widows, after they were all robbed, were also ripped stark naked, and then they covering themselves in a

house with straw, the Rebels then and there lighted the straw with fire, where they would have been burned or smothered, but that some of the Rebels, more merciful than the rest, interfered in their behalf. They were then driven from the said house unto the woods, wrehe they were kept from Tuesday until Saturday, in frost and snow, so that the snow, unmelted, lay long upon the skins of some of them. When deponents, and the rest, endeavoured to have gone away for refuge to Birr, (now Parsonstown) the cruel Rebels turned them again, saying they should go towards Dublin; and when they endeavoured to go towards Dublin, they hindered them again, and said they should go to Birr, and so tossed them to and fro. Yet, at length, such of those poor stripped people as died not before they got out of the hands of the Rebels, escaped into Birr, where they were harboured and relieved by William Parsons, Esq. and yet there died at Birr, of these stripped persons, about forty men, women, and children. *(Redman and Porters' depositions before Watson and Aldrich. Temple*, p. 90.*)*

March 8.—Lord Broghill took the Castle of Tourin and burned it.

March 9.—Both Houses of Parliament presented a declaration to the King at Newmarket, stating, among other things, that "a design for altering the religion of the nation had been potently carried on, by those in the greatest authority about his Majesty, for divers years together, and that the Queen's agent at Rome, and the Pope's agent and Nuncio in England, were not only evidences of the existence of this design, but *great actors* in it."

They added, "that the war with Scotland had been brought about, and the rebellion in Ireland framed and contrived by the Popish party in England; and that for the success of the Queen's pious intention of altering the religion of the nation, the Pope's Nuncio, Count Rosetti, had enjoined fasting and praying to be observed every week by the English Papists."

To this declaration his Majesty returned an answer extempore, vindicating himself from the aspersions thrown out against him in it. "I call GOD to witness, (said he,) that my fears are greater for the true Protestant profession, my people and laws, than for my own rights and safety; though, I must tell you, I conceive none of these are free from danger.

"What would you have?—Have I violated your laws?—Have I denied to pass any Bill for the ease and security of my subjects?

"I do not ask you what you have done for me.

"Have any of my people been transported with fears and

apprehensions?—I have offered a free and general pardon, as yourselves can devise. All this considered, THERE IS A JUDGMENT FROM HEAVEN UPON THIS NATION, if these distractions continue.

"GOD so deal with me and mine, as all my thoughts and intentions are upright for the MAINTENANCE OF THE TRUE PROTESTANT PROFESSION, and for the observation and preservation of the laws of the land, and I hope GOD will bless and assist those laws for my preservation." *(Rushworth,* vol. iv. page 532.*)*

March 11.—The Earl of Ormond, arriving at Drogheda, held a council of war there with Lord Moore, Sir Henry Tichborne, Sir Thomas Lucas, Sir Simon Harcourt, Sir Robert Ferral, and others, when it was resolved to prosecute the war with vigour, by pursuing with fire and sword the Rebels who had retreated towards the North.

No. XV.

"*Every one who knows what Popish principles are, must consider them radically* INCOMPATIBLE WITH CIVIL GOVERNMENT, *and only ceasing to be hurtful by contingency and circumstances.*"

(Dr. Geddes to Bishop Douglas, in 1794.)

1642, *March* 15.—The King being at Huntingdon, sent a message to both Houses of Parliament, to inform them, that he intended to take his residence at York for some time; and lest his removal to York should hinder or delay the supplies for Ireland, he made the following declaration in his message, viz.—

"That he very earnestly desired, that they would use all possible industry in expediting the business of Ireland, in which they might expect his cheerful concurrence.

"That he was unable by words to express more affection to that service than he had already endeavoured to do by former messages, as well as by doing all such acts as had been moved to him on that subject by his Parliament; and, therefore, *if the calamities of his poor Protestant subjects should grow upon them,* he would *wash his hands before all the world from the least imputation of slackness, in that most necessary and pious work.*" *(Rushworth,* vol. iv. page 533.*)*

Thus did the King resent that horrid rebellion, having nothing left further to express the deep sense he had of the public miseries of his kingdom.

The Parliament made the following reply to his Majesty's message:—

"We humbly beseech your Majesty to consider how impossible it is, that any protestation, though published in your Majesty's name, of your tenderness of the miseries of your Protestant subjects in Ireland, can give satisfaction to reasonable and indifferent men, when at the same time *divers of the Irish Traitors and Rebels, the known favourers of them, and agents for them*, are admitted to your Majesty's presence with grace and favour, and some of them employed in your service; and when clothes, ammunition, horses, and other necessaries, bought by your Parliament, and sent for the supply of the army against the Rebels in Ireland, are violently taken away, some by your Majesty's command, others by your Ministers."

As to the admission of Traitors or their agents to the presence and favour of this unfortunate Monarch, the intrigues of his Queen, and her Italian agent, the Nuncio Rosetti, gave but too much reason to suppose, that there were some grounds for this accusation; but the clothes, &c. which had been seized at Coventry, were not intended for the use of the army in Ireland, but were to have been disposed of to the soldiers who were at that time in arms to support the Parliament in England. So far from diverting any of those supplies for the relief of Ireland, the thoughts of whose miserable condition deeply affected him, the King finding 3000 suits of clothes in Chester, for the use of his English army, sent them off immediately to Ireland, no necessity of his own army being sufficient to induce him to withhold them.

At the same time the Parliament beginning to feel the want of money, ordered the sum of one hundred thousand pounds of the adventurer's money, then in the hands of the treasurer, for the relief of Ireland, to be made use of for equipping their army under the Earl of Essex, then ready to march against the King at Nottingham, notwithstanding a clause in the Act made on raising this money, viz. "That no part of that money shall be employed to any other purpose, than the reducing of the Rebels in Ireland." This raised a great noise, and reflected highly upon the Parliament—that they who so heartily on all occasions had complained of the King's neglect of his poor Protestant subjects in Ireland, should now make use of that money themselves, to raise a rebellion against him in England, and so leave the remnant of those suffering souls in Ireland to the insolence and cruelty of the Popish Rebels, resigning their own forces, flesh of their flesh, sent over with so much expence for the suppression of those cruel Rebels,

to neglect, and scorn, and ruin, for want of a reasonable and just supply. The Romish Clergy, and the Rebel Chiefs in Ireland, had agents about the King and in the Parliament too, who quickly informed them of these dissensions, and they well knew how to profit by them ; so that Borlase tells us, (p. 93,) that those noble souls who then maintained the cause of England, and the Protestant religion in Ireland, " drooped between the living and the dead, though their brows were daily covered with laurels."

March 16.—The King, being at Stamford, in his way to York, issued a Proclamation for strictly putting in execution the laws against Papists. *(Rushworth,* vol. iv. p. 559.*)*

There was no great occasion for this Proclamation, it serving only to shew, that hitherto these laws had been ill executed. But the King had a mind thereby to repel the imputations of his protecting and countenancing the Roman Catholics, which his enemies talked so much among the people, as if this protection was a proof of his design to introduce Popery. *(Rapin,* vol. x. p. 396.*)*

March 17.—On this day, according to the Popish writers, Viscount Preston, and Sir Robert Talbot, on the part of the Irish Rebels, desired " that murderers on both sides should be punished." This, however, as Borlase observes, (page 58,) was but a flourish to palliate the atrocities of a rebellion which they had commenced in blood, and an artful effort to justify their own unparalleled cruelty, by charging an equal share of it upon those who had woefully experienced its effects. On the very first day of the rebellion, (says this historian,) Rory M'Guire hanged no less than eighteen persons in the church of Clownish, in the County of Monaghan ; and in two days afterwards, the same sanguinary bigot, after seizing Mr. Middleton, and his wife and children, at Castleskeagh, or Ballybalfure, burned the public records of the County of Fermanagh, which had been lodged in this Castle, plundered this unfortunate gentleman of his money, and after compelling him and his family to renounce the Protestant religion, hanged them all, with at least one hundred other persons, at the same place. *(See Sir John Dunbar's relation, in Borlase's Appendix.)*

In Temple, page 90, the following detail is given of the same horrible transaction :—

" Rowry Maguire, upon the 24th of October, 1641, came with his company unto Lissenskeagh, (in the County of Fermanagh,) and desired, in a friendly manner, to speak with Master Middleton, who had the keeping of the Castle. The first thing he did, as soon as he was entered therein, was to burn

the records of the County, whereof Master Middleton was the keeper, he being Clerk of the Peace, which he enforced him to deliver unto him, as likewise one thousand pounds he had in his hands of Sir William Balfoure's; which, as soon as he had, he compelled the said Middleton to hear Mass, and swear never to alter from it; and immediately after, caused him, his wife, and his children to be hanged up, and hanged and murdered at least one hundred persons besides in that town. These particulars, and several others, are set down at large in a relation sent to me, (Sir John Temple, Knt. Master of the Rolls, and a Privy Counsellor,) by Sir John Dunbar, Knt. one of the Justices of Peace within the County of Fermanagh."

As to the Scotch forces, near Carrickfergus, murdering three thousand innocent persons in the beginning of November, which is stated by the author of the Politician's Catechism, and by other Popish writers, to have been the first massacre, or murder, in Ireland on either side, see John Cormick's testimony, at the trial of Hugh Oge Mac Mahon, on the 18th of November, 1644, attested upon oath by Sir William Cole, Sir William Hamilton, Sir Arthur Loftus, Sir Charles Coote, and others.

No. XVI.

"*These are* MEN OF BLOOD, *and if I were at present a* "*member of their communion, their savage barbarity would* "*induce me to leave them for ever, even though I had no other* "*fault to find with them.*"

LUTHER, COMM. ii. 40. 10.

March 18.—The Castle of Loegar, in the County of Limerick, of which William Weekes and Richard Hart had been appointed Constables by Sir William St. Leger, surrendered on this day to the Rebels. About the same time the Castle of Kilfinny, in the same County, surrendered to the Rebels, after being defended with more than Amazonian courage by the Lady Dowdal for forty weeks. *(Borlase,* p. 87.)

March 21.—Lord Moore and Sir Henry Tichborn, being reinforced by the Earl of Ormond, marched against the Rebels near Drogheda, with one thousand foot and two hundred horse, finishing what they had left unburned at Slane and other villages in the way.

March 22.—On this day the Rev. Thomas Fleetwood, Curate of Kilbeggan, in the County of Westmeath, deposed upon oath, before Dean Jones and the other Commissioners, that he had heard from the mouths of the Rebels themselves of

great cruelties acted by them; and for one instance, that they stabbed the mother, Jane Addis by name, and left her little sucking child, not three months old, by the dead corpse; and then they put the breast of its dead mother into its mouth, and bid it suck, English bastard, and so left it to perish. *(Temple,* page 103.*)*

It also appeared by Mr. Fleetwood's examination, that William Sibthorp, Parish Clerk of Mullingar, was, with Messrs. Dalton and Moorehead, murdered by the Rebels of Westmeath. *(Borlase,* page 125.*)*

And John Naghten of the same County deposed, that a boy and two women were hanged by the insurgents in Kilbeggan. One of the women desired that the child which was on her breast should be buried with her, knowing it would suffer afterwards, but that sad request was refused; the infant was cast from her, and starved to death. *(Naghten's Examination in Borlase,* page 124.*)*

March 23.—Lord Moore and Sir Henry Tichborn advanced with fire and sword towards Ardee (then called Atherdee.) About a mile from the town the enemy was described, drawn up in two divisions, reported to be from eleven to fifteen hundred in number.

Sir Henry Tichborn drew his soldiers into battalia, sending up a forlorn hope before to scour the ditches, which they so effectually did, that, stumbling on an ambuscade of the enemy's musqueteers, they beat them out of their holes, and killed four hundred of them in the space of a mile.

At the foot of the bridge near the town, our foot found some resistance, by musqueteers placed in a tower, upon which Sir Henry Tichborn, finding a passage over the river, galled them so on the other side, that they soon abandoned it.

The passage thus opened, the horse entered, and with a full career chased the Rebels through the town, where one of their Lieutenant-Colonels, and five of their Captains were slain, the Lord Moore doing much execution with his own hands. *(Borlase,* p. 67.*)*

In this month Captain Alexander Hovenden, half brother of Sir Phelim O'Neil, sent from the camp before Drogheda a prophesy, said to be found in the Abbey of Kells, importing, that Tyrone or Sir Phelim, after the conquest and settlement of Ireland, should fight five battles in England, in the last of which the Irish Commander should be killed upon Dunsmore-heath, but not before he had driven King Charles, with *his whole posterity,* out of England, who should be afterwards "*profugi in terra aliena in æternum.*"

This paper, with Dr. Maxwell's whole library, to the value of seven or eight hundred pounds, was burned by the Scotch forces, commanded by Lord Viscount Montgomery. *(Dr. Maxwell's Examination,* p. 5.*)*

The Irish have uniformly made use of such prophesies in their rebellions, and the absurdity and falsehood of them never prevented their having their intended effect on the ignorant and deluded peasants.

In the year 1798, a prophesy of the expulsion of the Protestants, and the establishment of an independent kingdom in Ireland, was universally circulated among the Rebels, and it was ascribed to a Popish Priest of the name of Donelly, who had died many years before in the County of Tyrone.

About this time, the Earl of Antrim, being closely pressed to join the Rebels by one Owen Mac Clymon, replied, that "the business was already spoiled, especially in Ulster, by bloodshed and robbery, and that he would not declare himself, either one way or other, until after May-day following." *(Dr. Maxwell's Examination,* p. 6.*)*

March 26.—Lord Moore and Sir Henry Tichborn, with their army, approached the town of Dundalk about nine o'clock in the morning; after a smart resistance the town and castle were taken, an hundred Rebels killed, and an hundred and twenty Protestant prisoners relieved from prison. The English forces, upon muster, next morning, appeared to be but seven hundred and fifty foot and two hundred horse—those of the Rebels amounted to near three thousand men within the town, besides a great superiority of artillery. *(Borlase,* p. 68.*)*

Thus was Drogheda at last completely relieved after a long and doubtful siege, and Sir Phelim O'Neil retreated with his forces to Newry. He then passed through the Counties of Armagh and Tyrone, where, in revenge for his losses before Drogheda, he exercised the utmost cruelty on the Protestant men, women, and children, whom he had to that time suffered to live amongst the Irish. He most barbarously murdered his prisoner, Lord Caulfield, at Charlemont, where Dr. Hodges and forty-three Protestants were put to death. *(Price's Examination,* p. 1 and 2.*)*

By Sir Phelim O'Neil's express order, Lieutenant James Maxwell, brother to Dr. Robert Maxwell, afterwards Bishop of Kilmore, was dragged out of his bed, raving in the height of a burning fever, driven two miles, and murdered; his wife great with child, stripped stark naked, and drowned in the Blackwater—the child half born. Mr. Starkey, aged an hundred years, was, with his two daughters, stripped naked, the daughters

forced to support and lead their father, and, having gone three quarters of a mile, they were all three drowned in a turf pit. *(Dr. Maxwell's Examination,* p. 9, *and Examination of Captain John Perkins, of the County Tyrone,* p. 6 and 7.*)*

Five hundred Protestants were murdered at Armagh, besides forty-eight families in the parish of Killaman. *(Captain Perkin's Examination,* p. 6, *and Anthony Strafford's Examination at Armagh,* p. 2.*)*

Three hundred Protestants were stripped naked, and put into the church of Loughgall, whereof about an hundred were murdered in the church, amongst whom was John Gregg, who was quartered, and his quarters thrown in the face of his father, Richard Gregg. The said Richard Gregg was then murdered, having received seventeen or eighteen wounds, and his body was quartered in the presence of his unfortunate wife, Mrs. Alice Gregg, who made an affidavit of the foregoing circumstances before Dean Jones, and the other Commissioners appointed for the purpose of ascertaining the cruelties practised by the Rebels. *(See Borlase's Appendix,* p. 111.*)*

Fifteen hundred Protestants were murdered in three parishes in the County of Armagh. *(James Shaw's Examination,* p. 1.*)*

Two and twenty Protestants were put into a thatched house in the parish of Kilmore, and there burned alive. *(Examinations of Smith, Clerk, Fillis, Stanhaw, Tullerton, Machet, and Constable, of the County of Armagh, and also of Captain John Parkins, of the County of Tyrone.)*

The Rev. Mr. Robinson, his wife, and three children, were drowned. Mr. William Blundell was drawn by the neck in a rope up and down the Blackwater, at Charlemont, to make him confess his money, and in three weeks after, he with his wife and seven children were drowned. Forty-four other persons were murdered, at several times, in the same place, where, among other horrible acts, a wife was compelled to hang her own husband. *(Examinations of Edward Saltenstall, George Littlefield, and Margaret Bromley, of Armagh.—See Borlase's Appendix,* p. 110.*)*

One hundred and eighty Protestants were drowned at the bridge of Callon, and one hundred more in a Lough near Ballymacilmurrogh. *(Captain Anthony Strafford's Examination at Armagh,* page 2.*)*

Fifty Protestants were murdered at Blackwater church. The wife of Arnold Taylor, great with child, had her belly ripped up, and was then drowned—Thomas Mason was buried alive—the brains of three Protestants were knocked out with a hatchet in the church of Banburb—eight women were drowned in the

river near the same church—and Mrs. Howard and Mrs. Franklin (both great with child,) were murdered with six of their children. *(Examinations of Fillis, Stanhow, Frankland, Smith, Clerk, Tullerton, Price, Harcourt, and Parry, of the County of Armagh.)*

In the County of Tyrone, the Rev. John Mather, and the Rev. Mr. Blyth, though they had Sir Phelim O'Neil's protection, were murdered with SIXTY PROTESTANT FAMILIES of the town of Dungannon. *(Examinations of John Perkins, Esq. of the County of Tyrone, and Captain Anthony Strafford, of the County of Armagh.)*

Between Charlemont and Dungannon, above 400 were murdered, and 206 were drowned in the Blackwater and the river of Banburb. Thirteen were murdered in one morning by Patrick Mac Carew, of Dungannon. Two young Rebels killed one hundred and forty women and children, and the wife of Bryan Kelly, of Loughall, murdered five and forty with her own hands. Robert Bickerdick and his wife were drowned in the Bwatelack, where Thomas and James Carlisle, and ninety-eight person were put to death. Three hundred were put to death on the way to Colerain, by order of Sir Phelim O'Neil and his brother Tirlagh, and three hundred were drowned in one day, at a mill-pool in the parish of Killamoon. *(See the Examinations of Carlisle, Perkins, and Stratford; or Borlase's Appendix*, p. 123.*)*

In this dreadful persecution, those who through fear had conformed to Popery, though few in number, did not escape the fury of the Rebels—but they were the last who were cut off. The Rebels about this time, least they should be charged with more murders than they committed, commanded their *Priests* to bring in a true account of them—from which it appeared, that from the 23d of October, 1642, to the month of March, 1643, one hundred and fifty four thousand Protestants were murdered, whether in Ulster, or the whole kingdom, Doctor Robert Maxwell, who saw the return, durst not venture to enquire. *(Dr. Maxwell's Examination*, p. 7.*)*

No. XVII.

"*Quidve petunt?—quæ religio?—aut quæ machina belli.*"
VIRGIL *Æ.* ii. 151.

1642, *March 26.*—Sir Simon Harcourt marched with a party from Dublin to dislodge the Rebels from the Castle of Carrickmain, within four miles of the city, on the Wicklow side.

As he had no artillery with him, the Rebels began to brave him from the top of the Castle as he approached towards it, and used many reproachful signs and expressions to signify their contempt and scorn of him.

Provoked at this insolence, he sent back to the city for two great guns to batter the Castle; and in the mean time he surrounded it in such a manner, as to prevent the Rebels from getting out. In this service Serjeant Major Berry was mortally wounded: at the same time Sir Simon Harcourt, with some of his officers, laid themselves down at the side of a low thatched house, where they took shelter from the bullets of the Rebels, while they waited for the arrival of the guns; from which place Sir Simon suddenly rising to give some orders to his men, he was shot by one of the Rebels in the right breast, under his collar bone. He was then carried off, expressing his submission to the good hand of GOD, and his joy at shedding his blood in so honourable a cause. The pain of his wound was so great that he could not be removed into Dublin, but was brought to Mirian, a house of the Lord Fitzwilliam, where he died next day to the great grief of the English, and the prejudice of the service.

His Lieutenant-Colonel, Gibson, took the command of the besieging party, and, the great guns being come, within the space of a very few hours, made a breach in the Castle sufficient for the soldiers to enter, who being desperately enraged at the loss of their beloved Commander, entered with great fury, sparing neither man, woman, nor child. The first officer that led them on the breach was Robert Hammond, brother to Doctor Hammond the celebrated divine—he had been Ensign to Sir Simon Harcourt.

At the time that Sir Simon Harcourt went on this expedition, the Lords Justices, finding what wicked instruments the Popish Priests continued to be, in kindling and fomenting the rebellion, caused as many of them as were in Dublin to be seized on, who being put into French bottoms, were shipped into France. *(Borlase*, p. 73.)

April 1.—The King sent another message to the Parliament, that "being grieved at the very soul for the calamities of his good subjects of Ireland, and most tenderly sensible of the false and scandalous reports dispersed among the people concerning the rebellion there, he had firmly resolved to go thither with all convenient speed, determined to support the true religion, and never to consent to the toleration of Popery, or the abolition of the laws then in force against recusants."

The Parliament, afraid lest the King by reducing one of the

three kingdoms to obedience, might be able to preserve the peace of the other two, resolved that he should not go; and with equal insolence and absurdity declared, that "his going on that expedition would but encourage the Rebels; and that they would not consent to the raising or payment of any levies, but such as should be employed and governed by themselves." *(Warner*, vol. i. p. 207.*)*

April 2.—Sir William St. Leger, Lord President of Munster, wrote a pressing letter to the Earl of Leicester, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, demanding a supply of men, money, arms, and ammunition.

He concluded this letter in the following manner:—"Indeed our wants of money are so great and pressing, that for defect of entertainment and encouragement, the officers, both of horse and foot, daily flock unto me, and importune me to be dismissed, and left at liberty to seek their preferment in England: and so soon as this little which is left me to feed the soldiers with, from hand to mouth, is spent, I know no way to prevent their sudden disbanding, and, therefore, I do again beseech your Lordship to endeavour that I may not be exposed to the dishonour and misery of being abandoned by the King's forces, and left myself single to the mercy of the enemy, but that moneys may be speedily transmitted to me, with directions what pay to allow the horsemen and officers of the foot; with an overplus of money as I have always desired for extraordinary and emergent occasions, about either the ordnance or forts; whereas nothing is yet in a right posture, but things only shuffled together for a shift, by reason we had not wherewithal to the work as it ought.

"Your Lordship's most humble Servant,

"W. SAINTLEGER.

"*Cork, April 2*, 1642."

The Earl of Ormond on this day marched from Dublin towards Naas, with eight thousand foot and five hundred horse, for the purpose of relieving several places of strength, some besieged by the Rebels, and others much distressed by their wants and necessities. *(Borlase*, p. *73.)*

April 5.—The Earl of Ormond arrived with his army at Athy, a town twenty-seven miles from Dublin. From this place he sent out parties to relieve Carlow, Maryborough, Ballinakill, Cloghgrevan, Ballylivan, and several other towns and Castles then in distress.

Sir Patrick Weams, Captain of the Lieutenant-General's troops, Captain Armstrong, Captain Yarner, Captain Harman,

Captain Schout, Colonel Crafford, Sir Richard Grenville, Sir Thomas Lucas, and Sir Charles Coote, distinguished themselves in their several commands on this occasion. Sir Charles Coote cleared the woods of Montrath, and forced his passage into Maryborough, a town of great consequence, seated in a rebellious neighbourhood. From the former of these places, Sir Charles Coote then took his title, which has continued in the family ever since. *(See Borlase,* p. 74.*)*

April 6.—On this day, Mrs. Elizabeth Champion, widow of Arthur Champion, of the County of Fermanagh, deposed, before Dean Jones and the Commissioners, that when the Castle of Lisgoole was set on fire by the Rebels, a woman, leaping out of a window to save herself from the fire, was murdered by them, and, when her child was found next morning sucking the dead mother's breast, the Rebels murdered the infant also. *(Temple's Appendix,* p. 102.*)*

April 7.—Robert Sibthorp, Bishop of Kilfenora, was translated to the See of Limerick; but by reason of the wars, he never received a penny out of it.

April 8.—The King sent a message to Parliament from York this day, that he would go over in person to Ireland, and intended to raise a guard for his person in Cheshire, to carry thither, whom he would arm from the magazine of Hull. *(Richard Burton's History of Ireland,* p. 41.*)*

His Majesty declared that as he was in his interest more concerned in this affair than any of his subjects, so he was to make a stricter account to Almighty God for any neglect of his duty, or his people's preservation. *(Borlase,* p. 70.*)*

The Parliament declared, that "this journey would be against the law, and that whosoever should assist his Majesty in it, would be guilty of an act of hostility to the Commonwealth;" and they once more threatened to issue orders to the Sheriffs to raise the *posse comitatus*, in their respective Counties, to suppress any levies the King should attempt to raise in them. *(Ibid.)*

On this day, John Glasse, of Montrath, in the Queen's County, deposed, before the Commissioners, that Florence Fitzpatrick, of said County, Esq. having received Mr. John Nicholson, and his wife, Anne Nicholson, under his protection, did endeavour all he could to turn them to Mass;—that Mr. Nicholson declared, that sooner than forsake his religion, or join in the rebellion, he would *die the death*—and his wife shewed even greater resolution. The Rebels would have had her burn her Bible, but her answer was, that before she would do so, or turn against her countrymen, she would die

upon the point of the sword – upon which they were both (on a Sabbath day in the morning,) butchered by one John Harding, who was commanded to do so by the said Florence Fitzpatrick. —Deponent added that said Harding was afterwards so tormented in his conscience, that he conceived himself to be continually haunted by the ghosts of Mr. and Mrs. Nicholson, and was consuming away with the horrors he felt. *(Glasse's Examinations in Temple's Appendix,* p. 110.*)*

Sir James Craig died this day in the Castle of Croghan, in the County of Cavan. This Castle, with that of Keilagh, in the same neighbourhood, belonged to Sir Francis Hamilton, by whom it was defended at this time; and Sir James Craig and he had each so nobly defended his own post, and so successfully aided each other, that they kept the Rebels in a constant state of alarm, notwithstanding whatsoever *Mulmore O'Reilly, the High Sheriff, or Edmond O'Reilly, his father, or Phillip Mac Hugh O'Reilly, their chief commander, could do.

At the time of Sir James Craig's death, the store of provisions and ammunition, in both these Castles, had fallen short, and a mortal sickness prevailed from the use of corrupted water, the Rebels having tainted their well with dead carcases. *(See Borlase,* p. 31, *and Dean Jones's account of the Rebellion in Cavan, London,* 1642.*)*

No. XVIII.

"As our divisions prevail, the Romanists prevail also."
(Thorndike Forb. of Pen. p. 37.)

1642, *April* 10, *Easter Sunday.*—The Rebels having collected their forces from Wicklow, Wexford, Carlow, Kildare, the Queen's County, Kilkenny, Tipperary, and Westmeath, to the amount of 10,000 men, advanced with forty pair of colours, within two miles of Athy, under the command of the Lord Viscount Mountgarret, great uncle of the Earl of Ormond.

The Marquis perceiving from the other side of the river Barrow, that he was considerably out-numbered, returned to Athy, and thought it prudent to retire, in the face of the Rebel

* O'Reilly, the Sheriff of Cavan, having shaken off his obedience to the English Government, changed his christian name from Miles to Mulmore, not considering his allegiance completely renounced while he retained an English name: the same hatred to every thing English is observable in the agitators of our own times.

army, to Dublin, having with him, Sir John Bowen Fitzgerald, of Timoga, Richard Grace, of Maryborough, and Captain Crosby, prisoners. *(Borlase,* page 117.*)*

About this time John Stone, of Ballincolough, in the County of Kilkenny, with his son, and two sons-in-law, and his two daughters, were hanged, by the Rebels. One of the daughters being great with child, was put to death in such a barbarous manner as would be shocking to humanity to relate. At same time Richard Philips, and five other soldiers of his Majesty's army were hanged in the city of Kilkenny, by the command of Lord Mountgarret. *(Mr. Owen Frankland's Examination—Borlase's Appendix,* page 117.*)*

About the same time 72 men, women, and children, were murdered at the Graige, in the County of Kilkenny. Many were buried alive, and among them, Robert Pyne, who sat up in his grave, saying, CHRIST *receive my soul,* till his voice was stopped by the earth thrown in upon him by his merciless persecutors. *(See the Examinations of Joseph Wheeler, Esq. and Mr. John Macre, of the County and City of Kilkenny, and Borlase's Appendix,* page 116.*)*

April 15.—The first detachment of the Scottish forces landed at Carrickfergus, under the command of Robert Munroe, where they were instantly joined by some of the provincial forces, amounting to 1800 foot, and seven troops of horse. Sir Phelim O'Neil was now matched, for Monroe was, if possible, as great a savage as himself, and behaved with the most atrocious brutality, whenever he had an opportunity of doing so. *(See Leland,* vol. iii. page 180, *and Carte's Ormond, as quoted there.)*

The Earl of Ormond, on his retreat, arriving this day at Blackhale-heath, between Kilrush and Rathmore, about twenty miles from Dublin, was stopped by the Rebel army, which was drawn up to great advantage, having two ditches on each wing, the wind in their back, and a great bog a mile behind them.

The Earl called a council under a thorn hedge, and appeared unwilling to venture his army on such a disadvantage ; but the English Commanders were all of opinion that a battle should be fought, and Sir Charles Coote assured them, that he discerned fear in the Rebel's faces, as well as guilt in their persons. Upon this determination, the army marched forward at seven o'clock in the morning, as if determined to force their way to Dublin, leaving in and about Athy, Captain Erasmus Burrows, Captain Grimes, Captain Thomas Welden, with their companies.

After marching a short way towards Kilrush, halting when

the Rebels halted, and advancing when they advanced, the army was drawn up to as much advantage as the ground would permit, and the battle began. Sir Charles Coote being second in command, had the ordering of the foot, Sir Thomas Lucas of the right wing of horse, and Sir Richard Greenville, of the left. The Earl of Ormond having many gentlemen with him who had voluntcered their services in that expedition, put them all in a troop, under the command of a worthy person, Major Ogle, a Reformade, and joining himself in the midst of the first rank of them, the onset commenced.

The artillery began first to play, but without much effect. The Rebel army was led by Lord Mountgarret, Purcell, Baron of Loghmo, Hugh Mac Phelim Birn, Colonel Toole, Sir Morgan Cavenagh, Colonel Morris Cavenagh, Arthur Cavenagh, Colonel Bagnal, Lord Dunboyne, and Colonel Roger Moore.

They were drawn up in a place of great advantage, upon the top of an hill, where there were but two narrow passes to get at them.

The forlorn hope of the English army, commanded by Captain Rochfort, and consisting of one hundred and fifty musquetecrs, advanced rapidly up the hill, seconded by Captain Stanford and his company, and firing upon the Rebels. Sir Charles Coote led up the rest with great celerity; but before the infantry got near them, the horse, both under Sir Thomas Lucas and Sir Richard Greenville, (one wing charging at one of the two passages and the other at the other,) fell in upon the main body of the Rebel army, and routed it at once.

The Rebels fled to the bog behind them—a sanctuary, says Borlase, which the Irish in all their flights commonly chuse to provide for themselves, and seldom fail to use, and so escaped with the loss of but six hundred, some say three hundred men. Among the killed were Lord Dunhayne's sons, Lord Ikerrin's sons, and Colonel Cavenagh, their heads were brought by the soldiers to the Earl of Ormond after the battle.

The Rebels lost in this engagement twenty pair of colours, many drums, and all their powder and ammunition, with the baggage of the Lords Mountgarret and Ikerrin. Colonel Monk, who, by the quick flight of the Irish, was prevented from doing that service in the field which he intended, pursued them to the bog, which looked all over black, being covered entirely with them, here he began to fall on them with a party of his regiment, resolving upon a severe execution of them, when he was commanded by the gallant and humane Ormond to retire, "having got honour enough that day." *(See Borlase, p. 75.)*

In the mean time the English garrisons in the Province of Connaught exerted themselves with great vigour to relieve each other and annoy the Rebels. The Marquis of Clanrickard kept the towns of Loughrea and Portumna, to which the English resorted with great security, where they were received by him with unbounded hospitality, and with an incredible expense. He even hanged many of his own kindred who had committed murders, greatly resenting the barbarism and inhumanity of the Irish.

In Easter week Sir Charles Coote, after surprising and plundering a body of the Rebels, near Ballinasloe, attempted to relieve the town and Castle of Athlone, which was besieged by the Rebels. After some small resistance in his approach to the town, where a few resolute men could have impeded the progress of a large army, he forced his way to the garrison and threw into it the cattle and other provisions which he had taken in his expedition through Connaught.

The Castles of Roscommon, Tulsk, Elphin, Knockvicar, Abbeyboyle, and Belanfad, made an amazing stand, from the first attack of the Rebels to this time, when the last (Belanfad) was obliged to surrender for want of water, after the Governor's two brothers, the Kings of Boyle, with Sir Charles Coote, had resolved to relieve him.

April 16.—The Earl of Ormond's army, after resting the preceding night in the open fields at Old Connel, and on the Curragh of Kildare, proceeded towards Dublin.

April 17.—The Earl of Ormond and his army arriving in Dublin this day, were received by the Lords Justices and Council with all imaginable demonstrations of joy and honour. The Earl's behaviour was represented to the King and the Parliament, in consequence of which his Majesty created him Marquis, and the Parliament voted five hundred pounds, to be laid out on a jewel, to be sent to him, as an honourable mark of the high esteem they had of him for his service at the battle of Kilrush, which was accordingly done, and brought to his Lordship, with a letter of thanks. *(See Borlase,* page 75.*)*

About this time *the Romish clergy*, who had hitherto walked somewhat invisibly in these *works of darkness*, began openly to justify the rebellion, encouraged to this boldness by the divided and distracted state of the Protestants in England, and the quarrel between the King and his Parliament.

The Titular Primate, O'Neil, summoned all the Popish Bishops and clergy of his Province to meet in Synod, at Kells; where, after making some constitutions against murderers, plunderers, and "usurpers of other men's estates," *they*

declared the rebellion to be a pious and lawful war, and exhorted all persons to join in the support of it. Thomas Dease, the Titular Bishop of Meath, neither obeyed the summons in person, nor by proxy, nor did he admonish any of his Priests to attend this Synod; he had laboured all that was in his power to keep the Nobility and Gentry of his diocese from engaging in the rebellion, which he declared to be unjust and groundless, and he had succeeded so well, particularly with the Earl of Westmeath, in whose house he lived, and with several of the Nugent family, that they had not embarked in it, and so preserved their lives, rank, and property. To this the Rebels (as before mentioned,) ascribed their repulse from Drogheda, and therefore it was thought necessary, at the Synod of Kells, as well as that of Waterford afterwards, to censure this Prelate severely, and threaten him with suspension. *(See Warner*, vol. i. p. 187, *and the Forty-fifth Number of these Annals.)*

No. XIX.

"*Ad miscebant se personati, qui Papæ causam promoturi, "dissentiones inituas promovebant.*"

(Comenii Hist. Ecc. Bohem. Sec. 36.)

1642, *April* 17.—Every part of Ireland was now exposed to the miseries of a wasting war, carried on in the usual course of Irish wars, in times more remote and barbarous. The insurgents in different quarters followed their respective leaders, without any general union, command, or direction, or any scheme of general enterprize. *(Leland*, vol. iii. page 174.*)*

Upon the return of the English forces from the battle of Kilrush, Philip Sidney, Lord Viscount Lisle, eldest son of the Earl of Leicester, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, landed at Dublin, his regiment having arrived before him. He was a member of the English House of Commons, and was by them recommended to his father to be made Lieutenant-General of the horse in Ireland, though very young.

As soon as he landed, he undertook the relieving of Lady Offaly, at the Castle of Geashel, in the King's County. Sir Charles Coote accompanied him in this expedition, the object of which was easily accomplished with 120 foot and 300 horse, the Rebels not daring to approach the Castle in a body, but making little skirmishes from the bogs as the army passed along. In their way they took the strong fort of Phillipstown, in the King's County, which the Rebels had treacherously surprised some time before. *(See Borlase*, page 77 and 78.*)*

In this month the valiant Bandonians, (as Sir Richard Cox calls them,) took the Castle of Downdaniel, and killed 100 Rebels, near Powlalong, getting considerable booty in both places.

April 22.—His Majesty's Council, at Edinburgh, declared in a Proclamation, dated this day, "that there could not be a greater demonstration of care and princely courage, than the King's intention to go in person into Ireland against the Rebels." *(Ibid,* page 70.*)*

April 23.—The Lords Justices and Council of Ireland wrote a letter to the King, taking notice of his princely purpose, "to take just vengeance on the perfidious Rebels, and humbly besought him to come so provided, as to appear in this kingdom suitable to the goodness and wisdom of so mighty a King:" which letter, how finely soever it was covered, conveyed, in the opinion of many, no small discouragement to his Majesty's undertaking the expedition he intended, an expedition which would have terminated their authority, and overawed their republican confederates in England. *(See Borlase,* page 70.*)*

About this time Mr. Secretary Windebank being questioned for releasing divers Popish Priests and Jesuits, contrary to the established laws, fled into France, and the Lord Keeper, Finch, on some distrust he had of his safety, withdrew into Holland. *(Heylyn's Life of Laud,* lib. v. page 30.*)*

April 30.—The Lords Justices and Privy Council of Ireland appointed a fast to be observed monthly, upon each Friday before the sacrament, to continue until declaration should be made to the contrary, for the wonderful discovery of the late plot against the state and true religion, as for the happy and prosperous success which God in his mercy had given his Majesty's forces against the Rebels, and for avoiding God's just indignation for the future. *(Borlase,* page 77.*)*

On this day the Rebels laid siege to Castle Matrix, in the parish of Raceele, (Rathkeale,) in the Barony of Connello, and County of Limerick. This Castle was commanded by Morrice Herbert, junior, and did not surrender until the October following. *(Ibid,* p. 87.*)*

May 5.—The Archbishop of York, with the Bishops of Gloucester, Norwich, St. Asaph, Wells, Hereford, Oxford, Ely, Peterborough, and Llandaff, were released upon bail from imprisonment in the tower of London, where they had been confined for eighteen weeks. *(Heylyn's Life of Laud,* lib. v. page 26.*)*

Their sole crime was having, at the last preservative of their persons and authority, presented a protestation to the King,

in the House of Peers, containing a relation of some of the abuse and violence which had been offered to them for some days before. Petitions had been daily presented to Parliament against them as COMMON GRIEVANCES, and multitudes of men, women, and children, surrounded the Parliament-house, crying out, "no Bishops, no Bishops," and the devoted Prelates in approaching the House were assailed with the bitterest language and pelted with stones.

Lord Clarendon tells us, (History of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. 266,) "that the mob laid hands upon the Archbishop of York going to the House of Peers, in such a manner, that if he had not been seasonably rescued, it was believed they would have murdered him—

> "The beastly rabble hurried down,
> "From all the garrets in the town—
> "From stalls and shop-boards, in vast swarms,
> "With new-chalked bills, and rusty arms;
> "And oyster women lock'd their fish up,
> "To range the streets and cry NO BISHOP."
>
> BUTLER.

In this disgraceful tumult, the Bishops, and many members of both Houses, withdrew themselves from attending to their duty in Parliament, from a real apprehension of losing their lives. The Earl of Essex, and Lord Kimbolton, endeavoured to persuade the Bishops, on this distressing occasion, to gratify the importunate desires of the House of Commons, by voluntarily relinquishing their votes in Parliament; but the Bishops refused to betray their own rights, and those of their successors—so they sent in a protest, for which they were imprisoned.

In this protest they declared, that, contrary to the wicked reports which had been raised against them by those infatuated fanatics, who pretended to know no difference between Popery and Prelacy, "they did abominate all actions or opinions tending to Popery, or the maintainance thereof. That they had nevertheless been at several times violently menaced and assaulted by multitudes of people, in their way to perform their services in that honourable House, and a short time before chased away, and put in danger of their lives. That, therefore, saving unto themselves all their rights and interest of sitting and voting in that House at other times, they dared not to sit and vote in that House until his Majesty should further secure them from all farther affronts, indignities, and *dangers*, &c. &c." *(Hush. Exac. Collect,* p. 44.)

While the Protestants of England were (to use the language of Bishop Sanderson,) thus crumbled into factions, biting and devouring each other, a vigilant adversary, intent upon his advantage and opportunities, was now perceiving his time to overmaster them all, with more ease, and less resistance.

" Hoc Ithacus Velit et magno mercentur Abridæ."

Such unhappy divisions did at once weaken and dishonour the Protestant cause, and occasion the enemy to triumph, who seeing much of his work done for him, by those who would seem most averse from him, clapped his hands together, saying, " Aha ! aha ! our eye hath seen it, so would we have it. *(See Mede's Life,* Sec. 44. p. 30.*)*

May 10.—On this day a general Synod of the Popish Bishops and clergy of Ireland, was assembled in the city of Kilkenny. Three of the titular Archbishops, six other Bishops, the proxies of five more, besides Vicars General, and other dignitaries, were present at the Synod, and *all* agreed in declaring the war for the defence of the *Catholic religion,* and the maintenance of the prerogative and royal rights of the King and Queen, to be *just and lawful. (Warner,* vol. i. p. 201.*)*

The declaration of this Synod is to be found in *Borlase's Appendix,* pages 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, and 45, folio.

It was published in the name of the Holy Trinity, and signed by the following persons, with certain uncouth additions attached to them, not unlike those tacked to the names of the late protestors against Quarantotti's Rescript.

Hugo, Archiepiscopus Ardmachanus.
Thomas, Archiepiscopus Casselensis.
Malachius, Archiepiscopus Guamenum.
David, Episcopus Osoren.
Frater Boetius, Episcopus Elphinensis.
Frater Patricius, Episcopus Waterforden & Lysmoren.
Frater Rochus, Episcopus Kil Daren.
Johannes, Electus Clonfarten.
Emerus, Electus Dunen & Conoren.
Frater Josephus, Everard.
Procurator Archiepiscopi Dubliniens.
Doctor Johannes Creagh, Procurator Episcopus Lymeriten.
William O'Connel, Procurator Episcopi Imolacen.
Donatus O'Tearnan, Procurator Episcopi Laonen.
Doctor Dionysius Harty, Decanus Laonensis.
Doctor Michael Hacket, Vic. Gen. Waterforden.
Gulielmus Devoens, Vic. Gen. Fernensen.
Thomas Roch, Vicar Gen. Ossorien.
Frater Lucas Archer, Abbas Sanctæ Crucis.

Frater Anthonius De Rosario, Ord. Præd. Vic. Provinial.
Robertus Nungent, Societat. Jesu Heb.
Frater Thaddeus Connaldus, Ang. Pro. Provinc.
Johannes Wareing, Decanus Lymericen.
Frater Patricius Darcye, Guardian, Dublin.
Frater Thomas Strange, Guardian, Waterford.
Frater Joseph Lancton, Prior, Kilkenny.
Frater Thomas Tearnan, Guarde-de, Dundalk.
Frater Johannes Reyly, Guard, Kilkenny.
Frater Boetius Egnanus, Guard, Buttevant.
Jordanus Boork, Archdeaconus, Lymericensis.

No. XX.

" *Utque facilius Catholici sectarios opprimere possint, variis* " *obductis causis et artibus, alios ab aliis ut divellant, occasiones* " *captandæ.*"

(Joh. Paul Windeck—" de Extirp. Hæres.")

1642, *May* 3.—General Monroe, with 1600 infantry, five troops of horse, and three of dragoons, having a few days before defeated the Rebels under the Lord of Evagh, at the pass of Kilwarlin, and taken possession of the Island of Loughbrickland, where he killed 60 desperate Rebels, took the town of Newry this day, and hanged 60 of the Rebels there.

May 4.—The valiant Bandonians, assisted by the English of Kinsale, took the strong Castle of Carrighnass, and on the next day the Castle of Powlalong was surrendered to them, and the Castle of Kilgoban was deserted by the ward.

About the same time Captain Scurlock, with about 700 Rebels of the County of Waterford, made a brisk attempt on Cappoquin, but the brave Governor, Captain Crocker, with 100 men, encountered him in the town, killed Scurlock, and routed his forces.

May 6.—Monroe marched with his army to Armagh, but the Rebels having notice of his approach, burned the town, not sparing the cathedral church, and murdered a vast number of their Protestant prisoners; some say 5000. *(Cox's Hibernia Anglicana*, vol. ii. page 111 and 114.*)*

May 10.—Among the acts concluded and ordained in the General Assembly of CONFEDERATED CATHOLICS, at Kilkenny, on this and the two succeeding days, were those that follow, viz.

" No. 4. We straitly command all our inferiors, as well churchmen as laymen, to make no distinction at all between the *old* and *ancient* Irish, and no alienation, comparison, or differences between cities, towns, or families; and lastly, not to begin or forward any emulations or comparisons whatsoever." This act had now become necessary, from the daily broils that prevailed, not only between the Aboriginal Irish and the English Papists of the Pale, *but* between the old Irish themselves, whose genius and disposition has ever led them into deadly feuds and broils.

The men of Leinster, Ulster, Munster, and Connaught entertain a studied antipathy to each other. Barony is divided against barony, parish against parish, house against house, and Montagues and Capulets are to be found in every village, who cherish an hereditary hatred, and are ever ready, upon the slightest provocation, to attack each other. Even in the province of Munster, where the Protestants are so thinly scattered, as never to be able, if they were willing, to collect in bodies to fight the Popish mob, the quarrels are just as frequent, and as violent between the Papists themselves, as they have been between them and the Protestants in Ulster.

" The Gibbelines, for want of Guelves,
" Fall out and fight among themselves."

The Shanavests and Caravats of Tipperary are deadly enemies to each other, though of the same communion; and the real or pretended cause of hostility is, that those of one party wear *old waistcoats*, and the other *white handkerchiefs* as their different names denote. They can, however, forget their differences when the house or person of a Protestant is to be attacked; and what is still more surprising, they can find Protestant advocates in their own country to maintain their cause both in and out of Parliament.

But the chief impediment to the union of the Rebels in 1642, was their hereditary hatred and contempt of every thing English; of which Cox, in the preface to his Hibernia Anglicana, gives the following remarkable instance :—

" O'Neal, in one of his marches through Munster, being told that Barret of Castlemore, though an Englishman, was a good Catholic, and had been there 400 years—he replied, "*that he hated the clown as if he had come but yesterday.*" It was another *O'Neal* that said, "*it did not become him to writh his mouth to chatter English,*" and that executed a soldier because he had an English biscuit in his pocket. *(See the first volume of these Annals,* page 26.)

This system of hatred will prevail in Ireland, and render every effort to civilize its inhabitants abortive until the genuine principles of the GOSPEL OF PEACE are universally disseminated through it; and whilst we are most laudably establishing "*A Church Missionary Society,*" for the purpose of rescuing the *foreign* heathens from their present state of "*darkness and moral degradation,*" it is fondly to be hoped, that the millions of *our own countrymen, who are now perishing in the deluge of Catholic Apostacy, and exhibit as unequivocal symptoms of moral degradation as the savages of either India, will occupy some portion of that attention which is due to them as possessors of immortal souls formed for an eternity of bliss or woe.*

"No 22. We think it convenient, that some be appointed out of the Nobility and Clergy as AMBASSADORS, to be sent in behalf of the whole kingdom unto the Kings of FRANCE and SPAIN, to the EMPEROR, and HIS HOLINESS THE POPE, and those to be of the church Prelates, or one of the Nobility, and a LAWYER."

"No. 26. It is committed to the will and disposition of the Bishop of each diocese, *whether, and when to enter into the churches and celebrate Masses in them.*"

This is not yet committed to the Popish Bishops of Ireland, though, contrary to law, they have of late assumed the style and titles which belong only to our Prelates as Spiritual Lords, taking rank from the Baronies attached to their Sees. They are styled, in public instruments, Right Reverend and Most Reverend Bishops and Archbishops; and one of them had the presumption last winter to write a letter to the Lord Bishop of Derry, sealed with an Episcopal Seal, exhibiting a conspicuous Mitre, &c. &c.

"No. 28. In every regiment of soldiers, let there be appointed at least *two Confessors and one Preacher,* to be named by the Ordinaries and by the Superiors of the Regulars, whose competent maintenance we commend and command to every Colonel in their respective regiments."

In the year 1795, one Hussey, a Popish Priest, arrived in Ireland from Spain, and commenced his operations previous to the horrible scenes which ensued in three years afterwards. This man, who, in the following year, was appointed a Titular Bishop, and Head of the Romish Seminary at Maynooth, came into this country armed by the Pope with *a Commission* to act as *Chief Almoner or Chaplain to all the Romish military in Ireland*—a Commission which might have well warranted a suspicion of the views and objects of the bearer of it. He was, however, indulged by the government of the country in a liberty of visiting

at his pleasure the Camp at Lehaunstown, near Dublin, in which several regiments of Irish militia were quartered. Here, though there were three Romish chapels in the immediate neighbourhood, he was permitted to exercise his public and private functions as a Popish Priest—and here he attempted to raise a mutiny, by a calumny which was re-echoed from this Camp to the remotest corners of our Island, viz.—that "one Hyland, a Romish dragoon, had been cruelly whipped for refusing to attend the celebration of divine service in a Protestant church." The fact was, that this man refused to attend the parade of his regiment on a Sunday morning, alleging, that he was a Roman Catholic, and that he would not march to the church door; he was told, that his marching with his regiment to the church door was a military duty, with which he was bound to comply, and that he had full liberty to depart from the church door and go to a Romish chapel if he pleased. This did not content him; he persisted in his refusal to obey his officer, he was tried by a Court Martial, condemned to be whipped, and was afterwards turned out of the regiment.

The disaffected seized upon this story to retail it to the populace—it was recited on the 9th of April, in M'Nevin's speech at Francis-street chapel. And the *Popish Almoner and Chaplain-General*, as soon as the Pope had advanced him to the Titular Bishopric of Waterford, published, in his celebrated *Pastoral Letter*, dated the 9th of January, 1797, a strong denunciation of such "Catholic soldiers" as should presume to attend Protestant places of worship—warning them not to be ashamed of the *religion of Irishmen*—reminding them that, "in matters regarding the service of *the King of Kings*, their officers had no authority over them, whose attempts to make proselytes of them, might, perhaps, induce them, in the hour of danger, to forget their duty and their loyalty in order to be revenged of their persecutors." *(See Dr. Duigenan's Answer to Mr. Grattan's Address*, p. 154—*Dublin*, 1798.)

The influence of these and similar admonitions from their pious Chaplains, appeared in the Longford, Kilkenny, and perhaps a few other regiments of Irish militia in the year 1798. Their effects on the brutal and infuriated Rebels of Waterford and Wexford, were also visible in the crusade of that awful year. It is, therefore, not very surprising, that the General Assembly of *Confederated Catholics* at Kilkenny should, in the same Proclamation which declared the rebellion of 1641, "*a just and lawful war against sectaries*," appoint three Popish Priests to each regiment in the Rebel army; and, under the comprehensive idea of *simple repeal* in *our own days*, a com-

plete establishment of such inquisitorial confessors was destined by the Popish politicians for the army and navy of this great Protestant empire.

May 12.—After a successful expedition against the Rebels at Loughbrickland, Newry, and Armagh, the Scottish army returned to Carrickfergus, with a very considerable booty of cattle. The province of Ulster began about this time to be sadly distressed for want of provisions, insomuch, that when Sir John Clotworthy advanced from Antrim, by the way of Toome, through the barony of Loghinsolin, in the County of Londonderry, he found the Irish under so great a pressure of famine, that they eat their own dead. The Rebels of this barony, as they were among the first sufferers by the effects of this dreadful rebellion and massacre, so had they been perhaps the earliest, if not the most violent of those who engaged in it. On the fatal twenty-third of October, Cormock O'Hagan surprised the strong Castle of Moneymore, belonging to the Company of Drapers in London; upon which Mr. William Rowly, who had been an active man in repressing the Irish, posted off to Colerain, where he brought the first notice of the insurrection, about eight o'clock on Sunday morning the 24th, which was soon after confirmed by multitudes of pillaged people that flocked into the town that day. The towns of Desertmartin, Maghara, Vintnerstown, Draperstown, and Magharafelt, were burned at this time, as Mr. Hugh Rowly afterwards informed Sir Richard Cox. Colonel Edward Rowly having on the first alarm raised a regiment of foot and a troop of horse, and Colonel Cozens a regiment of foot, in the town of Colerain, the former marched into the country, and for some time kept an open village called Garvaghy—but at length the Irish to a very great number, (whereof many were Colonel Rowly's own tenants,) fell upon him, and killed all his men but eight, and barbarously murdered himself, after they had given him quarter. They then burned and plundered the whole country to the gates of Colerain.

It was lamentable to see the Scots so deluded by the wheedling of the Irish at this critical time, that they unfortunately sat still as neuters till the English were destroyed. A strong instance of this appears in the case of Mr. William Stewart of the Irry, who had married the Earl of Tyrone's grand-daughter: he had six hundred Scots together, and might have preserved that country, but being assured by his wife's Irish relatives, that no harm was designed to his countrymen, he dismissed his followers to their respective dwellings, and *that very night most of them were murdered.* This was the first action that alarmed

the Scots, among whom the Irish from that time forward made a sad slaughter, and the Scots in due time did not fail to pay them in their own coin, and particularly at the Island of Magee a few weeks afterwards; an action barbarous, indeed, and unjustifiable by any degree of provocation, but which undoubtedly was a "*consequence*," and not "*a cause*" of the massacre of the Protestants in Ulster. *(See Cox's Hibernica Anglicana*, vol. ii. page 99.*)*

No. XXI.

"*Addendum est, hic, etiam, tanquam omnino certum; omnes* "HIBERNOS *teneri ex præcepto humano, divino & naturali,* "CONVENIRE INTER SE *ad Hæreticos expellendos & ad evitandam* "*dam cum eis communicationem.*"

(Mahony, Disputatio Apologetica, page 742.)

1642, *May* 19.—The Parliament of England issued a declaration, accusing the King of having countenanced the rebellion in Ireland, on the grounds of his having delayed issuing a Proclamation against it until the first of January in this year, and having issued but forty copies of it.

To this declaration his Majesty replied, that he had not issued the Proclamation sooner because the Lords Justices of Ireland had not desired it sooner, and that when they did, the number they desired was but twenty, which they advised might be signed by the King; that for the greater expedition he had them printed and signed, and issued double the number required of him. *(Borlase*, page 54.*)*

May 23.—The King's army being by this time reduced to great extremities for want of money and provisions, the Marquis of Ormond was obliged to publish a sharp Proclamation against the exorbitancies of the soldiers. In the mean time the Lords Justices and Council, after many fruitless representations to the King, and the English Parliament, of the miserable condition of the Irish army, allotted to several Captains and other Officers such convenient houses and villages as they had taken from the Rebels, giving them leave to carry the several troops and companies under their command to quarter in them, by which means they freed themselves from the present charge of providing victuals for them, forcing them to live upon the spoils of their enemies, which they quickly found the way to do, and made themselves masters of all the cattle and other substance of those who lived within reasonable distance of them.

By these means all the considerable places belonging to the Rebels, within twenty miles of Dublin, came into the hands of the soldiers, as having them granted by way of Custodium for the present unto them; an expedient acceptable to the officers, and extremely prejudicial to the Rebels. *(Borlase*, page 99.*)*

General Monroe wrote to the Irish Committee of the Parliament of England, giving them an account of his victory over the Rebels at Newry. He stated in this letter, that with two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, he beat Owen Mac Art O'Neal, Sir Phelim O'Neal, and Owen Mac Art, the General's son, who had all joined their forces. *(Borlase*, p. 83.*)*

About this time Lord Lisle, returning with his army to Dublin, after relieving the Lady Offally, and taking the strong fort of Phillipstown, in the King's County, was prevailed on by Sir Charles Coote to march against the town of Trim, where Lord Gormanstown, and the other Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale, had collected a considerable force.

When they came near the town they saw those Lords at a little distance from them, but in such a posture, as shewed they did not intend to fight; and Lord Lisle approached with his forces to the town, and Sir Charles Coote, finding a place in the wall where he could get in some of his horse, brought them on and entered without opposition, the Lords of the Pale, and the Rebels, quitting the town at the one end of it, while the King's army entered on the other.

The town being thus gained, and, from its situation on the banks of the Boyne, in a most plentiful part of the Rebel's quarters, it was immediately resolved to make a garrison of it. Lord Lisle set off for Dublin next day with a guard of horse, and left Sir Charles Coote in command of the town. The Rebels hearing this, and knowing that the wall was old and ruinous, returned and made a desperate attack upon the English garrison in the middle of the night. The sentinels gave the alarm as they approached, and Sir Charles Coote, who was never off his guard on service, was the first that took it. Having his horse ready, he mounted, and with the few dragoons he could collect, sallied out and charged the Rebels, who were approaching in a great body. Being soon reinforced, he threw them into disorder and put them to flight, when he pursued them with great vigour, doing singular execution with his own hands; but, as he was encouraging his men to pursue their advantage, he was unfortunately shot in the body by one of

the flying Rebels, who, in despair, turned about and discharged his musquet at him.

Thus fell this gallant gentleman, who had by this time become so formidable to the enemy, that his very name was a terror to them. His death afforded a great triumph and encouragement to the Rebels. His body was brought to Dublin, and there interred with great solemnity, floods of English tears being shed over his grave; for, by his untimely end, and that of Sir Simon Harcourt, the fate of the English interest in Ireland seemed to be reduced to the most desperate situation. *(See Borlase,* p. 79 *and* 80.*)*

About the beginning of June, in this year, some regiments arrived from England, under the command of Sir Foulk Hunks and Lieutenant Colonel Kirk, who brought over the regiment designed for the Lord Ranelagh. On the arrival of this force, two regiments were sent into the province of Connaught. In this expedition, the Castle of Knocklyneh was taken, and the besieged (except women) not accepting quarter, were put to the sword; upon which the Castles of Trimbleston, belonging to Lord Trimbleston, and Kymkelf, belonging to Lord Netterville, surrendered.

On the approach of this army to Athlone, Sir James Dillon, of the County of Longford, who had besieged it since Christmas, ran away; so that the Lord President, with fifty horse, and about two hundred foot, met the Lieutenant-General five miles from Athlone; and after an hour or two's stay, the Earl of Ormond took leave of the Lord President, leaving at his departure a regiment for the President himself, and another, with two troops of horse, for Sir Michael Earnly, Sir Abraham Shipman, and Sir Bernard Ashley.

With these troops the Lord President might have subdued all Connaught, except the town of Galway; but instead of employing his brave men in active service during the summer, he kept them at home on short and putrid commons, whereby most of them were famished or contracted mortal diseases, and were presently so enfeebled, that the tenth man was not able to march.

At last he was persuaded to draw out his men to service, and he besieged the Castle of Ballagh, midway between Roscommon and Athlone.

After a breach was made in the Castle, the Lord President ordered an assault, which was attempted without success, and many of the assailants killed by shots and stones thrown from the top of the Castle; but on the succeeding night, the Rebels,

through the negligence of the guards, abandoned the Castle, and fled into an adjoining bog. *(Borlase,* p. 80.*)*

June 1.—Edward Saltinglasse, of the County of Armagh, gentleman, deposed upon oath, before the Commissioners, that George Lawlis (Lawless,) a Rebel of said County, resolving to kill John Cowder, gave said Cowder notice of his intention, but bid him first say his prayers, whereupon Cowder kneeling down to pray, the said Lawlis instantly cut off his head as he was upon his knees. *(Temple,* p. 91.*)*

June 10.—The Lords Justices and Council, finding themselves much prejudiced by the protections they had given to many of the Rebels who, under pretext of labouring at the plough, had their weapons hidden near them, to *cut off straggling soldiers and Protestants* as they passed by them single, withdrew their former protections, by a Proclamation issued this day.—A similar abuse of protections was observable in the year 1798, when the Popish Rebels, who surrendered their pikes on the Curragh of Kildare, and received protections from General Dundas, proceeded immediately afterwards into Wexford, and were among the foremost of those who burned and piked the Protestants in that County. *(See Borlase,* p. 99, *and any of the authentic Histories of the Rebellion in* 1798.*)*

The above-mentioned Proclamation contains the following passage :—

" In return for so much clemency used towards the said persons, so ungrateful have many or most of them been found, and so insensible of the duty and loyalty of good subjects to his Majesty, that they have run on in their former rebellious courses, and have murdered many English and other subjects in several parts of the country, it being observed, that if any of his Majesty's good subjects, soldiers or others, pass by not strongly guarded, *they are set upon and murdered* in the high-ways and passages as they travel—the very ploughmen, and those that keep cattle, having continually arms lying by them in the fields, to murder those, his Majesty's good subjects, when they find them weakly guarded ; and, on the other side, when they find them strongly guarded, they seem to go on in their ploughing and husbandry, *shewing those warrants* for their safety, and seeming to be poor, innocent, and harmless la rers. *(Borlase's Appendix, No. IX.)*

June 12.—Lord Maguire, and Oge Mac Mahon, were sent into England, and committed prisoners to the Tower of London. *(Ibid,* p. 99.*)*

June 15.—About this time, the Lord President drew out his small forces into the County of Mayo, where, not far from

Ballintobber, they met with the Irish army, which was more than double the number. Nevertheless, the English obtained an easy victory over them, and killed near two thousand of the Rebels. *(Cox's Hibernia Anglicana,* vol. ii. p. 116.*)*

Two months had now been wasted in total inaction, or frivolous enterprises in Ulster, by which the spirit of the Rebels began to revive, and issuing from their retreats, they began to collect their forces. The charge of opposing them devolved on the English forces; for the Scots were totally employed in ravaging the adjacent country, and exporting vast herds of cattle into Scotland. *(Leland's History of Ireland,* vol. iii. p. 180.*)*

In one of the excursions of the Scots from Carrickfergus, Monroe, with an appearance of amity and respect, visited the Earl of Antrim at his Castle of Dunluce, was hospitably received; but at the conclusion of an entertainment, gave a signal to his followers. The Earl was made prisoner, his Castle seized, and all his houses committed to the Scottish forces. *(Ibid,* p. 181.*)*

Leland, with an affectation of liberality common to him and his predecessor, Warner, observes on this occasion, that "the Earl of Antrim had been zealous against the Rebels, and that his only crime was having been a Papist and a Cavalier." It is probable, however, that Dr. Leland, when he made this rash observation, had not carefully examined the documents which remain to prove the ambiguous conduct of the Earl of Antrim in this rebellion. Dr. Daly, the friend of Sir Phelim O'Neal, told Dr. Robert Maxwell, in Armagh, that Sir Phelim would never have undertaken the command of the Irish in the province of Ulster, if he had not been persuaded that the Earl of Antrim would have taken arms as soon as himself.

In the month of March this year, the Earl declared to Owen Mac Clymon, "that he would not declare himself either way until the first of May," on which occasion, as well as by a declaration he had made going through Armagh on the 30th of April, it was evident that he was deterred from joining the Rebels only by the ruin which he saw they had brought upon their cause, by their bloodshed, cruelties, and robberies. *(See Dr. Maxwell's Examination,* p. 6.*)*

Dr. Borlase tells us, (Hist. Reb. page 199,) that the Earl of Antrim "from the beginning had passionately served the confederate Catholics in their most intimate concerns," and he was sent by them with Lord Muskerry and others as Commissioners to the Queen of England at Paris, in the year 1648.

"Upon the Restoration, in the year 1660, Lord Antrim was thought *guilty of so much bloodshed,* that it was taken for

granted he could not be included in the indemnity that was to pass in Ireland. Upon this he (Lord Antrim) seeing the Duke of Ormond set against him, came over to London, and was lodged at Somerset-house; and it was believed, that having no children, he settled his estate on Jermyn, then Earl of St. Albans; but before he came away, he had made a prior settlement in favour of his brother. He petitioned the King to order a Committee of Council to examine the warrants he had acted upon. The Earl of Clarendon was for rejecting the petition, as containing an high indignity on the memory of King Charles the First; but the Committee was named, and Lord Antrim produced some of the King's letters, in one of which it was said his Majesty had no leisure, but referred himself to the Queen's letter, observing, that it was all one as if written by himself. On this foundation Antrim produced a series of letters written by the Queen, and after a variety of intrigues, in which the Queen dowager espoused her Irish friend's cause with great zeal, the King wrote to the Duke of Ormond, telling him that the Earl of Antrim had acquitted himself, and that he must endeavour to get him included in the indemnity, by which the King sacrificed his father's honour to his mother's importunity." *(Bishop Burnet's History of his own Times*, vol. i. p. 21.)

It was therefore but sound and justifiable policy in Monroe to seize the Earl of Antrim, and secure his Castles, though he ought to have done so without treachery.

No. XXII.

" *All that I aim at is, that there may remain, for the benefit* " *of this present age, as well as of* POSTERITY, *some certain* " *records and monuments of the first beginning and fatal pro-* " *gress of this rebellion, together with the horrid cruelties most* " *unmercifully exercised by the Irish Rebels upon the British and* " *Protestants within this kingdom of Ireland, that when that* " *kingdom comes to be* REPLANTED WITH BRITISH, *and settled* " *in peace again, there may be such a course taken, and such* " *provisions made, as it shall not be in the power of the Irish to* " *rise up as now, and in all former ages they have done, to destroy* " *and root them out in a moment, before they be able to put* " *themselves into a posture of defence, or to gather together to* " *make any considerable resistance against their bloody attempts.*"

(Sir John Temple, Knight, Master of the Rolls.)

1642, *June* 20.—Seven hundred foot and two troops of horse, under the command of Colonel Gibson, went into Wicklow,

where the Rebels not daring to face them, they got much prey, burned many villages, and returned without loss. *(Borlase, p. 83.)*

The King's affairs now growing every day more straitened in England, Sir Lewis Kirk, at Court, withdrew Sir Henry Stradling and Kettleby from guarding the Irish coast, whereby presently afterwards there came in both arms and ammunition in great quantities to Wexford, as also several Irish Commanders, as Preston, Cullen, Plunket, and others, who having been Colonels in France, were readily entertained there, much to the heartening of the Rebels. *(Ibid.)*

June 21.—The Parliament met this day in Dublin. *(Warner, vol. i. page 212.)*

"*22 Die Junij*, 1642.

"Forasmuch as it appears unto this House, that the persons hereafter named, who were Members of this House, are either in open Rebellion, or stand indicted of High Treason, so as the said persons are conceived and adjudged to be rotten and unprofitable Members, fit to be cut off, and not worthy any longer to be esteemed as Members of this Honourable House; it is therefore now ordered, that all the said undernamed persons shall stand excluded from this House, and be no longer reputed any Members of the same; And it is further ordered, that Mr. SPEAKER shall esue out warrants to the Clark of the Crown and his Majesty's High Court of Chancery, to esue forth writs for new elections to be made in the room and place of the said undernamed persons."

INDICTED PERSONS.

Philip Fitz-Hugh Reyly
Richard Bealing, Esq.
Maurice Fitz-Gerald, of Allen
Nicholas Whente, Esq.
Patrick Sarsfeild, Esq.
Nicholas Sutton, Esq.
Pierse Butler, Esq.
Walter Denis
George Blakney
John Taylor
Thomas Stanihurst
Christopher Holywood
Gerald Chievers
John Furlong
Patrick French
Nicholas Dormer
Christopher Brooke
Hugh Rochford
Nicholas Stafford
SIR THOMAS ESMONDE
Robert Hartpoole
Thomas Davills
Redmond Roach, Esq.
James Cusacke, Esq.
John Stanley
Rory Magwire, Esq.
Sir Valentyne Blake
John Bellow, Esq.

Oliver Cashell
Robert Cusacke, Esq.
Patrick Manning
Sir James Dillon, the Elder
Sir Phelim O'Neale
Sir Richard Barnewall
Nicholas Plunket, Esq.
John Coghlan, Esq.
Patrick Barnewall. of Kilbrue
Sir Christopher Bellew
Sir Luke Fitzgerald
Thomas Nangle
Richard Ashe.

(Commons Journal.)

The same Parliament unanimously agreed in an address to the King and Parliament of England, praying that a present course might be taken for executing the Penal Laws in force in Ireland, against all the Papists in that kingdom, and particularly in the city of Dublin; that bills might be transmitted to England, in order to make all the laws there against the Popish clergy, and their relievers, to be enacted in Ireland, and that it might not be in the power of any Governor of that kingdom, to suspend, inhibit, or connive at, the exemption of such laws, or any of them. *(Ibid,* p. 213.*)*

June 23.—On this day the strong Castle of Limerick, which had been besieged since the 15th of January in this year, surrendered to the Rebels. *(Sir R. Cox's Hibernia Anglicana,* vol. ii. p. 113.*)*

June 26.—On this day John Montgomery, of the County of Monaghan, deposed upon oath before Dean Jones and the other Commissioners, that one Brian Mac Erony, a ringleader of the Rebels in the County of Fermanagh, killed Ensign Floyd, Robert Worknum, and four of their servants, one of which they having wounded, though not to death, they buried alive; as also, that he was credibly informed, that the daughter-in-law of one Foard, in the parish of Clownish, being delivered of a child in the fields, the Rebels, who had formerly killed her husband and her father, killed her and two of her children, and suffered the dogs to eat up and devour her new born child. *(Temple,* p. 97.*)*

June 28.—Sir Robert and Sir William Stewart, persons who deserved well of the state, obtained a glorious victory this day over the Rebels under Sir Phelim O'Neal, at Glenmaquin, not far from Raphoe, in the County of Donegal. *(Cox,* vol. ii. p. 115—*Borlase,* p. 83.*)*

About this time a naval battle was fought in Ulster, of which Sir Richard Cox gives the following account in his Hibernia Anglicana, vol. ii. p. 115.

" Sir John Clotworthy's regiment had built a fort at Toom, in the County of Antrim, and thereby got a convenience to pass

the Ban at pleasure, and to make incursions as often as he pleased into the County of Londonderry. To revenge this, the Irish garrison at Charlemont built some boats, with which they sailed down the Black Water into Loughneagh, and preyed and plundered all the borders thereof. Hereupon those of Antrim built a boat of twenty tun, and furnished it with six brass guns; and they also got six or seven lesser boats, and in them all they stowed three hundred men, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Owen O'Conally, (the discoverer of the rebellion, who was a stout and active man,) and Captain Langford. These sailed over the Lough and landed at the mouth of the Black Water, where they cast up two small forts and returned. But the Irish found means to pass by these forts in dark nights, and not only continued their former manner of plundering, but also raised a small fort at Clanbrazill to protect their fleet upon any emergeney. Upon notice of this, Conally and Langford manned out their navy again, and met the Irish near the shore of Clanbrazill; whereupon a naval battle ensued. But the Rebels being fresh water soldiers, were soon forced ashore, and the victors pursuing their fortune, followed them to the fort, and forced them to surrender it. In this expedition sixty Rebels were slain, and as many were taken prisoners, which, together with their boats, were brought in triumph to Antrim.

June 29.—William Parkinson, of Kilkenny, Esq. deposed, that the wife of John Harvey told him, that she being at Kilkenny, and having there turned to Mass to save her life, was notwithstanding again stripped; and one Purcel, a butcher, after he had stripped her daughter, of five years of age, ripped up her body till her entrails fell out, whereof she died that night; whereof she complaining to the Mayor of Kilkenny, he bid away with her and dispatch her; so that not only the butcher, but many others did beat and wound her so as she hardly escaped with life. *(Temple*, p. 102.)

Edward Price also deposed at the same time, that a great number of poor Protestants, especially women and children, were stabbed by the Rebels with their skeins, pitchforks, and swords, who would slash, mangle, and cut them in their heads, breasts, faces, and arms, and other parts of the body, but not kill them outright, but leave them wallowing in their blood, to languish, starve, and pine to death; and whereas those so mangled desired them to kill them out of their pain, they would deny it; but sometimes, after a day or two, they would dash out their brains with stones, or by some other cruel way.

which they accounted done as a favour, of which she had been in many particulars an eye witness. *(Ibid.)*

July 1.—Sir Francis Hamilton took the town of Sligo on this day, and slew three hundred of the Rebels. He afterwards routed Owen O'Rourk, who in his absence had, with a thousand men, besieged his Castle of Manorhamilton. Had not some differences arisen between this able officer and Sir William Cole, (the one not liking a superior, the other an equal,) their concurrence might have been more fatal to the enemy, though apart they did what became worthy men. *(See Borlase,* p. 88, *and Cox,* vol. ii. p. 115.*)*

July 2.—Sir William Saint Leger, Lord President of Munster, died at his house within four miles of Cork. This gallant officer's spirits had been worn out, and his heart broken by the difficulties in which he was involved, from the want of those supplies of men, money, and provisions, which he had long and vainly hoped to have received from England. The command of the army devolved upon his son-in-law Lord Inchiquin, a worthy descendant of the illustrious and loyal house of O'Bryan. *(See Borlase,* p. 89, *and Sir Richard Cox,* vol. ii. p. 112.*)*

July 3.—The Lord Broghill, with sixty horse, and an hundred and forty foot, went on this day to fetch off Sir Richard Osborn from his Castle of Knockmone, in the County of Waterford, six miles from Lismore. In his advance he burned and destroyed the Rebels' quarters; but in his return toward Lismore next day, he was attacked by them in a field near Cappoquin, upon which he resolutely encountered them, whilst Captain Stephen Brodrip led on his foot in a orderly well-compacted body, galling the enemy on all sides so effectually with his musqueteers, that they were soon put to flight, with a loss of two hundred men on their side, besides two of their best Captains, and only one of Lord Broghill's men. This was the first pitched battle since the commencement of the rebellion in Munster, and had the enemy succeeded, Cappoquin, Lismore, and some other places, would have been an easy prey. *(Borlase,* p. 86, *and Cox,* vol. ii. p. 112.*)*

On this day the Castles Keilagh and Croghan, in the County of Cavan, the former belonging to Sir Francis Hamilton, and the latter to Sir James Craig, surrendered to the Rebels for want of water and provisions. *(Ibid,* p. 31.*)*

July 15.—About this time, when the Irish Chiefs in Ulster had a meeting, to consider what was to be done to resist a general attack about to be made on them by the Scottish forces, and having neither arms nor ammunition to enable them to

meet it, had agreed that every one should shift for himself, and were preparing to abscond, an express arrived from O'Neil, with an account that he had landed in Donegal, accompanied with some old officers and soldiers of his own regiment, and a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition; that he had sent a ship with another cargo to Wexford, and since his landing had possessed himself of Castle Doe, where he should stay till they sent some forces to convoy him into their quarters.

This account revived their hopes, and getting together a sufficient number of men for that purpose, they soon brought Owen O'Neil to the fort of Charlemont, which, if the Scotch General had pleased, might have been then in the hands of the government. But he would not permit the royal army to take it, nor would he take it himself. His whole time was spent in ravaging the Counties of Down and Antrim, where he wasted more than the Rebels had done, and in driving vast herds of cattle to the sea side, and transporting them to Scotland. His exploits of this kind were so extravagant, that the Council found themselves obliged to complain of him to the Commissioners of Irish affairs in the English Parliament. *(Warner*, vol. i. p. 227.)

July 15.—O'Connor Dun, of Ballintober, who was considered by the Irish of Connaught as their Sovereign, had collected with the half of his friends in Mayo, a body of near two thousand men, and an hundred and sixty horse, with which he determined to resist the English forces. It was therefore judged necessary by the Lord President, and the officers under his command, that the army should march towards Ballintober, which was accordingly done on this day, and they proceeded from Roscommon, through Molinterim, over the hill of Oran, near Clolby, which is little more than two miles from Ballintober. The Irish advanced with great speed to meet the English army, and the Lord President was of opinion that he ought to retreat, and commanded it; but the other members of the Council of War, viz. Sir Charles Coote, jun. Sir Michael Earnly, Sir Abraham Shipman, Sir Edward Povey, and Sir Bernard Ashley, were otherwise resolved, and without his orders drew on towards the Rebels, whilst he washed his hands from what evil might accrue. After a sharp engagement the Rebels were utterly routed, Captain Robert King, an old and experienced soldier, highly distinguishing himself in this battle. *(Borlase*, p. 81.)

No. XXIII.

" *The rapines, depredations, and massacres committed by the* " *Irish and Popish Rebels and enemies, are notorious to the whole* " *world, notwithstanding the means and artifices which, for many* " *years together, have been used to murder such witnesses, sup-* " *press such evidences, and also to vitiate and embezzle such* " RECORDS *and testimonies as might prove the same against par-* " *ticular persons.*"

(Act of Settlement, Irish Statutes, page 502.)

1642, *July* 23.—Christian Stanhaw, relict of Henry Stanhaw, of the parish of Laugalle, in the County of Armagh, deposed upon oath before the Commissioners, that upon the drowning of one hundred and forty Protestants at Portnedownbridge, after they had thrown them in, some of them swimming to the shore, the Rebels, with their muskets, knocked out their brains. *(Temple,* p. 93.*)*

August 1.—About this time the Lord Forbes came into the bay of Galway, and landed some guns, intending to besiege the town. Being joined by the Lord President, he seized the Abbey ; but being in want of necessaries to carry on the siege, he compounded for a sum of money, that never was paid him, and sailed off with his regiment for the mouth of the river Shannon. *(Cox,* vol. ii. p. 114.*)*

August 3.—The English House of Commons issued an order, " that the Ministers about the city of London should be desired to exhort the people to bestow old garments and apparel upon the distressed Protestants in Ireland." In consequence of this order, a vast supply of clothing was brought in and intrusted to a Clergyman, who discharged his trust with singular prudence and integrity. *(Borlase,* p. 94.*)*

August 4.—On this day the fort of Duncannon, (not Dungannon, as Borlase calls it,) surrendered to the Rebels, on quarter for life and goods. When Captain Cronyne and Serjeant-Major Flin entered the fort to take possession of it, Flin declared that he had a commission for that end, and in taking it, resolved to keep it against the Puritans, his Majesty's enemies—otherwise, *he and the rest loved the English.*

Lord Roche was settled by the Irish in possession of this fort and the rest of Mr. Courtney's estate. *(Borlase,* p. 86.*)*

August 6.—By virtue of a treaty in England, General Lesly landed in Ireland on this day with the remainder of the Scotch

forces, which were to be ten thousand in all, but fell much short of that number. Lord Conway joined his forces to Lesly, in order to oppose Owen Roe, whose activity, skill, and humanity, rendered him a much more formidable opponent than his predecessor, Sir Phelim O'Neil, had been. *(See Carte's Ormond; Dugdale's View*, p. 93; *and Cox's Hibernia Anglicana*, vol. ii. p. 115.*)*

August 9.—Lord Forbes arriving in the river Shannon, took the Castle of Glin, in the County of Limerick, belonging to a branch of the Fitzgeralds, of Desmond. The head of this family has been for centuries back called the Knight of the Valley, or "*Knight of Glin.*"—The late Knight was a Protestant gentleman of great respectability. By his loyal and decided conduct during the rebellion of 1798, he afforded an additional proof of the rapid decline of Popish influence on the ancient families of Ireland, who are not quite so devoted to the interests of a foreign Bishop as to sacrifice their blood and their estates in supporting his cause against their lawful Sovereign. *(See Cox*, vol. ii. p. 112.*)*

John Duffield, of the County of Armagh, gentleman, deposed before the Commissioners, on the 9th of August, 1642, that the Rebels wounded John Ward and Richard Duffield, so as they thereof died; and that their wives, and the said John's six children, being all stripped, died of want and cold. He further said, that many thousands of Protestants, men, women, and children, being stripped of their cloths, died also of cold and want in several parts of the country. *(Duffield's Examination in Temple*, p. 91.*)*

Catherine Madeson, of the County of Fermanagh, deposed before the same Commissioners, that the Rebels drew some who were lying sick of fevers, out of their beds and hanged them; and that they drove before them, of men, women, and children, to the number of sixteen, and drowned them in a boggy pit, knocking such on the head with poles as endeavoured to get out. *(Ib.)*

It is but justice to the memory of Owen Roe O'Neil, to observe, that on succeeding to the command of the Rebels in Ulster, he expressed his detestation of those barbarities exercised by Sir Phelim O'Neil, and his barbarous followers. The remains of their prisoners he dismissed in safety to Dundalk, he inveighed with unusual warmth against those who had disgraced their cause by murder and massacre, he set fire to the houses of some more notoriously guilty, and declared he would join with the English rather than suffer any such

wretches to escape their just punishment. *(Leland's History of Ireland,* vol. iii. page 184.*)*

August 13.—The King sent a message to the House of Commons, "to retract an order they had made to dispose of 100,000*l.* of the adventurer's money, contrary to the express words of the Act of Parliament, and to the great prejudice of the affairs of Ireland."

To this message the Parliament replied, "that they had been retarded and diverted from the pious and glorious work of relieving their Protestant brethren in Ireland, *by the traitorous counsellors about the King.*" They grounded this assertion upon ten special reasons which they enumerated—one of which was the King's withdrawing Captain Kettleby, and straddling with their frigates from the Irish Coast; and the other the receiving a petition from the Roman Catholics of Ireland, complaining of his Puritan Parliament of England, and desiring, that since his Majesty did not come to them they might be permitted to "*come to him.*"

They, nevertheless, protested before Almighty God, that they had as great a compassion and sorrow for their distressed brethren in Ireland as if they themselves were in their case, and declared their intention to relieve them, notwithstanding the obstructions of all opposers; and, that though they were forced to borrow those 100,000*l.* upon a great exigency, yet it should be without prejudice to the affairs of Ireland, because they would make a real and speedy re-payment of the same, that it might appear, whether the King and his cavaliers, or the King and his Parliament, did most affect and endeavour the settling of true religion, and a firm and constant peace within the bleeding and distressed kingdom of Ireland. *(Cox,* vol. ii. page 122.*)*

"*Sed quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi.*"

While the King and the *would be Kings* of the English House of Commons were rivalling each other in their professions of attachment to the suffering Protestants of Ireland, these distressed people were equally neglected by both. The Rebels were suffered in every province in Ireland to collect and increase their force, to possess military stations of strength and consequence, and confine the English within narrow bounds, whilst the army which should oppose them, Scottish and English, the troops raised by Parliament, those commissioned by the King, were alike abandoned to their resources by England, and soon obliged to struggle in their respective quarters, with the miseries of nakedness and famine.

In the mean time, besides Preston's reinforcement of cannon, ammunition, engineers, and officers, which had landed at Wexford from Dunkirk, twelve other vessels fitted out at Nantes, St. Maloes, and Rochelle, soon afterwards arrived, with artillery, arms, and ammunition, together with a considerable number of officers and Irish veteran soldiers, discharged from the French service by Cardinal Richelieu, and sent into Ireland, thus amply provided, and assured of farther succours. *(See Leland's Hist. Ireland,* vol. iii. p. 185.*)*

August 14.—James Shaw, of Market Hill, in the County of Armagh, deposed on this day before the Commissioners, that when the Rebels were drowning the Protestants at Portnedowne-bridge, a gentlewoman whose name was Campbel, being forcibly brought by them to the river, and finding no means to escape their fury, suddenly clasped her arms about one of the Rebel Chiefs, that was most forward to thrust her into the water, and carried him to the bottom with her, so they were both drowned together. *(Shaw's Examination—Temple's Appendix,* p. 93.*)*

It was no small misfortune to the English, that about this time both Dean Gray and Archdeacon Byss, who were Commissioners to enquire into the English losses in Munster, met with their destiny, the former dying at Bandon, and Byss the survivor, who had all the papers and examinations, was murdered by the Rebels on the way to Youghall. This is the true reason why there is no particular account extant of the murders and losses in the province of Munster. *(Cox,* vol. ii. p. 113 *)*

No. XXIV.

" *Would to God we might only read and hear out of the* " *histories of old, and not also see and feel these new and pre-* " *sent oppressions of Christians, rebellions of subjects, effusion* " *of Christian blood, and destruction of Christian men, procured* " *in these our days, as well as in times past, by the Bishop of* " *Rome and his Ministers.*"

(Sixth Part of the Homily against wilful Rebellion, p. 8.)

1642, *August* 14.—The Castle of Asketon, in the barony of Conello, and County of Limerick, surrendered upon conditions to the Rebels, under the command of Lieutenant-General Patrick Purcel, of Croe. William Eams was the Seneschal of

this Castle, and held it from the middle of November, 1641, to this day. *(Borlase, p. 87.)*

August 15.—The Lords Justices suspecting Preston's forces should increase, and, according to the resolution of the Parliament at Kilkenny, should first gain the out garrisons, and then besiege Dublin, were forced to require the Lord Conway to come to their aid with three thousand foot and all the horse he could procure to prosecute the war in Leinster.

Lord Conway returned an answer, that his companies were so weak, they could not draw them together; and that the Rebels, having then received new supplies, were strong; and that he was engaged to meet the Earl of Leven, the Scots General, to encounter Owen O'Neil, with all the forces he could get. Thus that province reserved to itself its own strength, not coming in, as by the tenth Article with the Parliament of England, the Scots were engaged to. *(See Borlase, p. 83, and the Article 6th of August, 1642, King's Works, f. 534.)*

About this time the Lord Moore, Sir John Borlase, jun. and Colonel Gibson, with five hundred men a piece, went into the Counties of Louth and Meath with two pieces of battery and two field pieces, with which they assaulted the Castle of Sedan, which was obstinately defended for thirty hours by Captain Fleming, who, after being thrice stormed, fought afterwards out of the ruins. The Lords of the Pale shewed no great resolution on this occasion, the Lord Gormanstown flying from the fort of the Nabar, and the Lord Slane from the Castle of Newtown, thereby leaving Louth and Meath clear of the enemy, whilst Captains Burrows, Pigot, and Grimes, with some others, defeated eight hundred of the Rebels near Athy, and slew about two hundred of them. *(Borlase, p. 102.)*

August 19.—A proclamation was issued by the Lords Justices and Council, revoking, repealing, and making void the protections issued to the Rebels, under their order, by divers persons of quality and trust in the Counties of Down, Antrim, Armagh, Monaghan, Cavan, Tyrone, and Fermanagh.

The necessity of this proclamation was stated in the preamble to it, which shewed, that "the state of the country was then very different from the condition wherein it stood at the issuing of the commission on the 27th of October, a general conspiracy having been afterwards fully discovered, in which the Rebels of all degrees and conditions had, with hateful and bloody obstinacy, declared their purpose to *extirpate the British* throughout the whole kingdom, without hope of reconcilement,

other than by the strength of his Majesty's forces." *(Borlase's Appendix of Documents*, p. 58.*)*

August 20.—A letter, written by an eminent nobleman, and dated on this day, gives the following picture of the army in Ireland at this critical juncture, when a civil war was just breaking out in England:—

"It is to be admired, that this army has done so much, considering the small means they had to effect so great things. They abounded only in sickness and hurt men, which made the regiments and companies very weak. Monies came not in at all, and for clothes and shoes, few or none. Notwithstanding, they had hearts, manifested by their works; for no enemy, but as soon as they looked on them, instead of using their arms, exercised their heels; no fort or castle which they offered to keep, which they ever deserted, or any they attempted, but yielded to them. If this be nothing, let it be so esteemed! The enemy in the interim having supplies of men and arms." *(See Borlase*, p. 100.*)*

The occasion of this letter was, the Parliament of England having most unreasonably expressed their wonder that the army in Ireland had hitherto done so little. *(Ibid.)*

Soon after the battle of Cappoquin, the Earl of Barrymore took in upon quarter the strong Castle of Clonleagh, in the County of Cork, the inheritance of Sir Richard Fleetwood, who admitted Sir Arthur Hide to keep it, but most treacherously left it to be surprised by Condon, whose ancestors had been formerly the proprietors of it, and who was as insolent a Rebel as any of his predecessors had been. *(Ibid*, p. 86.*)*

August 21.—The Lord Broghill, and Lord Dungarvan, summoning the Castle of Ardmore, in the County of Waterford, belonging to the Bishop of Waterford, after some petty boasts to withstand the utmost hazard, it was yielded on this day on mercy, women and children being spared, but an hundred and forty men were put to the sword, and a ward left in the Castle. *(Borlase*, p. 86, *and Cox*, vol. ii. p. 112.*)*

August 22.—On this day the Rev. Dr. R. Maxwell, Rector of Tynan, in the County of Armagh, afterwards Bishop of Kilmore, made his celebrated depositions before the Commissioners Aldrick and Watson.—An abstract of it is given in *Borlase's Appendix*, p. 126, and in *Temple*, p. 123.

In the immediate vicinity of Dr. Maxwell's house, thirty-six persons were carried by the Rebels to the Cure Bridge, and there drowned. At another time six and fifty men, women, and children, all of them being taken out of this venerable clergyman's house, were, with several other persons, at

different times, used in the same manner, besides many who were drowned in the Black-water at Kinnard; so that in the town and parish of Tynan, six hundred Protestants were drowned, slaughtered, and died of famine and want of clothes during the rebellion.

In the heat of this barbarous massacre the Rebels averred, that if they held out the winter against the English forces, they were sure and certain in the spring to receive aid from the Pope and the French and Spaniards; and that the clergy of Spain had already contributed five thousand stand of arms, and gunpowder sufficient for a whole year. They said that *their best and only agents were their Priests and Friars,* but especially Friar Paul O'Neil, upon whose arrival with advice from Spain, they presently opened the war. This O'Neil returned to Spain in the very dead of winter, and came back again with instructions within the space of one month; and such was his activity, and that of the rest of the Popish clergy, that Dr. Maxwell in his examination observed, that "a man could see no part of this tragedy wherein there was not a Devil, or a Friar, or both."

In the Abstract given by Temple, it is remarked, that the degenerate English of the Pale distinguished themselves by their cruelty to their Protestant countrymen; and in Borlase's Abstract, the Papists of England are charged with the knowledge of the Irish rebellion. The former, however, contrary to their expectation, were in a short time dispossessed of their lands and houses by the *meer Irish,* who cherished such an inveterate hatred of every thing English, that, at the siege of Augher, they would not kill any English beast and then eat it, but they cut collops out of them while yet alive, suffering the wretched brutes to live for two or three days in excruciating torment. A portion of this diabolical spirit survived in the Black Abbey, in 1813, when a resolution was passed in it to adopt Buonaparte's plan of excluding British manufactures, and to publish the names of those Protestants who should dare to sign petitions against a Popish Ascendancy in Ireland.

It existed in Boyle about the same time, when the back of an honest man was brutally carded for the crime of buying a pair of shoes from a Protestant tradesman; and the leaven was working in the breast of that unhappy man, who declared to the Popish mob of Dublin in open Convention, while the issue of the late contest for the liberties of Europe was yet doubtful, "that he would not be contented with (what he called) Catholic Emancipation in its fullest extent, unless he should

accomplish the dismemberment of the British empire, by the *separation of Ireland from it.*"

August 25.—The King caused the Royal Standard to be erected at Nottingham, in an open field behind the Castle wall. *(Rushworth,* vol. iv. p. 783.*)*

Rapin says that the King had with him at this time only some unarmed train bands—that his Proclamation had produced so little effect, that hardly any came to attend the Royal Standard—and that on the very day the Standard was set up, it grew so stormy, that it was blown down, and could not be fixed up again for a day or two. This (adds the Historian) was looked upon by many as a fatal presage of the war. *(History of England,* vol. xi. p. 533.*)*

No. XXV.

" *Was not the Rebellion begun and carried on by the King's* " *Roman Catholic Subjects? Was there one man but Roman* " *Catholics that concurred in it? And did they pretend any* " *other cause for it, but Religion?*"

(Earl of Clarendon against Cressy, p. 71.)

1642, *August* 25.—The Lords Justices, in a letter to Mr. Secretary Nicholas, sent a copy of a petition from the Rebels, and a letter from those of the Pale, to the Earl of Ormond, and in a short time an answer was returned, that his Majesty was ready to punish the Rebels, but would not refuse mercy to those who should unfeignedly repent.

Soon after this, Lord Lisle, with the men under his command, marched towards the Counties of Westmeath and Cavan, laying the country waste as they passed; the Rebels, according to their usual custom, having retired to places of strength. *(Borlase,* page 102.*)*

Saturday, Sept. 3.—Lord Inchiquin engaged and defeated the Rebels at Liscarrol, in the County of Cork. Lord Mountgarret commanded the Irish, and was accompanied by the Lords Muskerry, Roche, Ikerrin, Dunboyne, Castleconnel, and Brittas. The English killed seven hundred of the Rebels, and among them Captain Oliver Stephenson, grandson of him who, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, had done eminent services in the war against the Earl of Desmond.

Fifty prisoners and two pieces of cannon were also taken, and all without loss on the English side, except that of sixteen private soldiers, and the valiant Lord Viscount Kinalmeaky,

who was slain in the beginning of the battle, by a shot in his neck.

In the engagement the noble Earl of Cork, who never grudged what he ventured for the service of his King and country, had no less than four sons, viz. the Lords of Dungarvan, Kinalmeaky, and Broghill, and Mr. Francis Boyle, since Viscount Shannon Lord Kinalmeaky's remains were buried in his father's tomb at Youghall. *(See Cox*, vol. ii. page 112, *and Borlase*, page 89.*)*

September 7.—Robert Ussher, D.D. Bishop of Kildare, and son of Primate Henry Ussher, died in England, having fled from his diocese to avoid the fury of the rebellion.

He was a Prelate, orthodox, unblameable, learned; of a meek, modest, conscientious, and gentle behaviour. He was an enemy to all theatrical representations; and when Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, he would not admit them, according to former practice, until he was in a manner commanded by the Lords Justices. He was a constant and assiduous preacher, and remarkable for pulpit abilities; which he continued to his death, as appears by his epitaph in the chancel of Duddleston church. He took great pains in soliciting the Parliament for an Act for the recovery of the lands of his Bishopric, which had been alienated by his predecessors Craik and Pilsworth. *(Ware's Bishops*, page 393.*)*

On this day Dame Anne Butler, wife of Sir Thomas Butler, of Rathealin, in the County of Carlow, Knight, made the following depositions before Mr. John Watson, one of the Commissioners for inquiring into the murders and losses of the Protestants in this rebellion:—

"That after Walter Bagnall, of Dunlickney, in the County of Catherlagh, Esq Walter Butler, with a great number of men, had, in a violent manner, entered this deponent's house, they not being able to resist; they set strict guard over this deponent, her husband, and family, and brought them from their settled dwelling unto Loghlin Bridge, where they kept them in restraint for two weeks, and from thence conveyed them, with a strict guard, to the town of Kilkenny: that they were there brought before the Lord Mountgarret, where Walter Bagnal and James Butler, brother to the Lord Mountgarret, did use all means possible to move the said Lord to put them to death and torture, alleging that they were *rank puritan Protestants*, and desperately provoking. That said Bagnal and Butler observed to Lord Mountgarret *there is but one way*, we or they, meaning Papists or Protestants, must perish. To which malicious provocation the said Lord did not hearken."

Deponent further said, "that Walter Bagnal, with his rebellious company, apprehended Richard Lake, an English Protestant, and his servant, with his wife and four children, and one Richard Taylor, of Loghlin Bridge, his wife and children; Samuel Hatter, of the same, his wife and children, an English woman called Jone and her daughter, and was credibly informed, by Dorothy Renals, who had several times been an eye witness of these lamentable spectacles, that she had seen to the number of five and thirty English going to execution, and that she had seen them when they were executed, their bodies exposed to devouring ravens and not afforded so much as burial. Another English woman, who was newly delivered of two children at one birth, they violently compelled, in her great pain and sickness, to rise from her child-bed, and took the infant that was left alive and dashed his brains against the stones, and afterwards threw him into the river of the Barrow, and having a piece of salmon to dinner, Master Brian, Cavenagh's wife being with her, she, the said Mrs. Cavenagh refused to eat any part of the salmon, and being demanded the reason, she said she would never eat fish that came out of the Barrow, because she had seen several infants, bodies, and other carcasses of the English taken up in the weir."

Deponent further saith, "that Sir Edward Butler did credibly inform her, that James Butler, of Timyhinch, had hanged and put to death all the English that were at Gorane and Wells, and all thereabouts." And she further deposeth, "that being in Kilkenny a prisoner in restraint, and having intelligence that some of her own cattle were brought thither by Walter Bagnal, she being in great extremity, petitioned the Lord Mountgarret to procure some of them for her relief, whereupon he recommended her suit to the Mayor and Corporation of Kilkenny, who concluded, *because she and her family were Protestants, and would not turn to Mass*, they should have no relief.

"ANNE BUTLER.

"Jurat, Sept. 7, 1642.
"JOHN WATSON."

(See Temple, p. 127.)

September 11.—The Parliament, in reply to a message to the King, besought his Majesty to consider his expressions, "That God would so deal with him and his posterity as he desired the preservation of the just rights of Parliament."

And, among other things, "that though his Majesty had often protested his tenderness of the miseries of Ireland, and his resolution to *maintain the Protestant religion*, and the laws

of this kingdom." But that these protestations could give no satisfaction to reasonable and indifferent men, when at the same time *several of the Irish Rebels*, the known favourers and agents for them, were admitted to his Majesty's presence, with grace and favour; nay, some of them employed in his service, when the clothes, munition, and horse, bought by his Parliament for the support of the Irish war were violently taken away, and applied to the maintenance of an unnatural war against his people. *(Rushworth*, vol. v. p. 3.*)*

The King published a declaration in answer to these accusations, which will be given in its place.

Sept. 15.—Lord Lisle, with the troops under his command, arrived about this time to his destination in the Counties of Cavan and Westmeath. Meeting no opposition in these places, he passed into the County of Monaghan, and besieged the Castle of Carrickmacross, which belonged to the Earl of Essex, and was very well fortified.—The Rebels having endured the battery of two small pieces of cannon for one day, fled away the next night, (the outward guards of the besiegers being remissly attended,) leaving their provisions of all sorts behind them. The Lord Lisle, after this success, better much than he could expect with so small forces, having put a garrison in the place, returned to Dublin. *(Borlase*, p. 102.*)*

Sept. 19.—The Lord Mayor of London ordered that the old garments and apparel, of which a vast supply had been brought in for the relief of the distressed Protestants of Ireland, should be sent to Yorkshire-hall to be ready for shipping them to Ireland. *(Borlase*, p. 94.*)*

On this day the King being at Wellington, about seven miles from Shrewsbury, at the head of his army, published a protestation, in which he promised and declared, in the presence of ALMIGHTY GOD, and has he hoped for his blessing and protection, that he would, to the utmost of his power, defend, and maintain the true reformed Protestant religion established in the church of England, and that by the GRACE OF GOD he would live and die in the same.

No. XXVI.

"*How much are we bound unto* GOD *which hath delivered us* "*from this bondage, from this heavy yoke of Popery.*"

(Bishop Latimer's Sermon on the twenty-third Sunday after Trinity, 1552.)

1642, *Sept.* 21.—Robert Lord Spenser, who was afterwards

killed at the battle of Newberry, wrote a letter from Shrewsbury to his lady, Dorothy daughter of the Earl of Leicester, of which the following is an extract: —

"The King's condition is much improved of late; his force increaseth daily, which *increaseth the insolency* of the Papists. How much I am unsatisfied with the proceedings here, I have at large expressed in several letters. Neither is there wanting, daily, handsome occasion to retire, were it not for grinning honour. For let occasion be never so handsome, unless a man were resolved to fight on the Parliament side, which, for my part I had rather be hanged, it will be said, without doubt, that a man is afraid to fight. If there could be an expedient found to salve the punctilio of honour, I would not continue here an hour. The discontent which I and many other honest men receive daily is beyond expression."

Sept. 26.—The Parliament ordered a letter, written by the Earl of Leicester, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to be printed. In this letter, the Earl complained, that whilst the affairs of Ireland were known to suffer by his absence, he had been detained in England. In the King's answer to the petition of the Parliament, dated the 28th of April in this year, the Parliament is accused of having detained the Earl of Leicester from his government, contrary to his Majesty's expressed and earnest desire. The Parliament now retorted this charge on the King. *(See Borlase,* p. 94.*)*

Sept. 27.—The King having received a petition from the Papists of Lancashire, requiring that the arms which had been taken from them might be re-delivered to them, ordered them to provide arms forthwith for the defence of his Majesty, themselves, and the country, against all forces and arms raised, and to be raised, against them. *(See Rushworth,* vol v. p. 49, 50.*)*

Rapin (vol. xii. p. 20,) quotes these documents to prove that the King had employed Papists in his service in the beginning of the war, and before any blood was spilled; in proof of which, both Houses published a declaration, with an appendix, containing a list of the names of twenty-eight officers, colonels, lieutenant-colonels, serjeant-majors, captains, and lieutenants, that were Papists, actually in the King's service in the Earl of Newcastle's army.

About this time, the Scotch Commissioners resident at London, presented a memorial to the Parliament, in which it was hinted that the Scotch passionately desired the churches of England and Scotland to be united in the same worship and discipline. As this proposition was expressed by way of wish

only, and besides, was worded in such a manner, that it might mean either that the Scots desired the English to embrace the worship and discipline of the church of Scotland, or that they themselves were willing to conform to the church of England, the Parliament, in the same ambiguous terms, civilly answered, that they wished the same thing too, and would heartily concur in bringing it about.'

Rapin observes, that this answer was framed by the leading Presbyterians to serve as a sort of corner-stone, of which to make one day a good use, and that they did not yet think it time to declare their mind more openly, for fear of losing all the church of Englandmen that were against the King. *(History of England,* vol. xii. p. 32.)

Sept. 29.—Mr. Edmund Butler, eldest son to the Lord Mountgarret, Edward Butler, his second son, Captain Garret Blankefield, and divers other rebellious commanders and soldiers, to the number of six or seven hundred horse and foot, marched from Ballyragget, near to the iron forge of Ballinekill, and there met with Lieutenant Gilbert, William Alfrey the younger, the Rev. Thomas Bingham, Robert Graves, Richard Bently, and about sixty more of the English soldiers. An engagement immediately commenced, but the English soldiers, though fighting valiantly, and killing Captain Walter Butler, and many of the Rebels, were at the last so overcome with multitudes of the Rebels, that they were routed, and Messrs. Alfrey, Bingham, Graves, Bently, and three other English soldiers, killed, their heads cut off, and carried into Kilkenny in triumph by the Rebels, who caused their pipers to play before them for joy.

This happening on a market day, the heads of these unfortunate Protestants were set upon the market cross, and exposed to every indignity which a bigoted and cowardly mob pleased to offer. A gag was put in the mouth of Mr. Bingham, and in derision of his sacred function as a Minister of the Gospel, the Rebels laid a leaf of the Holy Bible before him, and called to him to preach, saying, his mouth was open and wide enough.—After the mob had satisfied their brutal rage on these heads, which, as having belonged to heretics, were denied Christian burial, *(Rituale Romanum De Exequiis,* page 181,) they were buried without the city, in a cross high way, altogether in one hole, the buriers chopping and cutting them with their spades as they threw the earth upon them; and to make the manner of their burial and themselves yet more contemptible, the Rebels set up a long stick over the hole where these heads were laid, whereto they affixed papers, that all

might take notice of the place, and afterwards they took up and frequently used an oath, "*By the cross of the seven devils' heads buried on Saint James's green.*"

These particulars are given on the testimony of Joseph Wheeler, of Stancarty, in the County of Kilkenny, Esq. and others, who also deposed, that about the same time one Unsill Grace, and divers other Rebels, broke open the doors of the cathedral church there, and robbed the same church of the chalices, surplices, ornaments, books, RECORDS, and writings in it. That they made gunpowder in St. Patrick's church, and dug up the tombs and graves in the churches in Kilkenny, under colour of getting up moulds whereon to make gunpowder. It is remarkable, that this impious profanation of the awful abodes of the dead, was universal in France during the most sanguinary periods of the late revolution, when the earth of the church-yards was put in requisition, and accumulated in immense heaps, with other materials, for the purpose of procuring a supply of salt-petre for the gunpowder manufactories. *(See Temple*, page 132, *and Mr. Wheeler's Examinations.)*

Oct. 8.—On this day Pope Urban VIII. granted the following indulgence to Owen Roe O'Neil :—

DILECTO FILIO SUO EUGENCEO O'NELLO.

DILECTE FILI—Salutem. Nullum prætermittere soles occasionem, qua non Majorum tuorum Vestigiis insistens, exemium zelum & propagandæ Ecclesiæ Studium perspectum facis, idque luculenter in præsentia, præsitisti, in Hiberniam proficisce cogitans, ut Catholicorum rationibus præsto sis. Quam ob rem per gratæ nobis advenerunt literæ, quibus hujusmodi itineris deliberationem declaras & rei feliciter gerendæ principium a cælesti ope auspicatus, non minus humiliter quam religiose Apostolicam benedictionem a nobis postulas. Præclaram hunc in te ardorem et constantiam ADVERSUS HÆRETICOS & veræ fidei animum, NON PARUM LAUDAMUS, &c. &c.

Interim UT CONFIDENTIUS CUNCTA AGGREDIAMINI, nos divinam Clementiam in desiniter orantes, *ut adversariorum conatus in nihilum redigat ;* tibi cæteris que Catholicorum rem in præ jecto regno curaturis nostram libenter impartiamur BENEDICTIONEM universis et singulis, si vere pœnitentes confessi fuerint, & sacra communione, si fieri possit, confecti, PLENARIAM SUORUM PECCATORUM VENIAM, atque in mortis articulo INDULGENTIAM etiam PLENARIAM elargimur.

Datum Romæ Sub Annulo Piscatoris die 8vo Octobris, 1642. Pontificatus nostri Anno 20.

This was the plenary indulgence sent by the Bishop of Rome to the blood-stained murderers of 1641 and 1642—this was the Pope's tribute of gratitude for their zeal, perseverance, and ardour against heretics—this was their encouragement to persist, *with confidence,* in their work of blood, and a plenary remission of their sins as the reward of their pious labours. *(For this Apostolical Document, see Borlase's Appendix,* p. 59.*)*

The *Bleeding Iphigenia,* (a false and scurrilous Vindication of this Rebellion,) would not have it thought that this charitable Bull cherished the Roman Catholics of Ireland in rebellion, but was only an indulgence to so good and just a quarrel, not any disrespect to the King, to whom (saith the author) his Holiness advised them *by their agents,* to be loyal, as if that and the breach of his Majesty's commands to lay down their arms could rationally agree. *(Borlase,* p. 136.*)*

1642, *Oct.* 11.—On the flight of Griffith Williams, Bishop of Ossory, David Roth, a learned but bigoted Popish Prelate entered into the possession of that see, under the authority and protection of the Supreme Council of the confederated Rebels, then assembled at Kilkenny. He received the profits of it, and had his residence in the deanery house, where the Portrieve of the corporation of Irishtown, according to custom, was sworn to him on St. Canice's day (11th of October,) and he continued in that station during the rest of his life. There is a fair monument erected to his memory in the consistorial court of the cathedral of Kilkenny, and an inscription on it, part of which has been defaced with a chisel by the orders of Bishop Parry; because it contained a reflection on the Protestants, for that it mentioned him to have, in the year 1642, whipped heresy out of that cathedral. *(Ware's Bishops,* p. 427.*)*

Oct. 14.—The Parliament of England, contrary to the King's express commands, sent to them by Secretary Nicholas, dispatched Mr. Robert Goodwin and Mr. Robert Reynolds, Members of the House of Commons, with one Captain Tucker, from the citizens of London, an authorized Committee to manage their affairs in Ireland. These Ambassadors, as the King called them in his declaration (of Oct. 22d of this year,) carried with them twenty thousand pounds in ready money, besides three hundred barrels of gunpowder, ten ton of match and other ammunition. *(Borlase,* p. 103.*)*

No. XXVII.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen, you all shall be my confessors; if I knew any way better than another to* HINDER THE *GROWTH OF POPERY, I would take it; and he cannot be an honest man, who knowing as I do, and being persuaded as I am, would do otherwise.*"

(King James I. to his Parliament, April 23, 1624.)

1642, *Oct.* 15.—The Lords Justices and Council received an account that the Earl of Essex's house, at Carrickmacross, in which Lord Lisle had left a garrison about a month before, was now besieged by near 2000 Rebels, and that if it were not immediately relieved, not only the place would be taken, but our men lost; whereupon it was resolved to send away presently 1000 foot, with some troops of horse, under the command of Sir Henry Tichborn and Lord Moore, to raise the siege, demolish the house, and bring our men back.

In the mean time letters arrived from Captain Vaughan, at Dundalk, to acquaint the state, that with 100 foot and 50 horsemen, he had been to see in what state Carrickmacross was; that he found the men well victualled for fourteen days, and that the siege was raised. He also stated, that upon his return to Dundalk, he was attacked by the Rebels, who charged him and fired an incredible number of shots at his men, which threw them into considerable disorder; whereupon he charged the assailants with his horse, and routed them, killing 30 or 40 of them, and taking some of their arms. *(See Borlase,* page 103.*)*

Oct. 18.—Sir Charles Vavasor, Bart. and Captain Jephson, brought off the garrison of Rathbarry, and burned the Castle and its appurtenances. The force at Bandon was augmented by this reinforcement. *(Ib.* page 86.*)*

Oct. 23.—The battle of Edgehill was fought. The encounter was fiercely maintained on both sides. The Earl of Lindsay commanded the King's forces, and the Earl of Essex those of the Parliament. Both reported themselves conquerors, but neither were thenceforth in a condition to relieve the unhappy Protestants of Ireland. The army, which had but lately set out of England to their relief, was wholly neglected, which induced many of the officers to quit it and repair to the King at Oxford. *(Ib.* page 103.*)*

Oct. 24.—The Rebels now finding their strength much augmented by the unhappy differences in England, their chief contrivers of the conspiracy, THE POPISH CLERGY, met at Kilkenny, and there established, in A GENERAL CONGREGATION, several considerations for their future government. *(Ib.* page 95, *and see Peter Walsh's Vindication*, page 740.*)*

To this assembly the Popish Lords and Deputies for every county, city, and town in Ireland repaired.

Those of the clergy who were not admitted to sit among the Lords, formed a CONVOCATION, in which they treated about *the restoration and settlement of church possessions;* but their demands were treated by the lay impropriators with contempt and ridicule, even while they professed to be the zealous champions of the church. *(See Leland's History of Ireland*, vol. iii. page 188.*)*

O'Cuirk, a celebrated Irish Preacher, was appointed Chaplain to this Assembly. *(O'Heynii Epilogus*, page 20, *Lovanii*, 1706.*)*

The General Council of Kilkenny was formed on a plan of a Parliament of two houses. The upper composed of temporal Peers and Prelates; the lower of two delegates, sent by each of the Counties, and cities of Ireland. They had a guard of five hundred foot, and two hundred horse, a mint, and a printing press. *(Columbanus ad Hibernos*, Pref. p. II. page 4.*)*

A few days after the battle of Edgehill, the King retired to Oxford, where he found the members of the University extremely attached to his interest. Archbishop Ussher had, a short time before, removed to this city from London, and his good friend, Dr. Prideaux, Bishop of Worcester, lent him his house, which, from its vicinity to Exeter College and the public library, enabled him to pursue his studies with convenience. On the Sunday after the King's arrival in Oxford, the Lord Primate was called to preach before him, as he did likewise on divers other more solemn occasions, both in this and the ensuing year. *(Dr. Parr's Life of Archbishop Ussher*, p. 49.*)*

Oct. 25.—The general Assembly of Kilkenny published a Proclamation, inviting all the "*adherents of the English*" to join the confederates. At the same time, the Oath of Association received the sanction of this Assembly, which bound all those who took it to maintain the following propositions:—

1. That the Roman Catholics, both clergy and laity, according to their several capacities, have free and public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion and functions throughout the kingdom, *in as full lustre and splendour* as it was in the reign of King Henry VII. or any other *Catholic Kings*, his

predecessors, Kings of England and *Lords of Ireland*, either in England or Ireland.

2. That the Secular Clergy of Ireland, viz. Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, Ordinaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, and other Dignitaries, Parsons, Vicars, and all other Pastors of the Secular Clergy, and their respective successors, shall have and enjoy all manner of jurisdictions, privileges, and immunities, in as full and ample a manner as the Roman Catholic Secular Clergy had or enjoyed the same within this realm, at any time during the reign of the late Henry VII. sometime King of England and *Lord of Ireland*, any law, declaration of law, statute, power, and authority whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. That all laws and statutes, made since the twentieth year of King Henry VIII. whereby any restraint, penalty, mulct incapacity, or restriction whatsoever, is, or may be laid upon any of the Roman Catholics, either of the Clergy or of the Laity, within this kingdom, for such the said free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, and of their several functions, jurisdictions, and privileges, may be *(simply)* repealed, revoked, and declared void by one or more Acts of Parliament to be passed therein.

4. That all Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, Ordinaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Chancellors, Treasurers, Chaunters, Provosts, Wardens of Collegiate Churches Prebendaries, and other Dignitaries, Parsons, Vicars, and other Pastors of the Roman Catholic Secular Clergy, and their respective successors, *shall have, hold, and enjoy all the churches and church livings*, in as large and ample a manner as the *late Protestant clergy* respectively enjoyed the same on the first day of October, in the year of our Lord 1641; together with all the profits, emoluments, perquisites, liberties, and the rights to their respective *sees and churches* belonging, as well in all places now in the possession of the *confederate Catholics*, as also in all other places that shall be recovered by the said confederate Catholics from the adverse party within this kingdom, saving to the Roman Catholic Laity, their rights, according to the laws of the land. *(Cox's Appendix*, No. XIV.*)*

Oct. 27.—The General Assembly of Kilkenny ordered a seal to be made.

Oct. 28.—They appointed a committee to inquire how the money and ammunition imported from foreign parts had been disposed of, and voted that Mr. Baron bring in writing the propositions and messages from foreign parts to him committed by the Pope's Nuncio and others.

Oct. 29.—The Assembly appointed Auditors of the account of monies received, and what had been made of *Protestants' rents, goods, or chattels,* and that the enemy be no more called Protestants or English, but the *puritanical* or *malignant party.*

On this day Mr. Robert Goodwin, and Mr. Robert Reynolds, Members of the English House of Commons, arrived in Dublin, accompanied by Captain Tucker. *(Borlase,* p. 103.*)*

At this time the General Assembly of Kilkenny, like all other Popish Conventions and Boards, which have been since brought into action against the government and constitution of the country, protested that it was not meant that the said Assembly should be considered *a Parliament,* the right of calling which was acknowledged to be inseparable from the crown, but a General Meeting only, to *establish order in the affairs of the Irish Catholics,* till his Majesty's wisdom should settle the troubles of Ireland. This was, however, but a pretext, for this Assembly was a Representative Body, and to all intents and purposes a Parliament, convened for the purpose of putting down the English government in Ireland. One body was composed of Bishops and Temporal Lords, and the other consisted of the *Deputies of Counties and Towns,* like the late Popish Board. They met in one room, in which a Mr. Darcy sat bare-headed on a stool, to represent the Judges or Masters in Chancery, and Mr. Nicholas Plunket sate as Speaker, to whom both Lords and Commons addressed their speeches. (*Warner,* vol. i. 236.

No. XXVIII.

" *All good and true Protestants will be sincerely afflicted at*
" *any decline that may happen in the zeal and vigilance that ought*
" *to be employed against Popery, since they can never cease to*
" *consider it as a system of wretched superstition and political*
" *despotism, and must particularly look upon Popery in the*
" *British Isles as pregnant with the principles of disaffection and*
" *rebellion, and as at invariable enmity with our religious liberty*
" *and our happy civil constitution.*"

(Maclaine's Second Appendix to Mosheim's History of the Ecclesiastical Affairs of the Eighteenth century, page 56.)

1642, *Nov.* 1.—The General Assembly of Kilkenny appointed the Lords Castlehaven and Gormanstown, Doctor Fennel, Colonel Dermond O'Bryan, Sir Lucas Dillon, Sir Phelim

O'Neil, Thomas Burke, Richard Martin, Teigh O'Flin, Richard Beling, Adam Cusack, James Mac Donell, Patrick Crelly, Rory Maguire, Patrick Darcy, and *all the lawyers*, to prescribe a form of government. *(Cox*, vol. ii. page 125.*)*

The Popish lawyers have ever been the most active organizers of rebellion in Ireland, if we may except their zealous confessors and instigators, the Popish Clergy; and so deeply did the King's Protestant agents feel the injuries, that the English government and Protestant interest had sustained from these interpreters of the law, that the sixth of their twenty-four propositions, presented on the 18th of April, 1644, contained the following demand: "That *all Popish lawyers* who refuse to take the oath of supremacy and allegiance *may be suppressed*, and restrained from practice in Ireland, the rather because the lawyers in England do not here practise until they take the oath of supremacy, *and it hath been found by woful experience, that the advice of Popish lawyers to the people of Ireland hath been a great cause of their continued disobedience.*"

How the Popish lawyers, with Chancellor Fitton at their head, succeeded in their aggressions on the properties and persons of his Majesty's Protestant subjects in Ireland, in the calamitous reign of King James II. is on record in the history of this unhappy country—the late attempts of such men in and out of their Board or Parliament are not likely to be soon forgotten; and one of them, immediately after the extinction of that Board, or Parliament, had the audacity to throw a firebrand through the country, under the denomination of "A Compendium of the History of Ireland." The first edition of this book has been so rapidly bought up, that it is with much difficulty a copy of it can now be procured; and from its tendency to cherish the prevailing hatred of every thing English and Protestant, it promises to be a popular manual in the hands of those unhappy Irishmen, who are taught from their cradle that their first duty is to hate their Protestant brethren, and their next, to attempt a dismemberment of the British empire. The following extracts from this baneful production, will fully confirm the foregoing opinion of its tendency and probable effects on the deceived and misguided populace of Ireland, and may, perhaps, recommend the perusal of the whole of it to the English Advocates of Irish Popery:—

"A General Assembly of the whole (Irish) nation was determined upon, whose first sittings were to take place in the ensuing month of October (1642.) It is impossible for an Irishman to contemplate *this great and glorious scene*, which elevates the humblest mind, and animates the coldest bosom,

without indulging in those reflections which must *embitter* the day that *Ireland is doomed to experience*, stripped, as she is, of her purest robe of honour, thrown down from that station which she once has occupied, and reduced, as she now is, to the humiliating and insulting vassalage of a tributary to the pride and strength of another country. Fancy may in vain delineate the picture of *an independent nation* making her own laws, commanding her own armies and navies (to fight the British navy perhaps,) and bringing into action (in conjunction with Messrs. Madison and Co.) her boundless resources, in genius, industry, and strength."

" No doubt the Convention which assembled at Kilkenny in October, 1642, and which comprised all that was dignified and spirited in the land, *(Sir Phelim O'Neil, Rory Maguire*, &c. &c.*)* frequently *flattered itself with the realization of so glorious a scene.* In such an assembly the Irishman might indulge in all the *visions* of *independence.* Such contemplations made him *(in* 1641, *and* 1798, *and* 1803*)* equal to *great and glorious enterprises;* they rendered the dangers of the struggle in which he was engaged as trifling when compared with the object for which he was contending, and, like the armour of the warrior, covered and protected him against the power of his enemy. " This celebrated *Convention*, which gave so much *hope* to Ireland, and excited so much fear among her enemies, consisted of two *Houses*, the one composed of Temporal *Peers and Prelates*, the other of *Representatives* deputed by the Counties and Cities." *(Compendium of the History of Ireland*, p. 319, *Dublin*, 1814—" *Sine lege.")*

" Mr. Taafe (of whose historical work the greater part of the ' *Compendium*' appears to be an acknowledged transcript) was a Catholic clergyman, but his passions triumphed over the solemn obligation of his sacred profession (his vow of celibacy, ' *tam veneri quam Marti* ' being his motto,) and his immoral example made it necessary to denounce against him the terrors of the religion which he disgraced. He resolved, however, that *the enemies of the religion and liberty of his country*, should gain but little by his fall, though he was lashed by despair into a repetition of those *foibles*, to which he originally fell a victim. (In another place these foibles are ascribed to the *constitution* of this hero's nature.")

" In 1798, this calamitous season of *Irish suffering* and *English torture*, when the informer and executioner (at Wexford Bridge and Scullabogue perhaps) were panting for their prey, Mr. Taafe is well known *to have enjoyed the confidence of his countrymen.*" (It is worth observing, that this is the very form

of words used in the County returns to the late Popish Parliament.)

" The constant reader of Polibius, of Zenophon, of Marshal Saxe, and the King of Prussia, could not but be furnished with some information on *military subjects.*"

" He made the experiment of his military genius in the rebellion, and hundreds will attest, that to his direction and council alone is to be attributed the much-lamented fate of the Ancient Britons at Carnew, in the County of Wexford. Those who were in command among the Irish bowed to his superior powers, and *Mr. Taafe was seen marshalling his pikemen* on a weather-beaten mule, with as much indifference as *Buonaparte rode his charger at the Battle of Austerlitz.* It is impossible any Irishman can read *Mr. Taafe's History of this Country*, without lamenting a man, who when pressed down by distress, the victim of every slander, the detestation of every *bigot*, the fool of every blockhead, could have had *the spirit and integrity to resist the bribes of the Castle, and vindicate the honour of his country.*" *(Ib.* p. 343.*)*

So much for this joint production of a *Popish Priest Rampant*, and a *Popish Lawyer ;* let the Protestants of the empire consider what kind of a *school-book* it is for the rising generation in Ireland.

No. XXIX.

" *By arts and methods too little observed and attended to on* " *our part, have these strangers been suffered to corrupt our* " *people and devour our strength, for in no other light than that* " *of strangers does our Constitution allow us to consider Papists* " *and Popery. STRANGERS to us in religion—STRAN-* " *GERS in Government—and STRANGERS in interest and* " *design.*"

(Dr. Edmund Gibson, Lord Bishop of London, on the Danger and Mischiefs of Popery, page 4, London, 1751.)

1642, *Nov.* 2.—The General Assembly of Kilkenny ordered Philip Hore to account for an hundred and twenty pounds received from the Gentry of the County of Dublin to buy arms. *(Cox's Hibernia Anglicana*, vol. i. p. 25.*)*

On this day Goodwin and Reynolds, the Parliamentary Commissioners, presented the money and ammunition they brought over to the Lords Justices and Privy Council of Ire-

land. They were received with respect by the government, which, in the true style of republicanism, they improved to the voluntary putting on of their hats, sitting behind the Council on a form. *(See Borlase*, p. 103.*)*

Nov. 4.—The Popish Prelates enjoin their Priests to administer the oath of association to every parishioner, and to take his subscription thereunto, a natural consequence of the toleration of an independent Popish Hierarchy under a Protestant government. *(See Cox*, vol. ii. p. 125.*)*

Nov. 10.—The General Assembly vote that the care of the Admiralty be committed to a Supreme Council, afterwards appointed.

Nov. 13.—An act passes this Assembly, like the tenpenny poll tax imposed on Ireland by the "Catholic Board," in 1814. Thirty thousand pounds were to be levied by this act on the Province of Leinster, under a warrant from the Speaker, Mr. Nicholas Plunkett.

Nov. 14.—On this day the General Assembly named their Supreme Council, viz.

LEINSTER.

The Pope's Archbishop of Dublin
Viscount Gormanstown
Viscount Mountgarret
Nicholas Plunkett
Richard Beling
James Cusack.

CONNAUGHT.

The Pope's Archbishop of Tuam
Viscount Mayo
The Pope's Bishop of Clonfert
Sir Lucas Dillon
Patrick D'Arcy
Jeoffry Brown.

MUNSTER.

Viscount Roche
Sir Daniel O'Bryan, of Carrigaholt
Edmund Fitzmorris
Doctor Fennel
Robert Lambert
George Comyn

ULSTER.

The Pope's Archbishop of Armagh
The Pope's Bishop of Down

Philip O'Reyly
Colonel Mac Mahon
Ever Mc Gennis
Tirlagh O'Neal.

They also appointed Provincial Councils, and ordered that the Supreme Council should authorize one or more persons to solicit aid of foreign princes, to advance this common and holy cause. *(Ibid.)*

They also ordered, that the officers of the army calling to their assistance one or more of each province, should concert measures for carrying on the war, that a messenger should be sent by the Supreme Council to the King to inform him of the motives and causes of this HOLY WAR, and of the grievances of the kingdom; they appointed Sir Richard Barnwall, Muster-Master General, and ORDERED FOUR THOUSAND POUNDS IN MONEY to be coined, which last act was an open and direct violation of the King's prerogative which they had solemnly sworn to maintain. *(Ibid*, p. 126.*)*

Twelve of the Supreme Council were to reside at Kilkenny, or in some other convenient town; no fewer than nine were to compose a Council, and of the sitting members, two thirds were to decide on every measure. This Council was to chuse Sheriffs out of three nominated by the County Council—to command all military officers and civil magistrates—to determine all matters left undecided by the General Assembly—to hear and judge also causes criminal and civil, except titles to lands—to direct the conduct of the war, and every matter relative to the interest of the confederacy. The order of the government being adjusted, the Provincial Generals were chosen. Owen O'Neil for Ulster, Preston for Leinster, Garret Barry for Munster, and Colonel John Burke for Connaught. The title of Lieutenant-General was given to Burke, in hope of inducing the Earl of Clanricarde to join the confederacy; but in this, to their utter mortification, they were disappointed, for that nobleman steadily rejected all their overtures, unshaken in his loyalty, by the solicitations, the menaces, and the excommunications of their clergy. To console them, however, in this disappointment, they now gained a new associate of dignity and consequence, Touchet Earl of Castlehaven, and Baron Audley of England. *(Dr. Leland's History of Ireland*, vol. iii. p. 191.*)*

Sir Richard Cox, in the preface to his Hibernia Anglicana, makes the following observations, which may, with propriety be inserted here.

"As for religion, I need not explain the irreconcileable antipathy that is between the Roman Catholic religion and heresy, or between TRUE RELIGION and IDOLATRY; the differences of nation and interest may be suspended, lessened, aye, annihilated, but THERE IS NO RECONCILIATION TO BE MADE BETWEEN GOD AND MAMMON. This great concern hath so silenced all the rest, that at this day we know no difference of nation but what is expressed by *Protestant* and *Papist*. If the most ancient natural Irishman be a Protestant, no man takes him for other than an Englishman, and if a cockney be a Papist, he is reckoned in Ireland as much an Irishman as if he was born on Slieve-logher. The Earls of Inchequin and Castlehaven are examples here of the one being of the best and ancientest family in Ireland, was yet the beloved General of an English army, and the other being the second Baron in England, was Commander of the Irish forces. (*Hibernia Anglicana; Preface*, p. 8, *London*, 1689.)

Nov. 15.—Lord Mountgarret was appointed President, and Sir Richard Shea, Clerk of the Supreme Council of Kilkenny. (*Ibid*, vol. ii. p. 125.)

Nov. 16.—The General Assembly again violating the King's prerogative, which they had sworn to maintain, ordered 31,700 men to be raised in the following Counties, whereof 5300 foot and 520 horse were to go to the army, and the rest to be for the defence of the country and the garrisons, viz.

Westmeath	3000
Meath	3000
Kildare	3000
Wexford	3000
King's County	2800
Queen's County	2400
Wicklow	2400
Dublin	2000
Kilkenny	3000
Louth	1700
Longford	3000
Catherlagh	2400
	31,700

(*Ibid*, p. 126.)

Nov. 19.—The General Assembly ordered that the King's revenue be duly gathered up for making a common stock for the use of the kingdom.

Nov. 20.—Lord Brittas, John Kelly, John Baggot, James Darcey, and Maurice Fitzharris, were appointed a Committee to enquire after Protestant goods and lands in the County of Limerick.

No. XXX.

" *We are sensible of the glorious advantages of* LIBERTY, " *and of* THE PROTESTANT RELIGION, *and have in* " *abhorrence the misery and slavery inseparable from* POPERY " *and a Popish Government.*"

(The British House of Commons to the King, Jan. 20, 1728.)

1642, *Nov.* 21.—James Cusack, who, before the rebellion, was one of the King's Council, and Clerk to the Commission of Grace, was appointed Attorney General by the General Assembly of Kilkenny. *(Sir Richard Cox's Hibernia Anglicana,* vol. ii. p. 126.*)*

At the same time it was ordered, that soldiers be cessed on all persons and places found refractory, in paying their quota of the contribution, and that every burgess should have 5s. per diem, and every knight of a shire 10s. per diem, during the Assembly, and for ten days before and after it; and that the Earl of Castlehaven should devise *an order of knighthood,* (a Legion of Honour) concerning the honour of Saint Patrick and the glory of Ireland. *(Ibid.)*

On this day John Stubbes, of the County of Longford, made a deposition upon oath, before the Commissioners, of the death of Henry Mead and his wife, John Bizel, William Stell, and Daniel Stubbes, the deponent's brother, who were hanged upon a windmill, and when they were half dead, cut in pieces with skeins by the Farrels of Lissagh and Oli Fitzgerald's men. *(Sir John Temple,* page 102.*)*

On this melancholy occasion, the wife of Henry Mead being hanged, the said Henry himself was placed in a ring amongst the Rebels, each of them stabbing him as he was forced to fly from side to side, and so continued until his shoulders and breast were cut in two with a bill hook. About the same time George Foster, his wife and child, and the wife of John Bizell, were murdered at Ballinecorr, in the same County, and some Protestant children were buried alive. *(Steele and Stubbe's informations in Borlase's Appendix,* page 118.*)*

On this day, the Supreme Council of the Confederates issued a Commission, or Letter of Marque, to a privateer. It was directed to Francis Oliver, a native of Flanders—the ship to be called *St. Michael the Archangel*, with full and absolute power and authority to take, hinder, and prejudice, &c. his Majesty's enemies, and the enèmies of the Catholic cause in Ireland. We have no record left of the captures made by this holy ship, but Borlase has preserved a copy of the Commission in the 97th and 98th pages of his "History of the Dismal Effects of the Irish Insurrection," by which it appears that this document of Popish folly and presumption was signed by the following persons:—

Mountgarret,
Gormanstown,
Hugo Armachanus, the Popish Primate,
Johan Clonfertensis, the Popish Bishop of Clonfert,
Nicholas Plunket,
Patrick Darcy,
James Cusack, and
Jeffry Brown.

At the same time the Rebel General Preston marched into the King's County, and having invested the Castle of Burris, it was surrendered to him immediately; this was the last action performed in the Province of Leinster, in the year 1642, and how the state of the other provinces, and of the transactions in England relating to them, remained at that period, has been already shewn. *(Warner*, vol. i. p. 241.*)*

1643, *Jan.* 1.—This year was ushered in with the investing of the Castle of Birr, in the King's County, now called Parsonstown. This castle was unprovided for a defence, the garrison, however, made a good capitulation, to march out with their arms, half their plate and money, their clothes, and as much provisions as they could carry; the terms of which were very honourably fulfilled. Lord Castlehaven, in his Memoirs, says, he here had an opportunity of beginning his command in the army with an act of charity; for going to see the garrison before it marched out, he found many people of quality, of both sexes, in a great room, who as soon as they saw him, fell on their knees, and with tears in their eyes, besought him to save their lives. He was much astonished at their posture and petition, and, having desired them to rise, asked what was the matter; they answered (says his Lordship) that from the first day of the war, there had been continual action between them and their Irish neighbours, and but little

quarter on either side; and, therefore, understanding that he was an Englishman, begged he would take them under his protection. His Lordship owns, that he knew there was too much reason for their fears, considering they were to march for two or three days through woods and waste countries, before they got to Athy, their next friendly garrison, and, therefore, he went immediately to the General to obtain his leave to be Commander of the convoy; and, as though his Lordship still suspected the villainous cruelty of his own party, he chose 300 foot, and 200 horse, in whom he could most confide, and carried off the garrison, consisting of above 800 men, women, and children; which, though sometimes attacked by the Irish, he delivered safe to their friends with all their baggage. *(See Warner*, vol. i. p. 241.*)*

The apprehensions of this garrison will appear to have been tolerably well founded, from the following list of murders committed in the King's County during this holy war, viz.

Mrs. Jane Addis, of Kilcoursie, after her going to mass, was murdered in her house, in Fox's county, having a child not a quarter old; the murderers putting the dead woman's breast into the child's mouth, bade it *suck, English bastard*, and so left it. *(Examinations of King, Dowdal, Wild, and Fleetwood, in Borlase's Appendix*, page 117.*)*

Arthur Scot, murdered at Lesslooney, having twenty wounds given him. *(Scot's Examinations, Ibid.)*

Two men murdered at Philipstown. *(Dowdal's Examination, Ibid.)*

Seven murdered at the town of Birr. *(Wilkinson's Examination, Ibid.)*

Thomas Horam hanged at Philipstown. *(Hugh Robert's Examination, Ibid.)*

Henry Bigland and eleven more murdered about Knocknemeis. *(Robert Bigland's Examination, Ibid.)*

A woman, aged eighty years, stripped naked in frost and snow, by two daughters of Rowry Coghlan, of Fercall Wood, before whose door she died. *(Henry Ayliff's Examination, Ibid.)*

John Lurcan murdered and chopped in pieces. *(Ibid*, p. 6.*)*

Four Englishman murdered at Terence Coghlan's house in Kilkolgan. *(Thomas Lestrange's Examination, Ibid.)*

Two and twenty widows, with several other persons stripped naked, who, covering themselves in a house with straw, the Rebels set fire to the straw, and threw it amongst them to burn them, and they would have been burned, had they not

been rescued by others who turned them out naked in frost and snow—so as many died, yea, the children died in their mothers' arms. *(Redmain, Porter, and Bryan's Examinations, Ibid.)*

In this month the Parliament of Ireland met at Dublin, according to their adjournment, and shortly after one Jerome, a seditious fanatic, was silenced by the Archbishop of Dublin, for a violent lecture delivered by him in the Cathedral of Christ Church. The Lords Justices endeavoured to protect or excuse Jerome—but the House of Lords manifested a firm determination to punish him, which was prevented only by the sudden prorogation of the Parliament. *(See Warner's History of the Rebellion and Civil War of Ireland*, vol. i. 235.*)*

Nov. 25.—Colonel Monk was sent with six hundred infantry, and two troops of horse, to relieve Balanokil, which was besieged by the Rebel General Preston. This service he soon performed, for the enemy raised the siege upon his approach; but, in his return, he met Preston with three thousand men in a disadvantageous place, and, though he saw evident danger in so unequal a fight, yet he thought there would be more in a retreat; wherefore, having entrenched himself so as to fear no attack but in the front, he resolved to receive them bravely, and taking care that his musqueteers should not spend their shot in vain, he saluted the Rebels in their approach with such a shower of bullets as killed the boldest of them, and made the rest begin to give way, which the English perceiving, came hotly upon them. But the fight was soon ended by the cowardliness of the Irish, who, with more shame than slaughter, losing not above sixty men there, betook themselves to the next strong place, and Colonel Monk, without the loss of one man, returned to Dublin. *(Borlase*, p. 105.*)*

Notwithstanding this shameful repulse, Preston had taken several places of strength, and was yet extending his petty conquests. In most districts, the Insurgents were superior, and exulted in the distresses of the Royal forces. Their vanity and inexperience magnified this superiority, and their clergy, of all others the most vain and inexperienced, encouraged and inflamed their insolence. *(Dr. Leland's History of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 200.*)*

Nov. 31.—That the Supreme Council, the legitimate issue of the General Assembly, might look with a better face of authority, they framed to themselves a *Seal*, bearing the mark of a long cross, on the right side whereof was a crown, and on the left an harp, with a dove above, and a flaming heart below the cross, surrounded by this inscription, *pro Deo, pro Rege, & Patria unanimis.*—It may be observed here, that this

august Assembly served their GOD, THEIR KING, AND THEIR COUNTRY with equal sincerity. The honour due to GOD alone they tranferred to dead men and dumb idols; the allegiance they had sworn to their King prevented not their usurping his undoubted prerogatives, and levying war against him and their Protestant fellow subjects, whilst their unhappy country reaped the bitter fruits of their profligacy in bloodshed and desolation.

The propositions they had sworn to maintain, meant nothing more or less than the established religion of the kingdom, the religion of the King, to whom they had so lately volunteered an Oath of Allegiance, should be annihilated, and that Popery should be established in its ancient splendour. That the Titular Bishops and Clergy should have impudence enough to frame such an oath, as bound those who took it to maintain these propositions, by which they were to acquire so large a share of power and profit, is not much to be wondered at; but that the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, who had either conscience or common sense, could be weak enough to submit to such an oath, by which, *at the beginning of it*, they were bound to maintain and defend the King's right, and the *fundamental laws* of the kingdom, and *in the end of it*, equally bound to oppose those *rights* and *laws*, and finally, to abrogate and overturn them, is a matter of great astonishment.

If this making of a new *Great Seal*, *Coining Money*, appointing *an Attorney General*, and ordering that "no temporal government or jurisdiction should be exercised within that kingdom during the troubles, except such as should be approved of by the General Assembly, or Supreme Council, were not acts that deprived the King of his *rights* and *prerogatives*, and that abrogated the *fundamental laws* of the land, then, nothing could be so interpreted;" the King's Ministers were Rebels, and this Assembly was the *legal state*, an absurdity which the Popish clergy found men obedient enough to swallow, though so repugnant to common sense, and common honesty, but it confirms an observation often made, on the principles of *Popery*, that "no duty of allegiance, no ties of any kind, are to stand in competition with the interest of that religion." It shews too, what a great power the Priesthood have over the *conscience* in that communion; a power inconsistent with reason, and *not more opposite to liberty, than to the Christian doctrine.* (*See Warner*, vol. i. p. 241.)

No. XXXI.

" *The maintenance of all liberty, civil and religious, depends* " *on circumscribing POPERY within proper bounds, since* " *Popery is not a system of innocent speculative opinions, but a* " *yoke of DESPOTISM, an enormous mixture of Priestly* " *and Princely TYRANNY, designed to enslave the consciences* " *of mankind, and to DESTROY THEIR MOST SACRED* " *AND INVALUABLE RIGHTS.*

(Appendix to Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History of the Eighteenth century, page 59.)

1643, *Jan.* 2.—The English army, near Ross, was at this time, notwithstanding its successes, in a sad condition, being meanly clothed, ill fed, and worse paid; so that though the Lords Justices did send a pressing letter to the Lieutenant General to keep the army abroad, because there was no subsistence for them in Dublin, and the better to enable him thereunto, they sent him 6000 pounds of biscuit, and the like quantity of match and musquet bullets, yet the wants of the army were so great in all manner of necessaries, that it was impossible to keep the field, and therefore they returned to Dublin. *(Sir Richard Cox's Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. page 127.)

Jan. 9.—The Rev. James Shaw, Vicar of Old Laughlin, deposed upon oath before the Commissioners, that the wife of Jonathan Linne and his daughter were seized upon by the Rebels near the town of Catherlough (now Carlow,) carried by them into a little wood, called Stapletown wood, and there the mother was hanged and the daughter strangled in her mother's hair.

Jan. 9.—The General Assembly of Kilkenny was dissolved, leaving the administration of affairs in the hands of the Supreme Council. *(Borlase,* page 95.)

Jan. 15.—The Lords Justices and Privy Council issued a Proclamation, ordering, " that all corn masters and others, should sell their corn at a lower rate than had been proposed in the end of the preceding month, and that the bakers should size their bread accordingly. *(Ib.* page 105.)

Jan. 20.—Sir Richard Greenville, with a party of 200 horse and 1000 foot, relieved the Town and Castle of Athlone. In his return to Dublin he was encountered at Ratheonnel by 5000 Rebels, whom he routed, took their General (Preston's

son,) killed many, gained eleven pair of colours, and surprised many prisoners. For his services on this expedition, Captain William Vaughan was knighted by the Lords Justices, to whom he brought the news of the victory.

The Irish were much confounded and dismayed at this victory. Ever dupes of a base and barbarous superstition, they firmly believed an old traditionary prophesy, that the victors in the battle of Ratheonnel should conquer all Ireland. *(See Borlase,* p. 105.*)*

Jan. 22.—A Commission was sent by the King into Ireland to meet with the Rebels, and to hear what they could say or propound for themselves; which Commission was directed to the Marquis of Ormond, and to some other Commissioners, among whom Thomas Burke, a contriver of the Irish rebellion was one, and confidently delivered this Commission at the Council Table, to the amazement of all the Council then present. *(Declaration of both Houses of Parliament, July* 25. 1643.—*Rushworth,* vol. v. p. 346.*)*

The Parliament in the foregoing declaration accused the King of having stirred up the Irish rebellion, or at leat connived at the intrigues of the Queen and her Romish Priests, in plotting and fomenting it, an accusation of which the King used his utmost endeavours to clear himself. *(Rapin's Hist. Eng.* vol. xii. p. 171.*)*

Feb. 8.—Joan, relict of Gabriel Constable, deposed this day, before the Commissioners, amongst other things, that when the Rebels were drowning the wife of Lieutenant James Maxwell, of Tynan, between that town and Kinnard, in the County of Armagh, the said Mrs. Maxwell was in labour, and so forward therein, that (as some of these bloody actors told and bragged to her,) the child's arm appeared and waved in the water, the child being half born when the mother was drowned. For the cruel murder of Lieutenant Maxwell at this time, see the examination of his brother, Archdeacon Maxwell, already quoted. *(Sir John Temple,* p. 107.*)*

Feb. 10.—The army returned to Dublin after the Battle of Ratheonnel, with the remnant of Sir Michael Earnly's regiment. The Lords Justices being driven to a great strait, and left without hopes of relief from England, and the inhabitants of Dublin being no longer able to maintain their families, and relieve the soldiers, whose insolence now ran very high, the government entertained a design of sending the greatest part of the army into some parts of the country, distant from the city, that they might live upon the Rebels. For this end, they coined their own plate, and encouraged others to follow their

example ; by this help, and some supplies out of England, (which had not wholly deserted Ireland) the army, amounting to two thousand foot and five hundred horse, prepared to march out, under the command of the Marquis of Ormond. *(Dr. Borlase,* p. 106.*)*

On this day the King wrote a letter to the Lords Justices and Council, ordering the removal of the Parliamentary Commissioners, Goodwin and Reynolds, whom he justly considered spies on his friends in Ireland.

Feb. 25.—The Lords Justices and Council wrote to the Speaker of the House of Commons, stating the danger the kingdom would incur, if the army they were sending into the country should, by any distress, or through want, be forced back into Dublin again, before a relief of victuals should arrive to them from England. *(Borlase,* p. 107.*)*

Feb. 27.—The Parliament's Committee embarked for London by long sea. *(Ibid,* p. 105.*)*

March 2.—The Earl of Ormond and the English army marched forth from Dublin towards Kilkenny, with two pieces of battery and four small brass pieces—Lord Lisle commanded the horse. *(Ibid,* p. 109.*)*

March 3.—The army being come nigh Castlemartin, the Rebels then possessing it, gave it up to the Lieutenant-General upon his promise of quarter, which they accordingly had, they being in number above four hundred men and women. On the same day, three divisions of foot were sent to Kildare, and a Castle called Tully, which the Rebels abandoned on their approach. *(Ibid.)*

On this day Dr. George Wild, afterwards Bishop of Derry, preached a Sermon before the House of Commons, assembled at Oxford, which was afterwards published ;—his text was —*For my brethren and companions sakes, I will now say peace be within thee ; because of the house of the Lord our* GOD, *I will seek thy good.* Psalm cxxii. *(See Harris's Edition of Sir James Ware's Works,* vol. i. page 294.*)*

March 4.—The army came to Tymolin, where, finding two Castles possessed by some Rebels, they battered them with their cannon, killing about an hundred of the Rebels, with the loss of Lieutenant Oliver, and about twelve soldiers on the English side.

March 8.—Captain Parkine made a deposition before the Commissioners, relative to Sir Phelim O'Neil's massacre of the Protestants on his flight from Dundalk to Armagh. At this melancholy time, Captain Manus O'Cane, collecting all the Protestants who survived the massacre at Armagh, was ordered

by Sir Phelim to conduct them to Colerain; but this devoted band were scarcely a day's journey on the road, when they were all murdered, and so were several others, by special direction from Sir Phelim O'Neil and his brother Turlagh, notwithstanding they had all received protections from them. *(Temple*, p. 93.*)*

A scene of one of these horrible massacres was at Innisrush, in the County of Londonderry, in which was one of Sir Phelim O'Neil's strong fastnesses. Tradition says, he had a wooden house in the centre of a lake at this place, and a considerable quantity of framed timber was taken out of a small island in it a few years ago, when an attempt was made to drain the lake. Near this is a hill, which derive its name from a gallows erected on it by the Irish Rebels for the execution of the Protestants of the Bann side.

March 9.—Captain Anthony Stratford, of Charlemount, in the County of Armagh, made his deposition, relative to the Irish massacre, before his Majesty's Commissioners, in which, among other things already recorded on other authorities, he swore, that the following Protestant Ministers were murdered about the beginning of the rebellion, in the Counties of Tyrone and Armagh, and that the Rebels would not permit their bodies to be buried, viz.

The Rev. John Matthew,
Mr. Blyth,
Mr. Hastings,
Mr. Smith,
Mr. Durragh,

with eight others whose names had escaped his memory. Captain Stratford was for fourteen months a prisoner amongst the Rebels at Castlecaufield, near the places where these murders were committed; and he also deposed, that in three months after the breaking out of the rebellion, the Rev. Mr. Birge, Minister of the parish of Killyman, in the County of Tyrone, was murdered by the Rebels, who had before drowned three hundred Protestants on one day in a mill-pond in the same parish. *(Temple*, p. 123.*)*

March 11.—Henry Brinkhurst, of the County of Mayo, deposed, that after the massacre of Shreul, in that County, one of the Rebels, that had acted his part there, came into a house with his hands and clothes all bloody, saying, *it was English blood*, that he hoped to have more of it, and that his skein had pinked the clean white skins of many at Shreul, even to the hilt thereof; and that, amongst others, it had been

in the body of a fair complexioned man, whose name was Jones. At which time of his discourse, the wife of the said Jones, with four of her small children, sate by and durst not cry out, but striving to suppress her extreme grief, fell into a swoon, and was conveyed out of the room for fear he would do the like by her and her poor children. *(Ibid,* p. 107.*)*

No. XXXII.

" *He that stands upon a slippery place,*
" *Makes nice of no vile hold to stay him up.*"

Shakspeare's King John.

1643, *March* 11.—Lord Lisle marched from the army, at Temple-soul, before day, towards Ross, having with him Sir Richard Greenville, Sir Thomas Lucas, and about 400 horse, and also Sir Foulk Hunks, with about 600 foot.

Being come within two miles of Ross, the horse took four horsemen of the Rebels prisoners, who informed them, that the army of the Rebels lay then about three miles distant from that place, being near 4000 men.

In a short time after Lord Lisle came before the town of Ross, and sent a trumpeter into the town to demand some one of quality therein to come treat with him concerning a surrender, which the people of the town refused to do.

In the evening of this day the main body of the English army arrived to the assistance of Lord Lisle.

March 12.—The Marquis of Ormond, who commanded the army which came before Ross, this day would soon have been able to take it, as it was at this time but weakly garrisoned, had not the Lords Justices neglected to send him, not only ammunition, but victuals for his soldiers; all which being to be transported by sea, was so negligently provided, that the wind, which was for many days favourable, altered before the vessel was ready for the voyage; and the army, instead of annoying the enemy, had no care so pressing as that of procuring bread. *(British Plutarch,* vol. ii. page 322.*)*

March 17.—Upon the petition of the confederates of Ireland, the King granted a commission to the Marquis of Ormond to meet and hear what the Rebels could say or propound for themselves. By virtue of this commission, the Earl of St. Albans and Clanrickard, the Earl of Rosscommon, Sir Maurice Eustace, and others, his Majesty's Commissioners, met at Trim, to whom the confederated Roman Ca-

tholics of Ireland, by their Commissioners, Lord Viscount Gormanstown, Sir Lucas Dillon, Sir Robert Talbot, and John Walsh, Esq. produced a Remonstrance on this 17th of March, 1642, to be presented to his Majesty by the name of the *Remonstrance of Grievances presented to his Majesty in the name of the Catholics of Ireland.* (*Borlase*, p. 117.)

In this Remonstrance were pieced together so many vain inconsiderable fancies, so many subsequent passages acted in the prosecution of the war, and such bold, false, and notorious assertions, without the least ground or colour of truth, proved beyond all doubt, that they had absolutely resolved, first, to raise this rebellion, and then to set their *lawyers and clergy* on work to frame such reasons and motives as might, with some colour of justification, serve for arguments to defend it. It is, indeed, to speak plainly, a most infamous pamphlet, full fraught with scandalous aspersions cast upon the government, and his Majesty's principal officers of state in Ireland. It was certainly framed with most virulent intentions, not to present their condition and sufferings to his Majesty, but that it might be dispersed to gain belief amongst foreign states abroad, as well as discontented persons at home, and so draw assistance and aid to foment and strengthen their rebellious party in Ireland. (*Sir John Temple's Preface to his History of the Rebellion.*)

This Remonstrance was solemnly received by the King's Commissioners, and by them transmitted to his Majesty, as before had been the presumptuous Propositions from Cavan, the Letter of the Farrels of Longford to Lord Costelough, and all other addresses the Rebels had made to the state, including the Propositions they afterwards sent to the King at Oxford. Notwithstanding which, Nicholas French, Popish Bishop of Ferns, in a virulent and scurrilous pamphlet, published by him on the 23d of December, 1674, under the title of *The Bleeding Iphigenia*, impudently asserted, that from the commencement of the insurrection, in 1641, to that time, these Rebels were not heard to speak for themselves. (*See Borlase*, p. 118.)

One of the Propositions in this Remonstrance was, that murderers on both sides should be punished; this, as Borlase observes, was evidently a flourish—a finesse to colour the calumnies they propagated in extenuation of their guilt in murdering so many thousands of their Protestant fellow-subjects in cold blood, and by a long premeditated design. (*See Borlase*, p. 58.)

With this view, not only *The Bleeding Iphigenia* was pub-

lished, but also a small book called *The Politician's Catechism*, which appeared soon after the Restoration of King Charles the Second, when the tide was turning fast in England from Puritanism to Popery.

In this book originated the exaggerated account of the massacre of the Irish by the Scottish garrison of Carrickfergus, in Island Magee, which, by wilful aggravations, and a false date, has been since announced as the first massacre in Ulster in the year 1641, and the cause of all the murders that were afterwards committed in it.—It may not be amiss, therefore, to re-publish the following refutation of this atrocious calumny, which appeared a few years ago in one of our periodical publications, remarkable, for its partiality to the pretensions of the Irish Romanists.

"That the first massacre in the Irish Rebellion of 1641, was perpetrated by the Protestant garrison of Carrickfergus, was asserted by Dr. Curry, in his *History of the Civil Wars of Ireland*, published in 1775, and has been lately repeated by a Mr. Plowden, *(semper eadem)* in *An Historical View of the State of Ireland*, published in 1803, with this *addition*, that 'the truth of the fact is supported by the authority of Lord Clarendon;' and a Mr. Milner, an English Roman Catholic Bishop, has made the same assertion in his *Inquiry*, published in London in 1803. (Mr. Lawless, in his late imitation of Captain Philip O'Sullevan's *Compendium of the History of Ireland*, says, page 306, he will not disgust his readers with an account of the *atrocious* massacre in the Island of Magee by the English, nor set down the terrible account of *vengeance* which the Irish inflicted on their sanguinary enemies.) From these injurious charges, to rescue the memory of the persons maligned, and that of the noble person quoted, will be found a matter of little difficulty; it is only necessary to trace the report to its origin.

"Twenty-one years after the rebellion broke out, a pamphlet was published in London, *The Politician's Catechism*, (a piece of as much venom as art or malice could connect,) printed for its author, R. S. 1662. The time chosen for its appearance was after the lapse of the King and the Duke of York to Popery, which presented a favourable opportunity of throwing obloquy on the Protestants of Ireland. The settlement of this kingdom was then under the consideration of the King and Council of England. In the tract alluded to, we find the following passage:—'About the beginning of November, 1641, in one night, the English and Scotch forces murdered *all the inhabitants* of the territory of Island Magee,

to the number of above three thousand men, women, and children, all innocent persons, in a time when none of the Catholics of that country were in arms or rebellion. *Note*—This was the first massacre committed in Ireland on either side.'"

Such is the foundation of the *report*—the passage, however, contains in itself its own refutation. If the atrocious act alluded to took place about the beginning of November, as the pamphlet asserts, it could not in possibility be "the first massacre on either side," because the rebellion had broken out on the 23d of the preceding month, and we know, on various authorities, particularly on that of *Lord Clarendon himself*, that within the space of ten days the *Roman Catholics had, with most barbarous instances of cruelty, murdered an incredible number of Protestants. (See the Seventh and Fifteenth Numbers of the Second Part of these Annals.)*

On what principle, then, are we to account for Lord Clarendon being referred to in support of an assertion, that the Protestants set the example of massacre, to which assertion, the quotation is in contradiction? If this Nobleman's evidence deserves the credit which those who refer to him admit it does, it follows, from these his own words, that *it cannot be true*, either that this was the first massacre, or that none of the Catholics of Ireland were at the time in arms and rebellion.

Neither can it possibly be true, that the atrocity mentioned happened about the beginning of November.

The *fact*, upon inquiry, is found to be this—that whatever did occur in Island Magee was in the January following the breaking out of the rebellion, after the followers of Sir Phelim O'Neil had almost exhausted their barbarities in those outrages which, as Dr. Curry himself says, Sir Phelim, in his last moments, declared, pressed his conscience very much, though, he said, they were done contrary to his intention. The month is established beyond question, by the deposition of Bryan Magee, a Roman Catholic, son of Owen, whose family were among the chief sufferers at Island Magee. (Magee's deposition is preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, page 2716, of the volume of depositions lettered "County of Antrim.") The affidavit sets forth all the horrors of such a scene, with minute precision, enumerating the persons killed, and stating the day to be the *eighth of January*, which it will be found fell that year on a Sunday. In corroboration of these, we find, by the testimonies of James Mitchel, of Island Magee, that he was at Ballycarry, on the Sabbath day about sermon

time, in the afternoon of the day the Irish of the Isle Magee were murdered; of consequence it must now be evident, that instead of being the first massacre, it was ten weeks subsequent to the commencement of those scenes which pressed on the dying moments of the ferocious Sir Phelim himself, which induced the detestation of his successor Owen O'Neil, who, in detestation of their conduct, burned some of the perpetrators of those massacres, which every good man, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, has deplored from that age to the present.

As immediate cause may be discovered for the unhappy event taking place at the time now established, viz. in the destruction of between sixty and eighty British, in their quarters at Portna, on the Bann side, in the County of Antrim, not far from the town of Kilrea, in the County of Londonderry. This party, under the command of Captain Fergus Mac Dowal, had been dispersed at the distance of half a mile from each other, and were massacred without resistance. Immediately after the destruction of these soldiers, the Irish collected on each side of the Bann, and, on the third day of January, proceeded, with fire and sword, from Portna to Ballintoy, killing the Scotch wherever they got them. This is testified by an evidence of their own, Gilduffe O'Cahan, of Dunseverick, father of one of their leaders, (See depositions, "County of Antrim," p. 4233, Trinity College, Dublin.) This happened only five days prior to the affair of Island Magee, and at an inconsiderable distance from it.

A more remote incitement may have been the massacre of Lord Grandison's troop of horse, in their quarters at Tanrogee (Tandragee,) which happened a few weeks earlier. The survivors of this corps would naturally exasperate their fellow-soldiers at the battle of Lisburn, betwixt the garrison of which town and that of Carrickfergus there was a daily communication. But it is unnecessary to cite more of these incidents, which almost daily occurred, and were too well calculated to inspire a desire of revenge on both sides.

It is now clear, that Dr. Curry's assertion that Leland had no authority for transferring the time of the massacre on Island Magee, from November to January, falls to the ground, as well as his bolder assertion—that "it can never be found in the collection of original depositions, now in possession of the University of Dublin." In that very collection, the author of these remarks found it, as stated before, and in that collection he could not find the slightest presumption for transferring

the date from January back to November, against all historical evidence and tradition.

It is now time to inquire how far Mr. Plowden,* in our day, (who has even outdone Dr. Curry in his,) is supported by Lord Clarendon's authority, and what justice he renders that noble author in a passage quoted in his "Historical View of the State of Ireland."

No. XXXIII.

—— "*Tacitus pasci si posset corvus, haberet,*
"*Plus dapis, et rixæ multo minus, invidiæque.*"
Her. Ep. 17. v. 51, Lib. 2.

In Mr. Plowden's Historical View of the State of Ireland, is the following passage :—"*In justice to Lord Clarendon*, it must be mentioned, that he admits of one fact that contradicts most of our authorities, and is contrary to the generally received notion, that the rebellion first broke out by a general massacre of all the Protestants that could be found, in cold blood."

The text of Lord Clarendon says the very reverse. This spurious tale, that Protestants committed the *first* aggression, would never have attracted attention had it not, so lately as 1720, been connected, by a cunning device, with the name of that noble historian, and foisted upon the public on his authority, contrary (as has been shewn) to his Lordship's opinion, and his direct assertion. So shallow an artifice can no longer deceive, when it is mentioned, that the passage of late ascribed to Lord Clarendon's pen, *instead of being his*, is, *verbatim*, the first paragraph of the identical pamphlet (The Policitian's Catechism) noticed at the beginning of these remarks, as having been, what its own title declares, the work of an anonymous writer, under the signature of R. S. (for a character of which, see Dr. Borlase's History of the dismal Effects of the Irish Insurrection, page 57.) This pamphlet, for the purpose of deceiving the credulous, has been since dignified with the title of an Appendix, and (by a *pia fraus* of Popery) bound up with Lord Clarendon's well known, "Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland," as if it was one part of a

* Dr. Curry, though a most zealous partizan, did not venture to father the report on Lord Clarendon; but Mr. Plowden, with that confidence which the Professors of the Law find necessary, gives it to his Lordship without ceremony.—Mr. Milner, an English Roman Catholic Bishop, does the same in his "Inquiry."

work in which it repeatedly meets with its own refutation. Accordingly, an advertisement is prefixed both to English and Irish Editions of his Lordship's Work, certifying, that the copy had been carefully compared with two manuscripts in the Archbishop of Dublin's library, " *except this very Appendix.*"

Of such materials have Dr. Curry and Mr. Plowden, both Catholic Annalists, composed their narratives of this delicate and important point of history.

But though this famous Appendix had not been excepted, in the aforesaid advertisement to Lord Clarendon's Works, and though the anonymous pamphlet of R. S. was now extinct, (or its origin and existence had not been recorded by Dr. Borlase) still demonstrative evidence would remain, that no colour had been given for fixing the assertion upon the noble historian; for, in his Lordship's " Historical View," of which it should form a part, there is no reference or allusion whatever to any Appendix, much less to one contradicting the very work in which Lord Clarendon reminds the Roman Catholics of " the wonderful plenty, peace, and prosperity they enjoyed until the year 1640, when, (says he,) they wantonly and disdainfully flung those blessings from them." And he thus introduces the rebellion itself, " on a sudden, upon the 23d of October, 1641, without so much as the least pretence of a quarrel, or hostility so much as apprehended by the Protestants, great multitudes of Roman Catholics, in the Province of Ulster, and shortly after in the other Provinces and parts of the kingdom, tumultuously assembled together, put themselves in arms, and seized on towns, castles, and houses belonging to the Protestants, and with most barbarous instances of cruelty, within the space of ten days, massacred an incredible number of Protestants."

Now, it remains for Mr. Plowden to shew us what greater pretence of a quarrel or hostility could be given to the Roman Catholics, than the prior massacre on Island Magee, of " three thousand men, women, and children, all innocent persons, at a time when none of the Catholics were in arms or rebellion !" The task further devolves on Mr. Plowden, to shew how the truth of the fact, " that the first massacre on either side was on that of the Protestants," is supported by the authority of Lord Clarendon, when that Lord, in his " Narrative of the Rebellion," avers, that there was no pretence for hostility, so much even as apprehended by the Protestants at the time ; and that the Roman Catholics, on the other hand, within the space of ten days, from the 23d of October, 1641, had destroyed an incredible number of Protestants.

Mr. Plowden seems to have paid a religious regard to an exploded tale, contained in three or four lines of an anonymous pamphlet, whilst he pays none to the uniform declarations in the work itself, to which it had been insidiously attached. With respect to the original work of his Lordship, its authenticity has never been called in question. It was written by him at Cologne, with the assistance of the Duke of Ormond, and memoirs furnished by him.

That a number of Roman Catholics were murdered in the Island of Magee, in the heat of the rebellion, is true; but that the number has been enormously exaggerated is equally certain. By the testimony of the survivors, though they may be supposed to have been inclined to exaggerate their own dangers, and the sufferings of their friends, when it tended to excite compassion, the number sworn to by them is nearer thirty persons than thirty families. For the popular belief, that a number of poor people were precipitated over the Gobbin Cliff into the sea, in the same Island Magee, tradition is, perhaps, the only foundation. In the various written evidences of the surviving members of those families that suffered on the 8th of January, 1642, the author of these remarks could find no trace of it; and it is hardly conceivable, that willing witnesses would have concealed their knowledge of such facts, the detail of which would have rendered them objects of greater commiseration.

Though the forgery of 1662 is now sufficiently exposed, it may be proper, for the information of readers who are not conversant with that period of Irish history to which it relates, to mention, that the following authorities are totally silent with respect to the charge against the Protestants of committing the first aggression. To suppose that any of them would have been so, had the report even been heard of at the time, is inadmissible.

The Remonstrance of the Northern Roman Catholics has not the slightest allusion to it; neither has "Heads of the Causes which moved the Northern Inhabitants and Catholics of Ireland to take up arms;" nor the Remonstrance of the Roman Catholics of the Kingdom at large, delivered within seventeen months after the Rebellion commenced, by Lord Gormantown, to the Earl of St. Albans, and others of the King's Commissioners, dated at Trim, on the 17th of March, 1643. Had it been true, that the Protestant garrison of Carrickfergus had set the example of the first massacre, it would have formed a prominent part in an enumeration of the causes which led the Roman Catholics into Rebellion. No plea for,

or extenuation of their conduct, could possibly be adduced of equal weight with this. Their silence on the subject amounts to demonstration.

Mr. Plowden follows the example of his precursor, Dr. Curry, by endeavouring to extenuate the conduct of those concerned in the Rebellion, on the plea that there was no preconcerted system or preparation for a rising. This allegation has so little foundation, that it seems extraordinary that it should have been ever produced. It is in the very teeth of Lord Maguire's testimony, who declared that " he and his party, in the May preceding the Rebellion, dispatched the Priest Toole O'Toole, who lived in Leinster, to Owen O'Neal in Flanders, to acquaint him with the grand Rebellion then in agitation ;" that Owen's answer was, that " he would, within fifteen days after the people should be up, be with them with his best assistance and arms."—Lord Maguire goes on to declare, that Byrne, a Leinster Rebel leader, told him that the *Pope* was to send them a supply of money; that Owen O'Neal, who was then in Flanders, had received most solemn assurances of support from *Cardinal Richlieu*, and that he (Byrne) had conferred with the *Spanish Ambassador*, and was sure of support from that Court. Lord Maguire's examination was taken by the Council in Dublin, and afterwards confirmed by his Lordship's testimony in the Tower. It occupied fifteen folio pages full of matter, corroborative of the extracts given from it.

At this distance of time, it matters little whether the rising in 1641 was preconcerted or not, systematical or otherwise; but the page of history ought not to be tarnished by statements, which cast an air of suspicion over the entire works wh ch contain them.

How much wiser were it (for the advocates of Popery) to suffer the memory of that wretched Rebellion to perish, than to revive it by views of the transaction which it will not bear, rendering it necessary to *vindicate the honour of the dead* from unjust aspersions, and replace the facts on their original foundations. *(Walker's Hibernian Magazine for December,* 1808, p. 738.*)*

Such is the strain of exaggeration and falsehood which runs through the pages of all the Popish writers, polemical or historical, from the Reformation to the present day—a characteristic feature which has uniformly exposed them to the contempt and scorn of the literary world, and rendered the revival of literature and invention of printing the slow but certain instruments of annihilating the delusions of Popery.

The polemical writers of this communion, not only set the

vain and vague traditions of sinful men upon an equality with the *Holy Scriptures*, which were written for our learning, and which we are therefore commanded to search; but they sacrilegiously presume, under the incompetent authority of *a corrupted church*, to expunge one of the Commandments from the Decalogue, and *to make the word of God of none effect*, by directly and arbitrarily contradicting the whole tenor of it, in their vain endeavours to establish a system of opinions utterly irreconcilable with the pure spirit of the Gospel, and at variance even with the common sense and common honesty of mankind.

In like manner, the Romish adventurers in the historical department are not ashamed to commit themselves in the propagation of the silliest falsehoods, and the repeated revival of refuted calumnies against the English nation and their Protestant fellow-subjects. From the fabrication of lengendary tales of the ancient glories of this Island, before there was a stone wall or a smith's forge in it, they have, in the maturity of their impudence and folly, proceeded to charge the dreadful massacre of 1641 on the hapless victims of it; to deny that Lord Tyrconnel persecuted the Protestants of Ireland, and treat those with ridicule who presume to remember, that any of his Majesty's subjects were piked within twenty yards of the Court-house of Wexford, or burned to ashes in the barn of Scullabogue.

The identity of this spirit, in the Popish writers of history, (and they are famous for identity in all respects,) will distinctly appear, by a comparison of their modern productions with those of the following authors, whose characters are on record in the "Irish Historical Library," as well as in the works of Archbishop Usher, Sir James Ware, and many other eminent men who have written upon Irish affairs, viz.

I.

Captain Philip O'Sullevan.—This man, who was an officer in the navy of Philip IV. King of Spain, wrote, "*A Compendium of the Catholic History of Ireland*," in Latin, divided into four small volumes. It has been already observed, (Part. I. No. XXI.) that among many other absurdities, this book contained a minute description of the different apartments of St. Patrick's Purgatory, and the frightful sights seen there by Ramon De Perilles, a Spanish Viscount. The fourth volume attacks King James I. for attempting to establish Knox's new schemes of doctrine and discipline in the Church of Ireland, and at the same time asserts, that all the Romish Princes in

Europe took this Monarch to be a true Catholic in his heart. He also set forth, in the same Compendium, many groundless stories of the entire submission of the first Christians in this Island to their "*Oraculam Veritatis,*" the Bishop of Rome. These and other fooleries of that ignorant man were sufficiently exposed by Archbishop Usher, who has left this severe character on record of the man himself:—"A worthy author to ground a report of antiquity upon; who in relating the matters that fell out in his own time, discovereth himself to be as egregious a liar as any, (I verily think,) that this day breatheth in Christendom. *(See Archbishop Usher's Discourse on the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and British,* p. 92, London, 1631.*)*

It is a singular coincidence, that the Popish writer in our own days, upon whom the threadbare mantle of Captain Philip O'Sullevan seems to have descended, has chosen (almost verbatim) the title of his prototype's book; whilst Mr. Plowden, (for love, perhaps, of the precious Appendix to it,) has published his lucubrations under the same title with Lord Clarendon's "*Historical Review.*"

II.

J. Lynch, Titular Bishop of Killala.—This Ecclesiastic was the reputed author of the "*Analecta,*" in three small volumes, in which he grossly abuses Mr. Camden, insinuating that he dissembled his religion, *delusus spe hujus seculi & mundani honoris lenocinio illectus,* and gives a martyrology of all the Popish traitors who had been executed for their crimes in Ireland, concluding with a codicil of lamentations, entitled, "*Diasphendon Hibernia,*" wherein he represents the miseries of all private men and communities of the Roman Catholic persuasion throughout the whole kingdom of Ireland, in a most incredibly deplorable condition, under the pressure of two of Queen Elizabeth's Acts of Parliament concerning *Supremacy* and *Liturgical Conformity.*

III.

Con. O'Malony, an Irish Jesuit in Lisbon, author of the "*Disputatio Apologetica de Jure Regni Hiberniæ pro* CATHOLICIS HIBERNIS *adversus* HÆRETICOS ANGLOS." The business of this zealous Father, in this Treatise, is (like his formidable successors at the present day,) to excite his countrymen to persevere in their endeavours wholly to extirpate the *name, manners,* and *religion* of *Englishmen* from amongst them, and for this purpose to continue the *massacre of heretics,*

whereof he acknowledges they had already cut off no fewer than "150,000 in four years time."—He says, the tyrannical Kings and Queens of England are to be accounted usurpers of the ancient crown of Ireland, which he attempts to demonstrate. In the course of his demonstrations, he produces the BULL of POPE GREGORY XIII. in the year 1642, whereby all the actors in the bloody massacre of the foregoing year are blessed, and large indulgences given to those who should assist in the future advancement of *the Catholic cause* against the *heretics of England.* He concludes with an exhortation to all his Popish countrymen, to persist in strenuously carrying on the cause wherein they were engaged, concluding in the following heroic strain:—"HIBERNI MEI *agite peragite, et perficite inceptum opus defensionis et libertatis vestræ; et* OCCIDITE HÆRETICOS ADVERSARIOS VESTROS; *et eorum fautores, et adjutores emedio tollite.*"

NOTE.—*(XXXIIId No. of the Second Part of these Annals.)* —Before I descend to particulars, it is necessary to settle this great preliminary that will run through the whole, and that is, *What credit the Irish Roman Catholic Historians deserve in the Controverted Points of Irish History,* and certainly it is so very little, that I hope the greatest fault that will be found with this collection, will be, that I have honoured Mr. Sullevan, and others of them, with too large a confutation; for, beside the direct testimony of Peter Walsh, that these Popish Authors "do mingle truth and lies indifferently," whoever will take the pains to read their books will find, that they understand one another's failings so well, that when they fall out they do little else but give one another the lie; in a word, I have not found one of them tolerable, or of any credit, except Peter Walsh and Mr. Beling. And I do think, that all the rest of them, that I have seen, do deserve the character which Mr. Beling has given to Friar Paul Kyng, viz.—That "they take so much delight in lying, that they cannot abstain from it even where it does them no service." Tanquam capis in cudendis mendaciis voluptatem ut ab eis etiam ubi rem tuam nihil promovent abstinere nequeas. *(Beling,* page 69.) *Sir Richard Cox's Apparatus to his Hibernia Anglicana.*

The following passage from the works of a modern Clergyman of the Church of Rome, affords Roman Catholic evidence of the Catholic practice of resorting to fraud and falsehood in historical writings:—

"I have to lament, that the injured character of our countryman Usher, (he might have added Bale, Bramhall, King, and all other advocates of true religion in Ireland, who have

been bitterly calumniated by Popish writers) has not found in Ireland one literary friend.

" Having diligently perused all the printed works and many of the manuscript letters of *that great man*, and having frequently collated his quotations with the originals, I can declare for truth for him what I cannot with truth say for the Bishop of Castabala, (Mr. Milner) that I never yet discovered a false reference to any manuscript, or to any printed book in any of his writings, though it is a fact, that he quotes a greater number of manuscripts than the Bishop of Castabala seems to have raed of printed books.

" I once asked the Bishop of Castabala how he had nerves strong enough to refer in his Winchester, for the history of King Arthur to Gildas, who never once mentions his name. He replied, that Gildas certainly does mention Arthur. We happened at that time to be in a large and splendid library. I took down Gales edition. He turned over leaf after leaf—in vain. When he gave up the inquiry, I only observed, that quotations of this description are easily made, but that the books in which they are made ought to be cheap. *(Columbanus's Third Letter on some points of Irish History, &c. &c.* page 50. London, 1810.*)*

No. XXXIV.

" *I cannot but be of opinion, that it is much better that these* " *people should be angry with us for defending ourselves, than* " *that they should first sneer at us as fools for neglecting our* " *defence, and then be able more easily to undo us.*"

(The Bishop of Salisbury's Speech in the House of Lords, May 25, 1723.

1642, *March* 16.—The Lords Justices and Council of Ireland wrote a letter to the King to prevent a cessation of arms or a peace with the Irish Rebels.

This letter contains unanswerable arguments against using half measures with the Irish Papists, or endeavouring to disarm or conciliate them by concessions.

The writers declared their joy and comfort at finding his Majesty inclined to hearken to the complaints of his subjects, whatsoever they be in themselves ; but at the same time, state that they would consider it a breach in their duty, and the confidence he reposed in them, to be silent in such things as should throw light on so important a business as the intended nego-

tiation with the insurgents, particularly as his Majesty could not derive information more to be relied on by him than that of his own ministers.

They then proceed to examine the complaints of the confederates, and to expose their falsehood and treachery, in affirming, that they had taken arms in defence of his Majesty's prerogatives, when, before the rebellion, they had uniformly and vehemently endeavoured, in Parliament and out of it, to abridge those prerogatives which afterwards by the advice of their titular clergy, and the Popish lawyers, they violently and rebelliously usurped, by levying forces and money, establishing a national mint, striking of a great seal, and calling a Parliament, &c.

They stated, that the Popish Rebels had appointed, under the authority of their General Assembly, or Parliament, sheriffs, coroners, constables, and other officers in each County. That in some places they caused their military officers to *take an oath before their titular clergy, not to suffer any Englishman or Protestant to live in Ireland, or bear any office, not so much as that of a petty constable:* that their Popish clergy had solicited, with incredible industry and pains, powerful aids from foreign powers, to enable them to accomplish their ends, that they had set up the Spanish colours at Wexford and Galway, and by the crafty *delusions of their Priests*, and that prevailing hatred of their British and Protestant fellow subjects, they had got into their possession the greater part of the sea-ports, out of which they had *murdered or expelled* the English and Protestants, which ports they were using as *inlets* to all their foreign supplies, having also devised to have *admirals* and other officers at sea, to the end that they might become masters of the surrounding seas to his Majesty's disherison and prejudice.

They then remind his Majesty of the treachery of these Rebels, in resorting to the *old Irish shift* of feigned professions of submission, (such as that of the Popish Rebels on the Curragh of Kildare in 1798,) to abuse his Majesty's boundless mercy, as *their ancestors* had done the royal clemency of many of his predecessors, in several ages, to the continual disquiet, expense, and dishonour of their Sovereigns and British fellow subjects, whereof *records* and *histories* were full.

The Lords Justices and Council further added, that whereas these confederated Rebels had accused them to his Majesty with the crime of blood, committed on their wives and children; that they denied, not but that in the course of the war, for their own *necessary defence*, and for the *preservation of his state and kingdom*, some of their blood had been shed by his Majesty's

arms in fight with them, which they wished these persons had not drawn upon themselves, by their most barbarously, in time of *open and settled peace, without provocation or offence given*, falling with an armed force upon the unarmed and harmless British and Protestants, murdering, hanging, drawing, burying alive, and starving them, men, women, and children, of all ages and conditions, to the number of one hundred and fifty-four thousand, before the end of March, 1643, as testified, and was moreover acknowledged by their *Priests*, appointed to collect their numbers, besides many thousand others, so used in all parts of the kingdom.

They farther observed, that the Irish Papists, then in rebellion, were a slothful people, naturally inclined to spoil, ravage, stealth, and oppression, bred in no trades, manufactures, or other civil industry to live by in peace, wherein *they never did*, nor can endure long to contain; so that even if they should accomplish their aim in the extirpation of the Protestants, and were suffered to live alone in Ireland, they would not, nor ever could, raise any considerable revenue to their Prince, their nature being to live ever in blood and contention with one another (shanavesting and caravatting) as they always were before the late peace and settlement of the English government among them. *(Sir Richard Cox's Fourth Appendix to his Hibernia Anglicana*, p. 13.*)*

March 18.—The Rebels, under General Preston, amounting to six thousand foot and six hundred and fifty horse, occupied a defile near Ross, through which the Marquis of Ormond, and the English army, consisting of two thousand five hundred foot and five hundred horse, were necessitated by famine, and the inclemency of a dreary season, to return to Dublin.

Nothing more was necessary to complete the ruin of the English forces, but that Preston should continue to occupy this impregnable station. His enemy was reduced to the miserable alternative of perishing by famine, or marching to a desperate and hopeless attack. In the moment when the gallant Marquis was thus on the point of falling, by the neglect or treachery (or more probably the want of power) of the Lords Justices, Preston happily rescued him from destruction. With a precipitation unpardonable in a soldier, *(quos Jupiter vult perdere prius dementat)* he rushed forward into the plain, in full confidence of an easy victory over an inferior enemy, enfeebled by their wants. Ormond eagerly seized the advantage. His charge was spirited and successful. The Irish horse was at once thrown into confusion by his artillery; their foot, without any considerable resistance, fled, one division

after another—and though they attempted to rally, were pressed so vigorously, that their rout was speedily completed. Five hundred of the Irish were lost in this engagement, and all their baggage and ammunition fell into the hands of the victors. The Rebel General Cullen, with Major Butler, and several of their officers, were taken prisoners. The King's army lost but twenty men in this action; but Sir Thomas Lucas, who commanded the rear guard of the horse, received a severe wound in his head. *(See Dr. Leland's History of Ireland,* v. iii. p. 203, *and Dr. Borlase,* p. 111.*)*

March 23.—The Irish government wrote a letter to the Speaker of the English House of Commons, complaining of the insupportable burthen laid on the city of Dublin, in supporting the army, stating, that many families were daily forsaking their houses in consequence of it, and leaving still fewer to contribute to the expense. *(Dr. Borlase,* p. 111.*)*

March 27.—The Marquis of Ormond, with his victorious but perishing army, arrived in Dublin. Here they were again quartered, even to the utter ruin of the citizens, who had now suffered so much and so long under the burthen and insolencies of unpaid soldiers, that they were unable to bear it longer, and with loud cries and complaints made known their grievances to the Lords Justices and Council, who were utterly unable to relieve them. The Lieutenant General, however, published a strict edict, prohibiting all soldiers to offer the least violence to any who brought provision to the market, or any inhabitants of the town, under the severest penalties of the Marshals Court.

But the army being ill clothed, meanly victualled, worse paid, and seldom employed in any service, necessity enforced them to those outrages which humanity could not take notice of, many of them being the effects of a very pinching want. The Lords Justices and Council, however, to the great dislike of the army, pursued some of the offenders with exemplary justice. *(Ibid,* p. 111.*)*

March 28.—Anthony Dopping, afterwards successively Bishop of Kildare and Meath, was born in Dublin. He lived to see his unhappy country desolated a second time by the unchangeable spirit of Popery; he saw the Romish religion again triumphant, the established religion trod underfoot, the Protestants turned out of their offices, ecclesiastical, civil, and military, deprived of the rights of citizens, and spoiled of their charters and freeholds; he saw the clergy spoiled of their tithes and churches, the Bishops drove away from their flocks, and Protestants almost universally plundered by their Irish

enemies, many of them obliged to fly into England, and such as remained, imprisoned, stripped, spoiled, expelled out of their houses and estates, and treated with all sorts of inhumanity. Bishop Dopping's fortitude and constancy on this trying occasion will be detailed in its place. *(See Harris's Edition of Sir James Ware's Work concerning Ireland*, vol. i. p. 161—*Dublin*, 1739.*)*

April 4.—The officers of the English army in Ireland presented a Remonstrance to the Lords Justices and Council, setting forth that they were reduced to despair for want of money to subsist, and that it ought not to be thought strange, if in their case they should have recourse to the first and primary law of nature which God hath endowed man with, namely, the law of self-preservation. *(Rushworth*, vol. v. p. 157.*)*

Rapin insinuates that all these complaints were but a continuance or purpose to serve for a cloak to the cessation then meditated, and grounds his suspicion on this, that the English affairs were at this time on a tolerable footing in Ireland, in proof of which he mentioned the victory which the Marquis of Ormond had just gained over the Rebels at Ross. It is evident, however, that the army was starving, and the government unable to relieve them. *(See Rapin's History of England*, vol. xii. page 135.*)*

On the same day the Lords Justices and Council again wrote to the Speaker of the English House of Commons, stating the deplorable condition of the army and the householders of the city of Dublin, who were obliged to maintain them.

This letter contained the following statements: "we are now expelling hence all strangers, and must instantly send away for England *thousands of poor despoiled English*, whose very eating is unsupportable in this place.

"And now *again*, we finally, we earnestly desire (for our confusions will not now admit of many more letters, if any) that his Majesty and the English nation may not suffer so great, if not irrecoverable, prejudice and dishonour, as must unavoidably be the consequence of our not being relieved suddenly: but that yet, (although it be even now at the point to be too late) supplies of victuals and munition in present be hastened hither *to keep life*, until the rest may follow, there being no victuals in the store, nor will there be one hundred barrels of powder left in store, when the out garrisons (as they must be instantly) are supplied, and that remainder, according to the usual necessary expence, besides extraordinary accidents, will not last above a month; and the residue of our provisions

must also come speedily after, or otherwise England cannot hope to secure Ireland, or secure herself against Ireland, but *in the loss of it*, must look for such enemies from hence as will perpetually disturb the peace of his Majesty, and his kingdom of England, and *annoy them by sea and land*, as we often formerly represented thither, which mischiefs may yet be prevented, if we be forthwith enabled from thence with means to overcome this rebellion." *(Borlase*, p. 109.*)*

April 11.—The Rebel General Preston having again besieged Ballynakill, Colonel Crawford marched from Dublin with thirteen hundred foot, and a hundred and thirty horse, to raise that siege, but he could not perform it, and so it was surrendered. *(Sir Richard Cox's History of the Reign of Charles I*, p. 127.*)*

April 23.—The necessities of the army being daily aggravated, yet they, in some men's opinion, not seeming sufficient to bring on a cessation, such as were the principal opposers of it were thought requisite to be removed ; so upon this day, Sir Francis Butler arrived from England with a *super sedeas* for the Lord Parsons' government, and a commission to the Lord Borlase and Sir Henry Tichborne to be Lord Justices. *(Borlase*, p. 121.*)*

Sir Richard Cox observes, *(Hist.* vol. ii. p. 127*)* that the excellent letter of the Lords Justices and Council of the 16th of March, 1643, to prevent any cessation or peace with the Irish, was not well relished at court ; for not long after Sir William Parsons, who was a great promoter of that letter, was removed, and thereupon accused of treasonable misdemeanors, by Major Butler and Sir Francis Warren, but there being more of malice than truth in that impeachment, it came to nothing.

On this day the King wrote the following letter to the Lords Justices of Ireland :—

" C. R.—Right trusty and well-beloved Counsellors, we greet you well.

" Whereas, considering the present condition of our affairs, as well in this, as that our kingdom, through the famous plots and practices of persons disaffected to our person and government, we have given command and authority to our right trusty, entirely, and well-beloved Cousin and Counsellor, the Marquis of Ormond, Lieutenant General of our army and forces in Ireland, to treat with our subjects, who in that kingdom have taken up arms against us ; and to agree with them upon a cessation of arms for one year ; which as it is a service of very great concernment to us and our present affairs, both here and there, so we will and command, that you therein give your

most effectual assistance and furtherance to advance the same, by your industry and endeavours, as there shall be occasion.

"*Given at our Court at Oxford, the 23d of*
"*April,* 1643."

In the declaration of both Houses of Parliament, which was published in a few weeks after these orders had been issued by the King, an affidavit of a Mr. John Dodd, Minister of Annegilliffe, in the County of Cavan, is inserted, in which among other things he deposed, that being about this time for seven weeks at Oxford, he saw several Irish Rebels, Franciscan Friars, and Jesuits there, altogether amounting in number to more than 3000 men, some of them (particularly one Thomas Brady, a cruel Rebel, who had caused 36 old men and women to be drowned at the bridge of Belturbet) in great favour, and many of them in the King's life guard, *(Rushworth,* vol. v. p. 346,*)* and that he verily believed in his conscience, that for one sermon preached there, four masses were then said at Oxford.

No. XXXV.

"*Plura sæpe peccantur dum clememur, quam dum offen-*
"*dimus.*"

Tac. Ann. Lib. xiv. Sec. 21.

1643.—In the latter end of April, the town of Galway submitted to the Earl of Clanrickard, who was Governor of that County, and was by him taken into protection, until the pleasure of his Majesty should be known; but the Lords Justices did not approve of that protection unless the town would admit of an English garrison. However, Clanrickard made use of that opportunity to relieve the fort of Galway, wherein the Archbishop of Tuam, and thirty-six ministers, and many more English were in great distress. *(Sir Richard Cox's Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. page 113.*)*

Dr. Richard Boyle, brother of Michael Boyle, Bishop of Waterford, was Archbishop of Tuam at this time. Ware says, (from Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, vol. i. page 323,) that soon after the breaking out of the rebellion, this Prelate, together with John Maxwell, Bishop of Killala, and other Protestants, retired to Galway for safety, but were in great danger of their lives, when the townsmen rose in arms against the garrison, had they not been preserved by the address and conduct of the Earl of Clanrickard. The Archbishop died soon afterwards in Cork, and was buried in a vault which

he had prepared in the cathedral when he was Bishop of that See. He was cousin german to the Earl of Cork. He repaired more ruinous churches and consecrated more new ones than any other Bishop in that age. *(Ware's Bishops,* pages 516 and 617.*)*

For a character of the other Prelate, Dr. Maxwell, and an account of his great sufferings from the Rebels, for his firm attachment to the royal cause, see the Marquis of Ormond's letter to the King, dated the 11th of April, 1643, in which, (alluding to several wounds he had received, when he was left for dead among the Irish, till he was brought off by the Earl of Thomond, the Marquis concludes, " that he had sealed his orthodox doctrine with his innocent blood." *(Carte's History of Ormond, and Ware's Bishops,* page 617.*)*

About this time the distress of the province of Munster for provisions was so great, that Lord Inchiquin, as his last resource, wrote a letter by one of his officers to the Speaker of the English House of Commons, wherein he said, that his army were then upon so extreme an exigent, that unless it should please GOD to put into their hearts an effectual sense of the miseries he and his men sustained, and to dispose them to a speedy course for their sudden relief, he feared that the next news they should hear would be the total loss of the province, and that the approaching ruin of the King's army would prevent any further request being made for relief.

His Lordship, however, soon learned how little supply was to be expected from the Parliament of England; the officers who had been sent from the army in Leinster, declared at the Council Board, on their return, that though they had attended in London above two months, yet they had never been able to prevail on the Commissioners for Irish affairs to have a meeting, and when they pressed some of them for money for their subsistence, they were told by one of the principal men of that body, that " if five hundred pounds only would save Ireland it would not be spared;" and by another, " that they had not leisure to step over the threshold for Ireland." Lord Inchiquin, therefore, had no great reason to expect such a relief as was sufficient for the great necessities of the province of Munster; and it was some months before he heard any thing from the Parliament. *(Dr. Warner's History of the Rebellion and Civil War in Ireland,* vol. i. page 256.—*Dublin,* 1768.*)*

May 1.—Sir Henry Tichborne was sworn in as one of the Lords Justices, and the sword delivered to him and Sir John Borlase, who was continued in his office.

In the beginning of this month, Lord Inchiquin drew his forces out of the garrisons, where they were on the point of starving, to see if he could get subsistence for them in the field. Fourteen hundred were sent into the County of Kerry, where they subsisted very well, and made great preys of cattle. Sir Charles Vavasour was sent with a like number into the County of Waterford, whilst Lord Inchiquin himself, in order to divert the enemy from attacking those detachments, made a feint of besieging Kilmallock, a place of great consequence in the County of Limerick. *(Ibid,* page 271.*)*

May 2.—Major Appleyard made dispositions to attack the town and lands af Ballykerogue, the property of Sir Nicholas Walsh. At the same time Sir Charles Vavasour undertook the passage to the Comroe, upon the left hand whereof there stands an exceeding high mountain, and under the brow a large wood, through which the English army was necessitated to pass, an unpassable bog being on the right hand. The enemy (never wanting intelligence) against Sir Charles came, had cast up a trench breast high, with spike holes along the side of the wood from the mountain to the bog, with a strong barricado, and two courts of guards for musqueteers to lodge in, more artificially done than they were accustomed to; but by the help of a dog, and a faithful guide, the Rebels were not aware of the approach of the army till the horse were upon them, at which they shot, so that the foot not coming up, retreated without harm. Sir Charles, however, immediately afterwards, forced this pass, and the whole army, horse and foot, passed within musket shot of the Castle of Dermod O'Brian, Lord of the Country, where they halted till they fired the country, and took away their cattle, the enemy not daring to rescue them. As the army marched away, they burned Comroe Castle, the house of Peter Anthony, an English Papist, with many thatched houses thereunto belonging.

The same day, the whole army rendezvousing on an hill near Kilmacthomas, resolved that night to have advanced to Stradbally; but marching by Mac Thomas's Castle, they were fired upon from it, upon which sixty of the soldiers, not being able to endure such an affront, ran out of the main body to the Castle, without either Captain, Lieutenant, or Ensign, or other officer. Gaining the ditch upon the south side of the Castle, the wind blowing southerly, they set the thatched houses on fire, and assaulted the Castle under cover of the smoke, which blinded the Warders. Upon which the besieged cried *a drum! a drum!* when many who had flown thither for safety inconsiderately ran out, and were knocked on the head by the soldiers,

whilst the Warders delivering the Castle on some terms, had quarter, as the others might have had too, had they staid in the Castle, from amongst which six or seven that were thought dead rose up. The soldiers would have killed these, but Sir Charles Vavasour protected them, and sent them with the Warders to Ballykerogue. After this service, Ensign Boughton and forty musqueteers, took an house built by James Wallis, Esq. strongly fortified by John Fitzgerald, son and heir to Mac Thomas, the Warders and the rest being on terms also conveyed to Ballykerogue. And so facing Clonea (belonging to Tibbot Fitzgerald) and Cosgrave Castles, and passing by Dungarvan, some of the Rebels issued out of that town; but the English forces drawing into a body to oppose them, they retired without an encounter, our forces marching to their own garrisons. *(Borlase*, p. 116.*)*

May 3.—The King renewed his orders to the Marquis of Ormond, concerning the truce with the Irish Rebels. *(Rapin*, vol. xii. p. 136.*)*

The King, in his Commission to the Marquis of Ormond to treat with the Rebels, had ordered this business to be managed with all secrecy, but it was one of the common circumstances attending the Councils of this Monarch, (his intriguing Queen and her Confessors being no secret keepers,) that nothing was kept secret in them; and Lord Ormond wrote him word, on receipt of his Commission, "that by the time his Majesty's Letters about it reached him, the city of Dublin was full of that business, and it was the common discourse of every one." *(See Warner*, vol. i. p. 282.*)*

May 5.—Sir Robert King, Mr. Jepson, and Mr. Hill, waited on the King with a Bill "For a speedy payment of monies subscribed towards reducing the Rebels in Ireland yet remaining unpaid," which they prayed him to pass into an Act; but his Majesty desired first to be satisfied how the rest of that money had been disposed of, and how he should be secured that the part not then paid should not be misemployed. *(Husband's Collection*, Part ii. p. 161.*)*

May 8.—A Letter, dated at York this day, (as alleged in the Declaration of both Houses of Parliament, Rushworth, vol. v. p. 346,) written by Serjeant Major Rosse, at the desire of Mr. Jermyn, afforded grounds to the King's enemies for accusing the Queen of having sent the Earl of Antrim from the city of York with secret instructions to the Irish Rebels in Ulster. *(See Rapin*, vol. xii. p. 167.*)*

May 11.—The King wrote to the Lords Justices of Ireland, giving them notice of his having sent a commission to the

Marquis of Ormond, empowering him to treat with the Rebels, and to agree with them upon a cessation of arms for one year, commanding his said Lords Justices and Council to assist the Marquis in the execution of his commission to the utmost of their power.—Rapin, (History of England, vol. xii. p. 136,) observes, that the date of this commission, (which is to be found in Rushworth's Collection, vol. v. p. 537,) is remarkable, for evidently shewing that the Scots' resolution to aid the English Parliament, which was not taken till the August following, was not the cause of the Irish truce. But the truth is, that melancholy necessity was the cause of this ignominious cessation, and, therefore, no blame whatever can be attached to the King for concluding it, however culpable some of those about him were in accelerating and facilitating it for their own secret purposes. On this day the Lords Justices wrote a letter to the King, representing the distressed state of Ireland for want of provisions and money to maintain the army. *(Borlase,* p. 122.*)*

May 12.—The Lord Taafe (an active Papist,) who, as stated in the subsequent declaration of both Houses of Parliament, had gone to England with his brother-in-law, Lord Dellon, (Rushworth, vol. v. p. 346,) with written instructions from several Rebels of the Pale, to negotiate on their behalf with the King, now returned with some of his associates, and on the morning of his return, Sir Francis Buller and Major Warren came to the Council, then sitting, and presented a petition to the Lords Justices, accusing Sir Wm. Parsons of high misdemeanours and other treasonable matters; requesting that his person and goods might be secured, though, in conclusion, nothing was ever filed against him—an evidence to most people, that there was more of design than crime in the accusation. *(Borlase,* p. 122.*)*

May 23.—By a letter of this date, written by General Monro, it appears that, with two thousand foot and three hundred horse, he defeated Owen Roe O'Neil, his son, and Sir Phelim O'Neil, who had joined their forces, and compelled them to retreat to Charlemont, leaving the Rebel General's house, with all the houses in Loughgall, to be plundered and burned by the victorious army. Lord Castlehaven says, that Colonel Mervyn, Sir Theophilus Jones, and the English had an hand in this victory. *(See Sir Richard Cox's Hibernia Anglicana,* vol. ii. p. 130.*)*

May 25.—The Pope issued a Bull to encourage the Irish in their endeavours to extirpate the Protestants of Ireland and the English forces.

The following extract from it, may, perhaps, be paralleled in our own days by the reviver of intriguing and traiterous order of men, who blasphemously call themselves Jesuits:—

" Having taken into our serious considerations the great zeal of the Irish towards the *propagating of the Catholic faith*, and the piety of the *Catholic warriors* in the several armies of that kingdom, (which was for that singular fervency in the true worship of God, and notable care had formerly, in the like case, by the inhabitants thereof, for the maintenance and preservation of the same orthodox faith, called of old *the Land of Saints*,) and having got certain notice *how, in imitation of their godly and worthy ancestors*, they endeavoured by force of arms, to deliver their thralled nation from the oppression and grievous injuries of the *heretics*, wherewith this long time it hath been afflicted and heavily burthened; and gallantly do what in them lieth *to extirpate and totally root out* those workers of iniquity, who, in the kingdom of Ireland, had infected, and always striven to infect, the mass of the Catholic purity with *the pestiferous leven of their heretical contagion.* We there being willing to cherish them with the gift of those spiritual graces, whereof by God we are ordained the only dispensers on earth; by the mercy of the same Almighty God, trusting in the authority of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and by virtue of that power of binding and loosing of souls, which God was pleased, without our deserving, to confer upon us; to all and every one of the faithful Christians, in the aforesaid kingdom of Ireland, now and for the time *militating against the heretics*, and other enemies of the Catholic faith, they being truly and sincerely penitent, after confession, and the spiritual refreshing themselves with the sacred communion of the body and blood of Christ!!! do grant a full and plenary indulgence and *absolute remission for all their sins*, and such as in holy jubilee is usual to be granted to those that devoutly visit a certain number of privileged churches within and without the walls of our city of Rome. By the tenor of which present letters, for once only, and no more, we freely bestow the favour of this *absolution* upon all and every one of them; and withal desiring heartily all the faithful in Christ, *now in arms* as aforesaid, to be partakers of *this most precious treasure*, &c. &c.

" Now that these principal letters of ours, which cannot be conveniently brought to every place, may the sooner come to the notice of all, our will and pleasure is, that any, whatsoever, copies or transcripts, whether written or printed, that are subscribed with the hand of a public notary, and which have the

seal of some eminent person in ecclesiastical dignity affixed thereunto, be of the same force, power, and authority, and have the like credit in every respect given unto them, as would be to these our principal letters, if they were shewn and exhibited.

" Dated at Rome, in the Vatican, the 25th day of May, 1643, and in the twentieth year of our Pontificate.

" M. A. MARALDUS."

No. XXXVI.

" *It was observed of King Henry the Seventh, that he never* " *complied with the request of Rebels, how plausible soever,* " *it having been seldom seen, that where a people, by threats or* " *actual insurrection, obtain their first pretensions, but they still* " *aspire to greater.*"

Dr. Loftus.

1643, *May* 27.—Lord Inchiquin completed an army of four thousand foot and four hundred horse, and fixed his head quarters at Buttevant. From this place he sent strong detachments, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Story and Captain Bridges, into the County of Kerry—a dangerous journey, considering the length of the way and the scarcity of their provisions. The Irish fired Tralee, (one of the most plentiful places in Munster) lest Lord Inchiquin should quarter there. To divert the enemy from the expedition he had sent out, Lord Inchiquin laid a pretended siege to Kilmallock, a place of great consequence, and the key to Limerick, whereby, the Rebels' eyes being fixed on Kilmallock, the expedition was much facilitated—Story and Bridges bringing away a great prey of cattle, some prisoners, and many English from the Castle of Ballybeggan, without any resistance, except a loose skirmish, wherein the enemy lost four men and were routed. *(Borlase,* p. 117.)

May 28.—Lord Inchiquin having sent Colonel Myn to Patrick Purcel of Cree, to acquaint him he came forth only to meet an enemy in the field, not to besiege the town, he released the Lady Humes and her son, prisoners at Kilmallock, for one Burget at Cork, to which place Lord Inchiquin marched.

June 3.—Sir Charles Vavasour, after a smart contest with the Rebels, took in Cloghleigh, commanded by one Condon, wherein was twenty men, eleven women, and about seven children, some of whom the soldiers stripped, in readiness to

kill them ; but Major Howel, drawing out his sword, defended them ; and whilst he went to Colonel Vavasour, then at Ballyhindon, Mr. Roche's house, where he was invited that day to dine, committed them to Captain Wind, who leaving them to a guard of horse, they stripped them again, and afterwards fell upon them with carbines, pistols, and swords—a cruelty so resented by Sir Charles Vavasour, that he vowed to hang him that commanded the guard, and certainly had done it, had not the next day's action prevented it, which was the most considerable loss the English ever received from the Rebels—a mischief they might have avoided, had they been less confident, and given greater credence to their intelligence. *(Ibid.)*

June 4.—By great negligence and want of conduct, Sir Charles Vavasour's army was defeated on the plain between Fermoy and Kilworth. Six hundred English were slain there, and Sir Charles and others taken prisoners, which was a just judgment upon them for suffering some inferior officers to violate the quarter they had given to the garrison of Cloghleigh. *(Sir Richard Cox's Hib. Anglicana,* vol. ii. p. 129.*)*

All the English colours were lost in this battle, except one pair, which was brought off by Dermot O'Grady, Ensign to Captain Rowland St. Leger, who gallantly saved them and himself. The cannon, which could not be got over the Blackwater river, was surprised, and Sir Charles Vavasour himself, together with Lieutenant King, Ensign Chaplain, Captain Fitzmorris, and divers others, taken prisoners ; besides those that were killed in that place, viz. Captain Pierce Lacy, Captain George Butler, Lieutenant Walter St. Leger, (three natives of Ireland) Lieutenant Strandbury, Lieutenant Rosinton, Lieutenant Kent, Ensign Simmons, with divers other Lieutenants and Ensigns, besides common soldiers, to the number of three hundred, some affirm six hundred. *(Borlase,* p. 119.*)*

June 13.—On this day Mr. John Dodd, minister of Annegilliffe, in the County of Cavan, whose affidavit, as before stated, appeared in the declaration of both Houses of Parliament against the cessation, left Oxford and repaired to London, where he made his deposition. Among those he had seen in Oxford, were Lord Trimblestown and his son, and Lord Netterville's son, and Sir John Dungan, men deeply implicated in the Irish rebellion. *(See Rushworth,* vol. v. p. 346.*)*

Rapin observes, that in the manifesto which contained Mr. Dodd's deposition, it appeared that the Parliament had laid aside all ceremony with regard to the King ; and that besides the part animosity and revenge might have had in the design of

blackening his Majesty's reputation, policy, it was certain, had no small share in it. *(History of England,* vol. xii. p. 172.*)*

The grand design of this declaration was to demonstrate the King's insincerity, in that, whilst he called heaven and earth to witness that he had no other intention than to "maintain the Protestant religion," without conniving at Popery, he was labouring to make a peace with the Irish Rebels—a peace which, in that conjuncture of affairs, could not be concluded but by granting things inconsistent with the safety of the Protestant religion. *(Ibid.)*

June 16.—In the declaration issued on this day by the Parliament of England, representing the sad condition of the kingdom of Ireland, it was stated, that as the Papists there were in as much want as the Protestants, if the latter were well supported, the others would be easily subdued. That the ambition of the Irish Papists (as at this very day) to be independent of England, and their inveterate hatred of the Protestant religion, had been the cause of their barbarous treatment of the English, in which they had been assisted by the Roman Catholics of others countries. *(Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 136.*)*

June 22.—Notwithstanding the pressing orders of the King to the Marquis of Ormond to conclude a cessation with the Irish, there was a party in the Council upon whom the villanies of the Rebels had made so deep an impression, that they could not endure to hear of any treaty with them, and therefore the Marquis made this day a motion in the Council, which is entered in the Council Book as follows, viz.

By the Lords Justices and Council.

John Borlase, Henry Tichburne.

The Lord Marquis of Ormond this day moving at this Board, that if ten thousand pounds may be raised, whereof the one half to be in money, and the other in victuals, and to be brought in within a fortnight, that his Lordship would in such case proceed in the war, and immediately endeavour to take in Wexford, and forbear to proceed in the intended Treaty of Cessation of Arms with the Rebels; it was thought fit to call before us the Mayor of the City of Dublin and others, who appearing, We had conference with them at this Board concerning the same, and find, that such is the poverty of this place and people, as that sum of money, or proportion of victuals, cannot be raised.

Given at his Majesty Castle of Dublin,
22d of June, 1643.

La. Dublin, Roscommon, Edward Brabazon, Charles Lambert, Adam Loftus, William Parsons, Thomas Lucas, Francis Willoughby, G. Wentworth.

But whether they thought that supplies would be sent from England, or that they were willing to struggle with any extremities, rather than to have correspondence with the murderers of their friends and relations, and the plunderers of themselves, it is certain that part of the Council still continued averse to the cessation. *(Hibernia Anglicana,* vol. ii. p. 128.*)*

June 23.—The Irish Commissioners, viz. the Lord Gormanstown, the Lord Muskerry, Sir Lucas Dillon, Sir Robert Talbot, Tirlough O'Neil, Geoffry Brown, Ever Mac Gennis, and John Walsh, presented themselves to the Marquis of Ormond, in his tent near Castlemartin, his Lordship sitting in his chair covered, and they uncovered, his Lordship told them he was come according to their desires, and expected their propositions in writing. The next day they desired a sight of his commission, alleging that they were ready to shew theirs, and give a copy; and since nobody was named in the King's commission but his Lordship, and their authority was likewise to treat with him only, they desired the negotiation might be kept secret, and concealed from all others, till the matter should be fully concluded; to which the Marquis replied, that for the way of proceeding, he was by his Majesty trusted therewith, and should do nothing therein, but what he conceived fit; then having received a copy of their commission, and sent them a copy of his Majesty's letter of the 3d of May, 1643, and promised them upon conclusion of the treaty a copy of his Majesty's letter of the 23d of April, 1643, they tendered propositions, and having agreed that the time of the cessation should be a twelvemonth, the Marquis proposed that they would first declare what they would contribute towards the support of his Majesty's army during the cessation, to which they answered, that when they know what they have to give, they would assist his Majesty according to their utmost abilities, as upon all occasions they have heretofore done. *(Hibernia Anglicana,* vol. ii. p. 130.*)*

In this month, according to the testimony of Sir William Brereton, Knight of the Shire for the County of Chester, many Irish Rebels landed in Werral, in Cheshire, some of whom acknowledged, that they had washed their hands in the blood of several English and Scotch in Ireland, and now hoped to wash their hands in the blood of Englishmen in England. That the country where these Rebels first arrived, did rise with their best weapons, and apprehended several of them, who were rescued out of their hands by a troop of horse, which came from the Commissioners of Array, who also seized twenty-eight of the honest countrymen prisoners. *(Declaration*

of both Houses of Parliament against the King, concerning the Rebellion of Ireland, Rushworth, vol. v. p. 346.)

June 24.—The Lords Justices and Council of Ireland tired with contriving ways to support the soldiery, at length thought upon an excise, and by their Proclamation issued this day, imposed it for six months, unless other relief for the army should be sent in the mean time.

This excise was exceedingly high, amounting to half the value of the commodity, in lieu whereof the retailer was permitted to advance his price a moiety more than it was before. The Protestants (with their usual spirit and generosity) considered the necessity of this tax, and patiently submitted to it; but the Papists made all the opposition they could, but in vain, for there was no other way left (and this itself was not sufficient) to prevent the mutiny and ruin of the army. *Cox's Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 127.)

In Connaught, after the Battle of Rathconnell, until midsummer, there was not any considerable service done by our soldiers, and the enemy either kept close in garrisons or were drawn off to the siege of the Fort of Galway.

And now the enemy finding, that without the command of some experienced General, and the uniting of their forces, they were not able even to defend themselves, they got for their Commander John Bourk, or, as they commonly called him, Shane Tlevir, descended from the Bourks of Castlebarr, on the Mac Williams. His first exploit was against the Fort of Galway, to the taking and demolishing of which the townsmen contributed, both with bodies and purse, very largely: they wanted good battering guns, and therefore resolved to take it by famine, it being but poorly provided by such as the Parliament had appointed to bring timely supplies by sea; knowing that in it they should get battering guns to take the rest of the English garrisons in that province. To this end they made a chain of masts, casks, and iron, across that part of the harbour next to the Fort, and planted strong guards at each end of it: they prepared some few ship guns and a mortar piece, which was well cast by a runagate from Lord Forbes's ships, which afterwards they made use of at the siege of Castlecoot; so that with much industry, rather than gallantry, they at length got the Fort by composition, its relief coming too late into the harbour; the event of which so much struck the Governor, that he did not survive the loss many months. (*Borlase*, p. 119.)

June 27.—The Rebels, elated by their victory over Sir Charles Vavasour, between Fermoy and Kilworth, made a brisk

attempt this day upon Cappoquin, from which they were repulsed with loss. *(Cox's Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 129.*)*

In their attack upon Cappoquin, the Rebels lost upon the first assault sixty-two men, and attempting it a second time, they were again repulsed. Fearing Lord Inchiquin's approach, they then marched away, having lost in the enterprize Lieutenant-Colonel Butler, brother to the Lord of Armally; Captain Saint John, of Saint Johnstown; Captain Pierce Butler, of Ballypaddin, in the County of Tipperary; one Ensign, and four Serjeants killed; Captain Grady desperately wounded, and several prisoners taken. One of the Rebels' horsemen, completely armed, ran to us, who discovered their particular losses; their chief gunner was likewise slain in this service. Upon their retreat, a party of our horse, commanded by Sir John Brown, sallied out of the town after them, and killed some of their men and pillagers in the rear of their army: we found twenty-five graves after them in their camp, wherein they had buried their dead by four and five in a grave, as by view appeared. *(Borlase,* p. 119.*)*

No. XXXVII.

" *I shall continue to protect and support my good people in the* " *full enjoyment of their* RELIGION, LIBERTIES, *and* PROPERTY, " *against all that shall endeavour to subject them to* TYRANNY " *and* SUPERSTITION."

(The King of England to his Parliament, November 17, 1722.

1643, *June* 27.—Colonel Monk issued out with a party of thirteen hundred foot and an hundred and forty horse, and, at a pass on the Boyne, near Castlejordan, encountered and defeated four thousand Irish foot, and six hundred horse, under the command of General Preston. *(Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. page 129.*)*

June 28.—The Commissioners from the Rebels again meeting the Marquis of Ormond at Sigginstown, (Sigginstown near Naas,) declared, that the cessation being first agreed upon, they would treat of a supply, and not before.

June 29.—The Marquis of Ormond, not admitting the name or title attributed by the Commissioners to their party, nor the protestation, that " they took arms in defence of their religion, his Majesty's rights and prerogatives, and the liberties of Ireland, and no ways to oppose his Majesty's authority," gave

answer in writing to their proposals, and tacked to it four demands, viz.

I.—For supply.

II.—A declaration how far the quarters of each party extended.

III.—For caution of payment of such supply as they should promise.

IV.—That all castles, towns, forts, and houses, taken during the treaty, should be restored on the cessation.

Hereupon the treaty was adjourned, that the Commissioners might consult their principals. *(Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. page 131.*)*

July 1.—Colonel Myn defeated the Irish on the plain on the north side of Tymoleague river, and soon after took the Castles of Tymoleague, Aghamilly, and Rathbarry. At the same time the Protestants in Connaught, though their affairs were in a desperate situation, endeavoured to repel the incursions of Owen Roe O'Neil, whom they at length drove out of that province. *(Ibid*, p. 130.*)*

On this day the Assembly of Divines met in Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster, and soon afterwards received an order of Parliament *(Rushworth*, vol. v. p. 371*)* to write letters to the churches of Zealand, Holland, France, and Switzerland, to warn them against the artifices of the King's agents, by setting before them (what the Parliament considered) the true state of England. They charged these ecclesiastics to insist chiefly upon the King's employing Irish Rebels and other Papists to be Governors, Commanders, and Soldiers; to lay before them clearly the many evidences of the intention of the King's Counsellors to introduce Popery, and hinder the reformation intended by the Parliament; lastly, to let them know the judgment passed by the King's party upon the Protestant churches abroad was unsound, because not governed by Bishops. The Assembly failed not to send to these churches a circular letter, which was properly a Manifesto for the Parliament against the King, and with it copies of the solemn league and covenant, and of the declaration of both the kingdoms of England and Scotland on that subject.

Some time after the King, on his part, published a Manifesto, addressed to all the Protestant churches, in order to efface the impressions which the circular letter of the Parliament might have caused. This Manifesto, which was very short, contained only a protestation that he had never intended to consent to the public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion in his dominions, but was resolutely bent to adhere, to his last breath, to the church of England, wherein he was born, baptized, and

brought up; and to the liturgy of the same church, approved of by so many convocations and parliaments, by all the Protestant churches, and by the Synod of Dort.

Divers Members of both Houses of Parliament sat in this Assembly at Westminster, and had the same liberty with the hundred and twenty Divines to debate and give their votes in any matter. Seldon, who was a Member, spoke admirably, (says Whitlock, who was also a Member,) in these debates; and sometimes, when the Divines had cited a text to prove their assertion, he would tell them, perhaps, in your little pocket Bibles, with gilt leaves, (which they would often pull out and read,) the translation may be thus, but the Greek or Hebrew signifies thus and thus, and so confuting them in their own learning. Not but there were many famous Divines among them, as Twisse, their prolocutor, Bishops Reynolds, Arrowsmith, Lightfoot, Gataker, &c. *(See Rushworth,* vol. v. p. 339, *and Rapin's History of England,* vol. xii. p. 184.*)*

This summer Archbishop Usher was nominated, though against his desire, to be one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, as were also Dr. Brownie, Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Westfield, Bishop of Bristol, and divers others of the orthodox clergy; but the Lord Primate neither approved of the authority that named him, nor yet of the business they met about, so that he never troubled himself to go thither, upon which they complained of him to the House of Commons, who soon voted him out again; which yet the Archbishop took more kindly than their chusing him into it. And now when this prevalent faction found that the Archbishop was not for their turn, but to the contrary had, in divers Sermons at Oxford, preached against their rebellious proceedings, they were so enraged against him, that the committee they had appointed for delinquents' estates, (as they nicknamed those who now faithfully served their Prince,) made an order for the seizing of a study of books of considerable value, which he had either brought over with him, or bought in England. They were seized accordingly, and would have been sold by them were it not for the interest of Dr. Featly and Mr. Seldon, the latter of whom obtained a gift of them, or bought them for himself, and so preserved them for their learned owner. *(See Dr. Parr's Life of Archbishop Usher,* page 50.*)*

About this time Archbishop Usher published in Greek and Latin the Epistles of the Holy Martyr Ignatius, and as much of the Epistle of St. Barnabas, as the great fire at Oxford, (which burned the copy,) had spared. The old Latin Version of Ignatius his Lordship published out of two manuscripts

found in England, noting in red letters the interpolations of the former Greek impressions. This work was much illustrated by his collation of several Greek copies of the letters and martrydom of Ignatius and Polycarp, with a most learned dissertation concerning those Epistles; as also touching the canons and constitutions ascribed to the Apostles, and to St. Clement, Bishop of Rome. *(Ibid*, p. 52.*)*

July 2.—The Earl of Castlehaven was defeated by the English army at Lismore, and then marched towards Leinster. *(Hib. Anglicana*, vol. ii. page 129.*)*

The King this day wrote a third letter to the Marquis of Ormond to accelerate the cessation of arms with the Irish. *(Ibid*, p. 127.*)*

On this day Sir Robert Meredith, Sir William Parsons, Sir John Temple, and Sir Adam Loftus, were committed to prison by the King's order. On their petition they were refused to be bailed, but had the liberty of the castle with a keeper. *(Ibid*, p. 128.*)*

July 4.—The Lords Justices and Council received a smart letter from the two Houses of Parliament in England, taxing them with publishing, "that their present difficulties were occasioned by the failures of the English Parliament." To which they returned as tart an answer, importing, "that they gave full, frequent, and seasonable notice of all their wants from time to time to the English Parliament, and, therefore, did not know where else to lay the blame." *(Ibid*, p. 128.*)*

July 8.—The Lords Justices and Council sent a message in writing to the confederates, purporting, that if the Rebels would release Captain Farrer, they would exchange Captain Synot for him; but the confederates were so distasted at the word Rebels, that they sent back this answer:—

"We do not know to whom this certificate is directed, and we will avow ourselves in all our actions to be his Majesty's loyal subjects; neither shall it be safe henceforth for any messenger to bring any paper to us, containing other language than such as suits with our duty, and the affection we bear to his Majesty's service, wherein some may pretend, but none shall have more real desires to farther his Majesty's interest than his Majesty's loyal and obedient subjects.

"Mountgarret, Muskerry, Fr. Thom. Dublin, Molachias, Tuam. Sen. Castlehaven, Audley, R. Bealing, Torlo' O'Neil, Pat. Darcy. *(Ibid.)*

Thus, such as fought in opposition to his Majesty's proclamation, would be thought *loyal subjects*, whilst the state, owning his Majesty's interest, honour, and service, were said

to *pretend* to what they really were. Surely so impudent a reply never before, without chastisement, escaped the pen of suppliant Rebels; nor, indeed, could some of the members of the government then have had the freedom of their just scorn and indignation, should such expressions have been swallowed. *(Borlase,* p. 128.*)*

July 12.—The confederates from Kilkenny replied to the Marquis of Ormond's four demands, made by him on the 29th of June, viz.

To the first—" That the supply demanded of them was not warranted by his Majesty's letter; however, that on the conclusion of the cessation they would do what was fit."—To the second, (the declaration of the extent of quarters,) they agree to settle that point.—To the third, (caution of payment,) " That a free gift needed no caution, and for performance of articles they would agree to an equal course at meeting."—And to the fourth, (the restoration of castles, &c.) " If reduced to particulars, they would answer it at the next Congress. *(Hib. Anglicana,* vol. ii. p. 131.*)*

July 15.—The Marquis of Ormond wrote to the confederates, that though their answers were neither so particular nor so satisfactory as he expected, yet he designed to meet them; but that his necessary attendance on other business, preventing it at that time, they should have timely notice of a day of meeting. *(Ibid.)*

At this critical time Father Scaramp, a Minister from the Pope, arrived in Kilkenny, with large supplies of money and ammunition. With these he brought letters from his Holiness, to the Generals of the Provinces, the Supreme Council, and the Prelates, and what was more valuable, a Bull, in which he granted a General Jubilee, and an *absolution* (to all who were concerned in that insurrection for religion) of all crimes and sins, how damnable soever. Strange that men of sense can suffer their understandings to be so far captivated, as to believe that it is in the power of any man, or number of men whatever, to *turn guilt into innocence with a word,* and to put the sinner and the saint upon an equal level!

The coming of this Minister gave new life to the opposition of the Clergy and the old Irish to the cessation, of which he assured them the court of Rome would not approve, without the free and splendid exercise of their religion, and the confinement of all places of trust and power to the Roman Catholics. *(See Warner's History of Ireland,* vol. i. p. 287.*)*

July 19.—The Irish Commissioners replied to the Marquis of Ormond's letter of the 15th of this month, " that they

were loath to give an ill construction to the late delay in settling the terms of the proposed cessation, until they should know of that service which had taken place of it, and concluded with a complaint of the slowness and interruption they perceived in the conveyance of any part of his Majesty's grace and favour to his *faithful* subjects the Catholics of Ireland."

To this smart reply, Ormond, on the 21st of the same month, returned the following answer—"that he was not accountable to them with respect to the knowledge he had of his Majesty's services, wherewith he was intrusted, or to any but his Majesty, and to those to whom he had intrusted the government of the kingdom. That, nevertheless, they were not ignorant of the cause of that interruption, since their General, Preston, with their forces, approached so near as Castle Carberry, in the County of Kildare. *(Sir Richard Cox*, vol. ii. p. 131, *and Dr. Borlase*, p. 127.*)*

The truth was, the Rebels were so elated with the prosperous situation of their affairs, upon finding themselves in a condition to secure the harvest, that they thought of starving the Protestants into their own terms, and with this view Preston had marched into the King's County, and O'Neil advanced into Westmeath. Upon this the Marquis did all he could to procure provisions, in order to enable the army to march. Monk was prevailed upon, with great difficulty, to command the party against Preston, who lay with 7000 foot and 700 horse within two miles of Castlejordan. Monk having only 2000 foot and half the number of the Rebels' horse, finding no cattle in the field, and wanting supplies of bread and shoes, returned to Dublin in ten days without giving the enemy any disturbance. The Marquis then summoning all the forces he could raise, and making up a body of 5000, in a few days after, marched at the head of them himself, and soon retook some of the castles that Preston had got possession of. But as that General still retired before him, and would not hazard a battle, and the royal army was ready to starve for want of provisions, about the latter end of July, the Marquis brought it back again to Dublin; convinced by this experiment, that there was no other way to preserve the forces and the Protestant subjects but by a cessation. *(Warner's History of Ireland*, p. 283.*)*

July 25.—The Parliament of England published a Declaration "concerning the rise and progress of the grand Rebellion in Ireland, with several examinations of persons of quality and other passages of consequence." This declaration occupies more than twenty pages, close print, in Husband's Col-

lections. Warner, *(History of Ireland*, vol. i. page 281,) calls it a tedious narrative, wherein many things were greatly exaggerated, others absolutely false, and a good deal of what was strictly true very little to the purpose. There were, however, (adds this historian,) some facts relating to the Papists in this declaration to which the King made no reply, too true to be denied, and too reprehensible to be excused.

No. XXXVIII.

" *Englishmen—In the name of Wisdom and Constitutional*
" *Legislation, emancipate Ireland from such Empyrics as these ;*
" *puddle Lawyers and Divines, whose real object is to become*
" *leaders, and render themselves conspicuous at the expence of*
" *their country.*"

(Columbanus's Appendix on Plowden's Postleininious Preface.)

1643, *July* 29.—During the repite of the Treaty for the Cessation, the Rebels, to the amount of seven or eight hundred, gave an alarm at midnight, even in the streets of Dublin, but were gallantly repulsed by Colonel Crafford's men, who killed twenty of them, by which means they did no more hurt than plundering and firing some few thatched houses. *(Borlase*, p. 128.*)*

There were two things which did the King vast injury with the people of England, and from which he omitted no opportunity to clear himself, knowing how detrimental such prejudices might be to him. The first was, that *he countenanced Popery ;* the second, that he stirred up the Irish rebellion, or at least connived at it. These things both Houses of Parliament made no scruple to insinuate, and even to maintain openly in their papers ; not that they had positive proof of what they advanced, but they drew from his actions, and divers past events, inferences to some of which one can hardly deny the King answered but weakly, or in generals, or in ambiguous expressions. *(See Rapin's Hist. Eng.* vol. xii. p. 128.*)* The charge of his inciting or conniving at the Irish Rebellion, being as absurd as it was false and malicious, required no refutation. It may be observed, however, that the Queen, and her wicked party, had oftentimes deceived this unfortunate Monarch, and used his name and authority for purposes which he little suspected. As to the charge of his countenancing Popery, he took occasion to make a solemn protestation, about this time, just as he was

going to receive the Sacrament from the hands of the Lord Archbishop Usher.

" My Lord,

" I espy many resolved Protestants, who may declare to the world the resolution I do now make.

" I have, to the utmost of my power, prepared my soul to become a worthy receiver; and may I so receive comfort by the blessed Sacrament, as I do intend the establishment of the true Reformed Protestant Religion, as it stood in its beauty in the happy days of Queen Elizabeth, without any connivance at Popery, &c." *(Rushworth,* vol. v. p. 346.*)*

Rapin makes some very uncandid remarks on this protestation, *(Hist. Eng.* vol. xii. p. 159,*)* and would more than insinuate that the cessation of arms with the Irish Rebels, to which the King was driven by inevitable necessity, was inconsistent with this awful avowal of his intentions respecting a connivance at Popery.

August 1.—The Lords Justices received an order from the King, to secure the persons of Sir William Parsons, Sir John Temple, Sir Adam Loftus, and Sir R. Meredith, on an accusation brought against them in England, by the Lords Dillon and Wilmot, Sir F. Fortescue and Brian, and D. O'Neil. Another order came also to issue out a Commission, empowering the Lord Chancellor, the Marquis of Ormond, the Earl of Roscommon, and Sir Maurice Eustace, to examine into the articles of accusation, and to make a report of them to the King. Besides the business of Jerome, the fanatical lecturer, and the Parliamentary Commissioners already mentioned, it was charged upon them all in general, that they had abused his Majesty's trust in their several offices and employments; that they had endeavoured to draw the army from his obedience, and to side with the English Parliament, of which many proofs were offered, and, in particular, several intercepted letters, which Parsons and Temple had sent to England, inveighing against the cessation, with many unbecoming reflections on the Council, and false representations of the state of Ireland. *(See Warner,* vol. i. p. 281.*)*

This was acceptable intelligence for Signior Scarampi and the Parliament of Kilkenny: their heretical antagonists were beginning to bite and devour each other even in view of the Papal standards. But whatever was the demerit of these men, (and they were probably guilty of a considerable part of what was laid to their charge,) when the examinations were sent into England, taken by virtue of the Commission above-men-

tioned, the King's learned counsel in the law were of opinion, that though the proofs were very sufficient to convict them of those high misdemeanours, yet not of capital crimes; and, therefore, an order was received to admit them to bail. Thus were the accusers of these Members of the Irish Government disappointed in the hopes they had indulged of having them cut off by the hand of a public executioner—a circumstance which, in one point of view at least, would have materially served the unfortunate cause of Popery, by preventing the Master of the Rolls from publishing, in three years afterwards, his "History of the beginning and first progress of the general Rebellion raised within the kingdom of Ireland, upon the three and twentieth day of October, in the year 1641, together with (what are now, with unparalleled effrontery, charged upon those who perished by them,) the barbarous cruelties and bloody massacres which ensued thereupon." The author of this book, says Archbishop Nicholson, *(in his Irish Historical Library*, p. 55,*)* being perfectly acquainted with the secrets of that *mystery of iniquity*, professes that he has therein, (as far as he could without breach of trust as a Privy Counsellor,) communicated so much of them as he conceived necessary and proper for public information. He carefully perused the very originals, or authentic copies, of the voluminous examinations remaining with the register, as also the dispatches and letters from suffering gentlemen in the several provinces, representing to the Lords Justices and Council, the sad condition of their affairs. The outrages committed here, within the compass of two months, (for this great man carries his story no farther than the landing of Sir Simon Harcourt on the last day of December, 1641,) will hence appear to have been *the most barbarous and bloody that the histories of any nation or age can produce.*

August 5.—The Lords Justices Borlase and Tichborn, together with the Marquis of Ormond, sent the Commissioners of the Confederates a notification, importing "that they had received his Majesty's letter, authorising them to conclude a cessation for a year, and that pursuant to it, Ormond would meet them at Jigginstown on the seventeenth of August, and proceed where he left off." But afterwards, at the desire of the Confederates, their Commissioners being dispersed, the meeting was appointed for the twenty-sixth of August. *(Hib. Anglicana*, vol. ii. p. 131.*)*

August 16.—Wm. Lucas, of the city of Kilkenny, made an affidavit before the Commissioners, respecting the cruelties of the Rebels in that city and neighbourhood, corroborating the

testimony of those who had before proved the murder of the Rev. Mr. Bingham and six other Protestants there. Mr. Lucas farther deposed, that after the head of this unfortunate clergyman had been separated from his body by those brutal assassins, they put a gag in his mouth, slit up his cheeks to his ears, and laying a leaf of a Bible before him, called to him to preach for his mouth was wide enough. *(Temple,* p. 106.*)*

August 17.—This was the day which had been appointed for the renewal of the treaty between the Marquis of Ormond and the Commissioners of the Rebels, but Lord Gormanstown dying a few days before, Lord Muskerry being in Munster, and only three of the Commissioners remaining at Kilkenny, the meeting was desired to be put off to the end of the month. This was a very inconvenient delay, on account of the distress of the King's forces, particularly those under Lord Inchiquin, who pressed the Marquis to hasten the meeting, " which, if he durst undertake, would conduce to the preservation of a part of the kingdom, if not the whole; so that if the Marquis did not know some reason of more weight than the loss of the army in Munster, and the province depending on it, he desired his advice to be followed." Wherefore the Council sent him authority to conclude a particular cessation till the general one could be settled; to which Lord Muskerry and the other Rebel officers there agreed. *(Warner,* vol. i. p. 285.*)*

New difficulties had now arisen in the way of the treaty. Lord Castlehaven had taken several Castles in the County of Carlow and the Queen's County; Preston was advanced into Meath, and O'Neil into Westmeath—both employed getting in the harvest. Lord Moore was sent against the former, but could neither maintain his army nor secure the harvest for want of provisions and ammunition. The soldiers were in all places ready to mutiny, and so disorderly through defect of pay, that the country-people, who used to live under their protection, fled away for fear of being ill-treated. The garrisons of Drogheda, Dundalk, and the neighbouring Castles, were ready to be deserted through want, O'Neil having carried away all the corn of the countries intended for their subsistence. The Government had not strength to oppose such a numerous army, which could easily too be joined by Preston. They sent into Ulster to Monroe for his assistance; but he refused to march himself or to send them any assistance. This obliged them to recal Monck from Wicklow, where he had been very successful in securing a large store of cattle.

Lord Moore was sent with him to oppose O'Neil. *(Ibid, and Borlase,* p. 128.*)*

Hearing of Owen O'Neil's forces about Port Leicester Mill, a great and secure fastness about five miles westward of Trim, Lord Moore and Colonel Monck, with some other gentlemen, watched their motions closely; a piece of cannon was levelled at them by the Rebels, and, after one or two ineffectual shots, Lord Moore was unfortunately killed by a bullet which penetrated through his armour and entered his body.

This gallant Nobleman was the first that adventured in this cause, and the last victim that fell under his Majesty's commission, as the cessation was concluded in a short time after his death.

The Rebels were highly elated at the fall of this noble officer, who was equally distinguished for his undaunted spirit and incorruptible integrity; ascribing this event to the efficacy of the Pope's Bull, which they had so lately received—one of these bigoted wretches wrote the following lines to celebrate it:—

> Contra Romanos mores (res mira) Dynasta
> Morus ab Eugenio canonizatus erat!

In answer to this the following distich was written:—

> Olim Roma pios truculenta morte beavit
> Antiquos mores, jam nova Roma tenet.

(See Borlase, p. 129.*)*

August 23.—Dennis Kelly, of the County of Meath, deposed before the Commissioners, that Garret Tallon, of Cruisetown, in the said County, Gentleman, as was commonly reported, hired two men to kill Ann Hagely, wife to Edward Tallon his son, a Papist, and at that time absent from home; and the said two men did, in a most bloody manner, with skeins, kill the said Ann Hagely and her daughter, because they would not go to mass, and afterwards would not permit them to be buried in a church or church-yard, but in a ditch. *(Temple,* p. 101.*)*

As to the rule of denying Christian burial to those who do not die Papists, it is tolerably well known that the Spanish and Portuguese Ecclesiastics did not forget it even during our late glorious and successful efforts for the deliverance of the Peninsula; and yet, with one solitary exception, even this mark of unbending bigotry was not sufficient to induce the Irish Papists to contribute a guinea to the necessities of the

suffering Portuguese, when the Protestants of Ireland subscribed most liberally for their relief.

August 26.—The Commissioners of the Irish Rebels assembled according to appointment. In the new Commission Sir Richard Barnwall and Nicholas Plunket were named in the place of Lord Gormanstown. In their reply to a former communication from the Marquis of Ormond, they insist upon the title of *faithful Catholic subjects*, and renew their protestations of attachment to the King. *(See Cox's Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 131.*)*

August 28.—The Marquis of Ormond answered this reply—his Lordship had sounded them upon a temporary cessation during the treaty, to which they were not inclined; but more time being taken up in disputes about quarters than they expected, they proposed a particular cessation for the Province of Leinster, which was rejected; and that refusal enabled them to extend their quarters in it very considerably, to the great annoyance of the Protestant subjects. *(Warner,* vol. i. p. 288.*)*

No. XXXIX.

" *One thing is plain, that these men are still actuated by the* " *same spirit, and are in pursuit of the same ends; they only* " *differ in adopting, perhaps through necessity, more indirect* " *and less alarming means. The war exists—the object is un-* " *changed—but the Champions of this day hope to effect by sap,* " *what their predecessors failed in accomplishing by storm.*"

(Essays by a Gentleman of the North of Ireland, in 1707.)

1641, *August* 31.—The King wrote a letter from Oxford to the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland, ordering a Commission to be issued under the Broad Seal, to conclude the cessation with the Irish Commissioners. *(Borlase,* p. 130.*)*

Sept. 1.—The English army and the Irish Rebels, making arrangements for the cessation of arms, began to ascertain their respective quarters. *(Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 131.*)*

Sept. 2.—The Irish Commissioners proposed " that the limitation of quarters should relate to the day of concluding the cessation."

Sept. 3.—The Marquis of Ormond offered the Irish a temporary cessation from that day, that they might be at more leisure to manage the treaty. To which they replied, (the same day,) that the Lord Moore and Colonel Monck had

invaded their quarters, and garrisoned some indefensible houses and castles, and if these should be restored to them, they were contented that both armies might withdraw to their respective quarters. The Marquis replied, " that he would consent to withdraw both armies : and as to the restitution of places, it would be considered in the settlement of the quarters ; and that many of those called indefensible places, though not thought worthy of a garrison, yet were for a long time absolutely in his power, and in the English quarters, and some of them not far from the gates of Dublin, and, therefore, not fit to be restored. *(Ibid,* p. 132.)

Sept. 4.—On this day the Lords Justices and Council received a letter from the King at Matson, near Gloucester, passionately resenting the sufferings and the complaints of the officers of his army in Ireland, for whom, upon all occasions, he had a tender affection in his breast. And to the end that they might not be frustrated of their arrears, his Majesty commanded, that their debentures should be respectively signed, and that an effectual course might be taken for their payment, by the two Houses of Parliament that had engaged them. *(Borlase,* p. 132.)

In the mean time Scarampi, (the *Gandolphi* of 1643,) with the Popish Clergy and the old Irish, were busily endeavouring to frustrate the cessation. They insisted strongly on the great distresses of the English, the flourishing condition of their own affairs, their prospect of greater successes, and of the assistance of foreign Princes, which would be lost by a cessation. They remonstrated against giving the King any supply, that should maintain an army which would be employed against them, and moved that the treaty might be deferred, at least *till the Pope had been consulted, and given his direction in it.* These were the sentiments of men bigoted to the Roman Catholic religion, or who had nothing to get, but a great deal to lose, by a peace with the King. But the men of sense and moderation, (like the prudent and loyal men of our own days, who are stigmatised by the appellation of Orange Papists,) seeing the plain absurdity of standing out against the King after so many *protestations of loyalty,* and knowing that they could no longer subsist than whilst his difference lasted with the Parliament, considered that an accommodation was necessary, in order to wipe away the calumny raised against them, and that the supply would be compensated, by saving the country from the ravages of war. By the joint endeavours of such men, who had *possessions and estates to lose, and nothing to get by the rebellion,* the cessation was

renewed, in hopes it would produce a peace; but on this occasion, the ancient animosities were revived, between the old English, who were for maintaining the English Government, and the native Irish, who joined with the Clergy in opposing any accommodation, but such as would leave them masters of the kingdom. *(See Dr. Warner's History of the Rebellion and Civil War of Ireland,* vol. i. p. 287.*)*

Sept. 5.—The English army and the Irish Rebels proceeded about limiting their respective quarters. *(See Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 287.*)*

Sept. 6.—The Marquis of Ormond wrote to the Irish, that he had heard their forces besieged Tully, a garrison commanded by Sir George Wentworth, who was employed in procuring necessary provisions for him, and desired that the siege might be raised. The Commissioners replied, that Monck went to Wicklow, on the 26th of August, and continued there ravaging and destroying the country. That this very garrison of Tully took away the corn at Madingstown, and, therefore, they could hinder a reprisal, but that if his Lordship's provisions were intercepted they should be restored. *(Ibid.)*

Sept. 7.—The King wrote his fourth letter to the Lords Justices and the Marquis of Ormond, relative to the cessation, and as his Majesty's views and intentions at this time have been grossly and wickedly misrepresented, it may not be amiss to insert the letter at full length :—

C. R.

Right trusty and well-beloved Counsellors, and right trusty and intirely beloved Cousin and Counsellors, we greet you well :—

Whereas, not only the great neglect of the affairs of our kingdom of Ireland by the remaining part of our Houses of Parliament, who pretended so great care of it, but their impious preventing all supplies destined to their relief, by our authority, (which did ever most readily concur to any levy of men, money, or other work, in order to the assistance of *our Protestant subjects* there,) and employing the same in *an unnatural war* against *us, their liege Lord and Sovereign,* hath reduced our army, in that our kingdom, into so heavy straits, that out of our care of the preservation of them, who so faithfully ventured their lives for our service, we were brought to condescend to a treaty for a cessation of arms, *our will and pleasure is,* and we do hereby charge and command you, that in case, according to the authority given unto you by us, you

have agreed upon a cessation, or as soon as you shall agree thereupon, you, or any two of you, do immediately consider of, and put in execution these our following commands :—

I. That you agree upon what number of our army will be necessary to be kept in garrison there, for the maintenance of the same, during the time of the cessation, and what soldiers they shall be, and what persons shall command the same; and that you settle them accordingly in that command, as shall appear to your discretion to be most conducing to our service.

II. That you do consider and advise of the best means of transporting the rest of our army in that our Province of Leinster, excepting such as are to be kept in garrison in our kingdom of Ireland; and to that end we do hereby give you, or any one of you, full power and authority to hire all ships, barques, or vessels whatsoever, and to treat with any persons whatsoever, for the loan, hire, or sale of any ships, barques, or vessels whatsoever, upon such conditions as you, or any one of you, shall agree upon with them.

III. That in such time and manner as to you shall seem meet, you communicate to the officers and soldiers of that our army, this our intention, to make use of their known courage and fidelity in the defence of our person and crown, against the unnatural rebellion raised against us in this our kingdom, and against the like laboured by the Rebels here, to be raised against us out of our kingdom of Scotland.

IV. That you signify unto them, that we are the more moved and necessitated unto this course, forasmuch as it is resolved by some ill-affected persons in that our kingdom of Scotland, to call over the army of our British subjects out of our kingdom of Ireland, to the end to make use of them for the invasion of us and our good subjects of England.

And forasmuch as this rebellion against us, under the colour of the humility of our two Houses of Parliament, hath exhausted the means appointed by the concurrence of our Royal Authority, for the sustentation of that our army there, and by force hath strayed and taken from us all those our revenues, which might have enabled us to have supplied them in that our kingdom, so that we ought in reason, (besides the bond of their allegiance,) to expect their ready concurrence against those persons who *are as well the causers of all the miseries they have endured, as of all the injuries we have suffered.*

V. That you assure them, both officers and soldiers, that upon their landing here, they shall immediately receive our pay in the same proportion and manner with the rest of our army here. And you are to assure the soldiers, that all care

shall be taken that clothes, shoes, and other necessaries be forthwith provided for them after they are landed here; and that care shall be taken for the provision of such as shall happen to be maimed here in our service; and for the payment of all their arrears that shall be due to any of them that shall happen to be killed in the same, to their wives, children, or nearest friends.

And you are to assure both officers and soldiers, that we will take special care to reward all such, according to their merit and quality, that shall do us any eminent service in this our war against *this odious and most unnatural rebellion.*

VI. We will and require you, and do hereby authorize you, to use your utmost interest and industry for the speedy transportation of this fore-mentioned part of our army, with their arms, horses, and such ammunition, and the like, as you shall think fit, into our kingdom of England; particularly, if it may be to our fort of the city of Chester, or to the most commodious haven in North Wales. And for obedience in this and every other of these our commands, this shall be to you, and every of you, sufficient warrant.

Given at our Court at Eudely Castle,
7th September, in the 19th year of
our reign.

Subscribed as before, for the Lords
Justices and the Lieutenant General
of the English army.

This letter affords strong evidence of the woeful situation to which this unfortunate Prince had been reduced, by the refined artifice of a set of men, whose profligate hypocrisy, like that of many in our own days, who call themselves Protestants, was at once the weakness and disgrace of the Protestant cause.

"Whatsoever becomes of us," said these execrable hypocrites, "if we must perish, yet let us go to our graves with that comfort, that we have not made peace with the enemies of Christ, yea, even enemies of mankind, declared and unreconciled enemies to our religion and nation."

These enemies to the Protestant religion, and the British nation, would, however, have been soon subdued, were it not for the treasonable practices of those who so loudly complained of them, and who, (as was well observed by Mr. Long, in his History of the Popish and Fanatical Plots,) had so long com-

municated politics* with the Jesuits, that *it was hard to determine whether there was more fanaticism in the Jesuits, or more Jesuitism among the Fanatics.*

No. XL.

" *Quæramus quid optime factum sit, non quid usitatissimum ;*
" *et quid nos in possessione felicitatis æternæ constituat, non quid*
" *vulgo (veritatis pessima interprete) probatum sit.*"
(Seneca de vit beat.)

1643, *Sept.* 7.—The Marquis of Ormond insisted on the Rebels withdrawing their forces from Tully, and thereupon sent an order to Lord Castlehaven to draw off his army. *(Sir Richard Cox's Hibernia Anglicana,* vol. ii. page 132.*)*

Sept. 8.—The Marquis of Ormond proposed, that the Protestant Clergy and Proprietors should have a proportion of their estates in the Irish Quarters to support them; and that where goods were delivered in trust to any Irishman they should be restored. *(Ibid.)*

Sept. 9.—Quarters were settled, and the preservation of woods agreed upon ; but for the Protestant Clergy and Proprietors nothing could be done, because the cessation was temporary; and sufferings of that kind, the Rebels said, were reciprocal. *(Ibid.)*

Sept. 10.—The Irish Commissioners denied to continue a cessation as to the County of Kildare, unless it should be for the whole Province of Leinster, which the Marquis of Ormond would not consent to. They then offered a supply of 30,000*l.* *(Ibid.)*

Sept. 11.—The Marquis sent a message to Lord Castlehaven to forbear farther acts of hostility, since the treaty was so near a conclusion, which they did, and a similar command was issued to the Royal forces. *(Ibid.)*

Sept. 12.—The Irish Commissioners insisted on the name and title of *His Majesty's most faithful Subjects the Catholics of Ireland.*

" Thus he who has but impudence,
" To all things else hath fair pretence ;
" And put among his wants but shame,
" To all the world he may lay claim."

* Several Jesuit and Popish Priests got into livings in these times, pretending to be Protestant Ministers. *(See Bishop Kennet's Register and Chronicle,* page 231 and 271.*)*

They pleaded, that they had used this name and title in their immediate addresses to the King; but the Marquis of Ormond, who had by this time a tolerable opportunity of forming an opinion upon this subject, replied, "that he held it not proper that such a name and title should be at that time used by them to his Majesty."

Sept. 13.—On this day Mr. Arthur Aghmoughty, the ancestor of an ancient and respectable Protestant family in the County of Longford, deposed upon oath, that during the siege of Castle Forbes, (the seat of the Earl of Granard, in that County,) the Popish Rebels, who now claimed the title of "His Majesty's most faithful subjects," killed some poor children, who, dying of hunger, had crept forth from the castle to eat some weeds or grass; and that a poor woman, whose husband had been taken by these ruthless savages, went to them with two children at her feet and one at her breast, hoping to beg her husband's life, but they slew her and her sucking child, broke the neck of another of her children, and the third hardly escaped. *(See Sir John Temple's History of the Irish Rebellion,* page 99, *London,* 1646.)

Master Creighton also deposed in his examinations this day, that sometimes the chiefs of the Irish would make heavy moan for the evils they perceived were coming on their country and kindred, and said they saw utter destruction at hand, for that they had covered so great a bitterness so long in their hearts against the English, and now so suddenly broken out against them, that had brought them up, kept them in their houses like children, and had made no difference between them and their English friends or their children, by which the English had so well deserved of them, and they had *requited them so evil,* that the English would never trust them hereafter, and it now remained that either they should destroy the English, or the English them. *(Ibid,* p. 104.)

Such was the dreadful state to which the active and enterprizing agents of a foreign Bishop had reduced this unhappy country, under the hypocritical pretences of propagating that holy faith, whose distinguishing characteristic is love to God and love to man; and to this situation they will bring it once more, if permitted to carry on those foreign and domestic intrigues in which they are at this moment busily employed.

Sept. 14.—A restitution of what the Rebels had taken since the last day of August, in the County of Kildare, having been demanded of them, they refused to make it, on pretence that the English had incroached upon them in the same County, by garrisoning indefensible places; but they offered the fourth

sheaf of Tully, and all such places so subdued, or eight hundred pounds in lieu of it. The Marquis then proposed to have the cessation declared as from that time, since all was agreed; but the Commissioners said the articles might be perfected by next day at noon, and till then the cessation could not be said to be made. *(Hib. Anglicana.* vol. ii. p. 132.*)*

Sept. 15.—The cessation of arms, for one whole year, was concluded, and the articles and instrument perfected, between James Marquis of Ormond, Lieutenant General of his Majesty's army in the kingdom of Ireland, on the one part, and Donough Viscount Muskerry, Sir Lucas Dillon, Knight, Nicholas Plunket, Esquire, Sir Robert Talbot, Baronet, Sir Richard Barnwell, Baronet, Turlough O'Neale, Esquire, Geoffry Browne, Esquire, Ever Mac Gennis, Esquire, and John Walsh, Esquire, authorised by his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, of the other part.

The instrument for the payment of thirty thousand eight hundred pounds sterling to his Majesty, by several payments in money and provisions, was signed at the same time by the Commissioners. *(Ibid, Appendix,* xvi.*)*

Before the Marquis of Ormond would finish this treaty, and on the very day it was concluded, he consulted, with his usual prudence and foresight, all the great men and chief commanders then with him, who gave their opinions as the following instrument shews:—

" Whereas the Lord Marquis of Ormond hath demanded the opinions, as well of the Members appointed from the Council Board, to assist his Lordship in the present treaty, as of other persons of honour and command that have, since the beginning thereof, repaired out of several parts of this kingdom to his Lordship; they therefore seriously considering how much his Majesty's army here hath already suffered through want of relief out of England, though the same was often pressed and importuned by his most Gracious Majesty, who hath left nothing unattempted which might conduce to their support and maintenance, and unto what common misery, not only the officers and soldiers, but others also, his Majesty's good subjects within this kingdom, are reduced; and further considering how many of his Majesty's principal forts and places of strength are at this present time in great distress, and the imminent danger the kingdom is like to fall into; and finding no possibility of prosecuting this war without large supplies, whereof they can apprehend no hope nor possibility in due time; they, for these causes, do conceive it necessary for his Majesty's honour and service, that the said Lord Marquis

assent to a cessation of arms for one whole year, on the articles and conditions this day drawn up, and to be perfected by virtue of his Majesty's Commission for the preservation of this kingdom of Ireland.

" Witness our hands the 15th day of September, 1643.

Clanrickard and St. Albans,	John Powlet,
Rosscommon,	Maurice Eustace,
Richard Dungarvan,	Edward Povey,
Edward Brabazon,	John Gifford,
Inchiquin,	Philip Persival,
Thomas Lucas,	Richard Gibson,
James Ware,	Henry Warren,
Michael Earnly,	Alanus Cooke,
Foulk Hunks,	Advocatus Regis."

The news of this cessation met with different entertainment according to the interest and inclinations of those it was carried to. But with whatever sensations it might have been received elsewhere, it was welcomed at the Court of England with unbounded joy, and the Marquis of Ormond's conduct and fidelity magnified beyond measure. It was admitted that he could preserve his Majesty's grandeur throughout the whole treaty, by not admitting the title or protestation of the Confederates; his prudence and integrity in continuing the Irish Parliament were highly commended; but, that he should be able to get a greater sum of money from a beggerly enemy than the Parliament of England had sent over at any one time till then, could never be sufficiently applauded. *(Ibid*, p. 133.)

The second volume of this work is now finished, and sent forth to the world, on the same irrefragable authorities with those of the first. The reader will, of course, compare them with the late historical productions of the advocates of Popery, and form his own opinion on the premises which each will afford him. The rapid sale of the first volume, encourages the compiler of it to hope that his humble labours, in the cause of our inestimable constitution, have not been unacceptable to the Protestants of the empire, for whose sake it was written, and to whom it was dedicated; neither is he without a sanguine expectation, that this work may eventually contribute to the temporal and spiritual welfare of many of his Majesty's subjects, who still profess the Romish faith in Ireland: it may be an humble instrument in leading them to consider the lamentable predicament into which the ambition of their Clergy has so often reduced them and their ancestors, and

determine, whether it is wise or not that they and their posterity should continue in a state of thraldom to an artful and tyrannical hierarchy, when they may at once EMANCIPATE THEMSELVES, IN EVERY SENSE OF THE WORD, BY JOINING THE COMMUNION OF OUR NATIONAL CHURCH.

Upwards of twenty noble families, and some of these the most ancient and illustrious in Ireland, have long since exhibited this salutary example to their less distinguished countrymen. The principles of these noble families are no longer polluted by the contagion of a superstition, which dissolves every moral tie, and tends to break up the very foundations of civil society; the heads of them no longer have the dreadful task of calculating how many of their children must perish in the field or on the scaffold, in maintenance of the proud pretensions of a foreign Bishop; and the same over-ruling Providence, which has blasted the wicked hopes of so many of the original proprietors of the Irish soil, and reduced their posterity to the lowest state of indigence, has elevated them to the highest rank in our community, preserved their hereditary properties, or enabled them to acquire new ones, and rendered many of them the undaunted supporters of the Protestant interest, and the integrity of the empire. And yet these noble families renounced not the Creed of the Apostles, in which they and their ancestors were baptised, they joined a church founded on the ROCK OF AGES—formed on the purest models of antiquity, whose doctrine has been unanswerably proved to be "the same for sum and substance" with that of the ancient Irish, before it was corrupted by the mercenary agents of the Roman Pontiff; and whose liturgy, even by Signior Gandolphi's late account of it, is for the most part a translation of the Psalms, Hymns, Creeds, Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, now, and for ages, publicly read to the deluded peasantry of Ireland in a dead language.

Let the professors of the Romish faith in Ireland ponder these things and be wise—let them follow the example of the noble families already mentioned—LET THEM GIVE UP THE BISHOP OF ITALY BEFORE HE GIVES THEM UP—and when they return to the faith of Saint Peter, Saint Paul, and the ancient British and Irish churches, the doors of the British constitution will open to receive them, and these melancholy records of the crimes of their ancestors, may perish with the miserable superstition which gave birth to them.

G. SIDNEY, Printer,
Northumberland Street, Strand.

ANNALS

OF

IRELAND,

ECCLESIASTICAL, CIVIL AND MILITARY.

BY THE

REV. JOHN GRAHAM, M.A.

CURATE OF LIFFORD, IN THE DIOCESE OF DERRY.

"Consilium futuri ex præterito venit."

SENECA, Ep. 38, Sec. 33.

London:

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1819.

TO

THE PROTESTANTS

OF

THE UNITED EMPIRE

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

THESE ANNALS

ARE

HUMBLY AND RESPECTFULLY

DEDICATED,

BY THEIR FAITHFUL AND

DEVOTED SERVANT,

JOHN GRAHAM.

Lifford, in the County of Donegal,
January 5th, 1819.

ANNALS OF IRELAND,

CIVIL, MILITARY, AND ECCLESIASTICAL.

No. I.

" *The cessation was a mere plot of the* CONFEDERATES *to ruin* " *those by treaty whom they could not destroy by war.*"
(Sir Richard Cox's Hib. Ang. v. ii. page 134.)

1643. *Sept.* 16.—Lord Muskerry and eight of the Rebel Commissioners signed an instrument regulating the manner in which they engaged to pay the 30,800*l.* they had agreed, in the Articles of cessation, to contribute to his Majesty. (*Bor. App.* xvi.)

Sept. 18. On this day both houses of the English Parliament made an ordinance for a collection to relieve the distressed Clergy of Ireland. (*Husband's Collections*, page 233.)

On the same day the Irish broke the Cessation by plundering the suburbs of Dublin of three hundred and sixty nine head of cattle. They soon after published the Pope's rebellious bull of the 25th of May, in this year, seized on the black Castle at Wicklow, and murdered the Protestants there. (*Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. page 135.)

They also continued the siege of Castlecoote after the Cessation was published. The Earl of Castlehaven, after he had been fully informed of it, battered the Castle of Disert in the Queen's County, and when he had taken and plundered it, he shewed the garrison the Articles of Cessation, pretending that they were just come to hand, and that he was sorry they did not come sooner. (*Ib.*)

Sept. 19. The Rebels, notwithstanding the Cessation, seized the Castles of Pilltown and Cloghleigh, with others, in Condon's Country, as they had just before, in a skulking manner, possessed themselves of several old ruinous castles and houses in Roche's Country, with several other acts of fraud and violence immediately on and after the said Cessation. *Lord Inchiquin's Complaints of the Breachers of Cessation in Munster, Art.* 2, 3, 4, 7, &c.)

Lord Inchiquin concludes these complaints in the following manner:—I am by these means driven to so great straits and exigencies, that of nine hundred men, which I had ready a few weeks since to send unto his Majesty, there remained not two hundred to be sent away on Monday last with the shipping, the rest being dispersed through mere want. Besides which disadvantage to his Majesty's service, the many injuries, insolencies, and pressures, obtruded and multiplied daily on the poor English, doth beget so many heavy clamours and complaints, such discouragements, anguish, and vexation of spirit, as makes the wretched souls weary of their lives, and me of the sad perplexed condition whereunto I am put, by having these insufferable and insupportable affronts and difficulties to struggle with, whence I implore some immediate rescue, suitable to the nature they are of. (*Hib. Ang. App.* xvii.)

Sept. 24. The English Parliament ordered, that no Irishman, or Papist born in Ireland, should have quarter in England. *(Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. page 137.*)*

A remarkable instance of a savage execution of the above-mentioned cruel order is recorded (*by Carte,* vol. iii. page 480, ecc.) of Captain Swanley, a commander of one of the ships sent by the English Parliament to intercept the troops which the Marquis of Ormond was transporting to England. Swanley took one of the transports, and selected seventy of his prisoners, who were of Irish birth, and though they had faithfully served their King, yet the merciless wretch instantly plunged them into the sea. Leland relates this anecdote to a note. *(Hist. Ireland,* vol. iii. page 227.*)*

Sept. 29. Monro, the commander of the Scottish forces in Ulster, wrote to the Lords Justices, informing them of the dislike of his army to the Cessation, and stating his want of power to restrain them from breaking it. (*Borlase,* page 136.)

Oct. 6. The Protestants in and about Dublin, (many of them from their hatred to Popery, being inclined to the Parliamentary party,) assembled at the Earl of Kildare's house, where they framed a petition to the Lords Justices and Council, humbly beseeching a licence for such agents as they should appoint to attend his Majesty, at Oxford, for the purpose of preventing the Popish agents from prepossessing his Majesty against them. (*See Borlase,* page 140.)

On the same day the King finding the monthly fast which he had ordered in the month of Jan. 1642, to be now converted into a political engine to raise hatred and war against him, issued a Proclamation, forbidding it to be kept any longer. *Borlase,* page 55.

Oct. 13. The Lord Lieutenant framed an oath of fidelity to the King, to be taken by the officers and soldiers going for England, before their departure from the harbour of Dublin. He also issued an edict, that no soldiers, under penalty of death should depart from their former commanders and officers, and that no commanders or officers, on pain of displeasure, should dare to entertain any soldiers so offending. (*Ib.* page 138.)

Oct. 15. Lord Inchiquin sent two regiments from different ports of Munster into England. He had not so many difficulties to encounter as the Marquis of Ormond had, on account of the number of sea-ports and trading towns with which his province abounded, but he was in great want of provisions and money. *(Warner*, page 115.*)*

On this day the Supreme Council of the Confederates, at Kilkenny, wrote to the Lords Justices and Council, complaining, that the Scottish army in Ulster had broken the Cessation, and were continuing to perpetrate cruelties on the unarmed multitude of Irish in that province, possessing themselves of large territories, seizing towns, burning corn, &c. The Confederates also stated, that these acts were done in furtherance of the views of the party in arms against the King in England, and for the purpose of diverting the Irish from affording his majesty any assistance. They concluded by desiring a copy of *Serjeant Major* Munro's answer to the letter sent to inform him of the Cessation. *(Borlase*, page 137.*)*

Nov. 10. Thomas Green and Elizabeth his wife deposed upon oath this day before the Commissioners, that the Irish Rebels at several times murdered, killed, and destroyed the most part of the Protestants in the parish of Drumeres, in the County of Armagh, being about three hundred, and that the slaughter occurred through the entire of the County—the slaughtered bodies being exposed to be devoured by dogs, swine, &c. and that the said Elizabeth Green saw the dogs feed upon these dead carcases. (*Green's examination in Sir John Temple's History*, p. 99.)

Nov. 13. The King issued an order to the Marquis of Ormond, Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's forces in Ireland, for the present transportation of a part of his army into England. (*Sanderson's hist. of the reign of King Charles*, 1. p. 639.)

Nov. 14. The Protestants of Dublin again petitioned the Lords Justices and Council for liberty to send agents to the King at Oxford. *(Borlase*, 140.*)*

Nov. 15. The Marquis of Ormond having sworn all the officers and soldiers *to defend the religion established in the Church of England, and to maintain the King's person and prero-*

galive against all the forces raised against him, embarked about two thousand men, who sailed for England from the Bay of Dublin. (Warner, vol. ii. p. 4.*)*

Nov. 18. The Irish forces landed in Wales under the command of Sir Michael Earnley, an old and experienced Commander. They were immediately afterwards saluted by letters from the Parliamentary Commanders, dated at Wrexam, and concluding in the following manner:—

"That we apprehend, and are assured, your voyage into Ireland was to fight against Popish Rebels, and for the Protestant Religion: and we imagine you are not fully informed of the cause to be engaged against us: and if you be the same you were when you went over, we doubt not but to procure satisfaction from the Parliament for your faithful service there, with like preferment here. Your affectionate and faithful friends," &c. *(Sanderson's Charles* I. p. 640.*)*

Nov. 19. The Lords Justices and Council having received from the Protestants a copy of their Petition to the King, returned them an answer this day, viz. that such was their care of the petitioners, that they had inclosed their former letters to Secretary Nicholas, requesting to know his Majesty's pleasure thereon, and that further they could not proceed, though if they would send agents to the King they would not prevent them, but could not accompany them with their recommendation, till they knew his Majesty's pleasure to have them come over. (*Borlase*, p. 140.)

Nov. 20. The five Colonels who commanded the army lately arrived in Wales from Ireland, returned the following answer to the letters they received from the Parliamentary Commanders at Wrexam.

Gentlemen,

We were not engaged in the service in Ireland otherwise than by the King's command.---The service we have done none dares extenuate; and although we are very sensible how unworthily we have been deserted by your pretended Parliament, yet we are not returned hither without his Majesty's special commission and authority. If you have the like from the King for the arms you carry, we shall willingly treat with you---otherwise, we shall bear ourselves like soldiers and loyal subjects.

MICHAEL EARNLEY.

Hawarden, Nov. 20, 1643.

P. S. *That Officer of your army which came into our quarters without safe conduct we detain till his Majesty's pleasure be further known. (Sanderson's History of the reign of King Charles I.* p. 640.*)*

The troops thus sent out of Ireland both by the Marquis of Ormond and Lord Inchiquin were Protestants ; many of them Englishmen by birth, who considered their return to their native country as a happy escape from the calamities they had endured in Ireland—all (as already stated) were bound by a solemn oath *to defend the Protestant religion as established in the Church of England, to maintain the King's person and prerogative against all his enemies, and particularly against the Earl of Essex and his forces.* Yet scarcely had these troops landed in Wales, when the whole country was alarmed with the dreadful intelligence of four thousand IRISH REBELS, still reeking with the blood of Protestants, now arrived on the coast, to extend their barbarous fury into England. Sir William Brereton, who commanded in these quarters for the Parliament, was not ashamed to transmit this intelligence to London, at the very time when, by his letters to the officers of these troops, he extolled their bravery in defence of the Protestant religion, and laboured to seduce them from their attachment to the King. In London his representation was implicitly received, and industriously propagated. They who did not think it necessary to affect the most ghastly consternation, observed with scorn that the Irish Rebels were now to join the Popish armies of the King and Queen, and, in conjunction with these associates, to settle the religion and liberties of England. *(Carte's Ormond,* vol. i. p. 471, *Whitelock,* p. 75, *and Leland's History of Ireland,* vol. iii. p. 222.)

Nov. 25. Rory M'Guire, Governor of the county of Fermanagh, in pursuance of a plan adopted by the Rebels to starve the English garrisons, issued the following proclamation---

COM. FERMANAGH.

Forasmuch as the daily resort and concourse of CATHOLICS since the cessation, into English garrisons, might bring a great deal of inconveniency into our proceedings, I do hereby, by virtue of the Lord General's authority, given me in that behalf, and especially to avoid the imminent peril that hereafter might arise thereof, straitly charge and command all manner of persons, of what rank, quality, or condition whatsoever they be, of THE IRISH NATION, in this country, NOT TO VISIT, CONFER, TALK, OR PARLEY to or with any persons or persons, of, in or belonging to the garrison of Enniskillen, UPON PAIN OF DEATH, AND OF FORFEITING ALL THE GOODS AND CHATTELS BELONGING TO SUCH OFFENDER OR OFFENDERS, and likewise that none of the inhabitants of this country, on the west side of Loughern, live, dwell, or inhabit any nearer to Enniskillen than the river of

Army, until further directions be given to the contrary, upon pain of the aforesaid forfeiture and penalty.

(Signed.) RORY MAGUIRE.

(*Bor. App.* xix.)

This Maguire was the inhuman bigot who, on the first day of the rebellion, hanged seventeen Protestants in the Church of Clones.

Nov. 28.---The English Parliamentary Commissioners at Edinburgh agreed with a Scottish Committee on seven articles respecting the maintenance and ordering of the Scottish army in Ireland. In the fourth article of that treaty, they agreed, that the Commander-in-Chief of the army in Scotland should also command the rest of the British forces in Ireland. *(Sanderson's History of the Reign of King Charles I.* p. 645.*)*

Dec. 1.---The Marquis of Ormond sent over fifteen hundred men to England, in addition to those he had already transported, and, towards the end of the month, four troops of horse and nine hundred foot. *(Warner's History of the Rebellion and Civil War in Ireland,* v. ii. p. 4.*)*

Dec. 4.---Hawarden Castle surrendered to the English troops, which had arrived from Ireland a few days before at Mostyn in Flintshire. After this they took some other small places in Cheshire. *(Rapin's History of England,* v. ii. p. 135.*)*

About this time, twenty thousand English and Scots vowed to live and die together, in opposition to the cessation. *(Whitelock's Memoirs,* page 18.*)*

This was a manœuvre to facilitate the progress of the solemn league and covenant, and was in itself an act of rebellion.

At this juncture, Owen O'Conally, who had discovered the Irish conspiracy of 1641, and had now become an instrument in the hands of the puritanical party, came over to Ireland, and brought with him letters from the Parliament to the British Colonels in Ulster, recommending them to disclaim the cessation, and to take the covenant, and assuring them, *on these conditions*, of the payment of their arrears, and full provision for their future maintenance. *Leland's History of Ireland.* v. iii. p. 229.*)*

Dec. 18.---On this day the Lords Justices and Council issued a Proclamation, forbidding his Majesty's subjects to enter into the obligation or engagement, called " *The solemn league and covenant* ;" the same league and covenant containing divers things, not only tending to a seditious combination against his

Majesty, but also contrary to the municipal laws of the kingdom of Ireland.

(Signed)

Richd. Bolton,	Cane. Geo. Sharley
Lau. Dublin,	Gerrard Lowther,
Ormond.	Thos. Rotheram,
Rosscommon.	Francis Willoughby,
Edw. Brabazon,	Tho. Lucas,
Ant. Midensis,	Ja. Ware,
Cha. Lambart,	G. Wentworth,

Dec. 20.---Sir William St. Leger and Colonel Min, having landed at Bristol with both their regiments from Ireland, amounting to one thousand foot and one hundred horse, with eight pieces of cannon, advanced through Gloucestershire to Thornbury, where they were on this day attacked by a party of two hundred dragoons, under the command of Captain Backhouse, whom they repulsed, and compelled to retreat. *(Sanderson's History of Charles I.* p. 651.*)*

About this time, the Irish Rebels, after having for five or six weeks obstinately persisted in refusing to sell provisions to the Protestants, even for ready money, committed many secret and some public murders, and it was reported to Sir Richard Cox, that a malicious Jesuit, called Father Roe, sheltering himself at Kinegad, committed many murders on the public high way. *(Hib. Ang.* v. ii. p. 135.*)*

No. II.

" *It was one of the instances of the strange and fatal misun-*
" *derstanding which possessed this time, that the calumnies and*
" *slanders raised to his Majesty's disservice and dishonour about*
" IRELAND, *made a more than ordinary impression on the minds*
" *of men, and not only of vulgar spirited people, but of those*
" *who resisted all other infusions and infections.*'

(Earl of Clarendon's Hist. Reb.)

1643. *Dec.* 30.—The Rev. John Goldsmith, Minister of Brashoule, in the County of Mayo, deposed this day, before the Commissioners, the following circumstances relative to the massacre of the Protestant prisoners at Shreul, in that County, and other transactions in that part of the Province of Connaught during the massacre :—

That Sir Henry Bingham, with the Bishop of Killala, fifteen Protestant Ministers, and about forty-three other Protestants, having covenanted with Edmund Burke, that they

should be safely conducted by the Earl of Mayo from Castleburre to Galway, the said Lord Mayo having separated deponent from them to attend his lady, the titular Archbishop and the Lord of Mayo met the aforesaid company of Protestants on their journey to Shreul, at which place the said Lord left them in the custody of Edmund Burke, but as one Mr. Bringhurst told deponent, the Lord of Mayo was not gone far from them, when the said Edmund Burke drew out his sword, directing the rest what they should do, and began to massacre those Protestants, and accordingly some were shot to death, some stabbed with skeins, some run through with pikes, some cast into the water and drowned, and the women, that were stripped naked, lying upon their husbands to save them, were run through with pikes, and very few of those English then and there escaped alive, but the most part were murdered in the place. Among the rest the Bishop of Killala escaped with his life, but was wounded in his head, and the Rev. Mr. Crowd was so beaten there with cudgels on his feet that he died shortly after. The Lord Mayo's son and heir, who was present at this massacre, was afterwards tried, condemned, and executed, as an actor in it.

Mr. Goldsmith also deposed, that in Tirawly, in the County of Sligo, about thirty or forty English, who formerly turned Papists, had their choice given them, whether they would die by the sword or drown themselves; they chusing the latter, were brought to the sea-side by the Rebels, who had their skeins drawn in their hands, and forced them and their wives and children into the waves, where they perished. The Rebels tortured many of the Protestants to make them confess where they had concealed their money. He deposed also, that the Vicar of Urris turned Papist to save his life, and became drummer to Captain Burke, but was afterwards murdered for his pains. *(Sir John Temple's History*, p. 117.)

1644.—In the beginning of this year ten thousand pounds with some clothing and provisions, were sent to Monro from Scotland, together with four Ministers of the Kirk, to enforce and tender the covenant. These missionaries travelled through every parish in the Counties of Down and Antrim, and their doctrines were every where received with enthusiastic ardour—Soldiers, officers, gentry, all flocked round them contending for the glory of running foremost in the godly cause, and first accepting an engagement, so precious, and so essential to the welfare of their souls.—The proclamation and menaces of the government were ineffectual—those who refused to take the covenant were considered as wretches unworthy the rights of

humanity: nor would the inhabitants supply them with the necessaries of life. Those who had hitherto appeared most attached to the Royal Cause, now caught the popular contagion, and even the Governor of Derry, Audley Mervyn, who had so often inveighed against the covenant, in the Irish Parliament, had scarcely been invested in his new office when he took that engagement which had been the object of his severest censure. *(Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond*, vol. i, page 490, *and Dr. Leland's History of Ireland*, vol. iii. page 231.*)*

The inhabitants of the Province of Ulster had been witnesses, and many of them sufferers from the outrages of the first insurgents. They were most deeply impressed with the horror of their barbarities; whatever, therefore, were their professions to Ormond, it is natural to suppose that in their hearts they condemned a cessation which left the Northern Irish not only unpunished, but IN FULL POSSESSION OF THE ADVANTAGES GAINED BY THEIR BRUTAL CRUELTY. *(Note in Leland's History of Ireland*, vol. iii. page 229.*)*

Jan. 15.—Lord Byron, who commanded the forces lately arrived from Ireland, laid siege to Nantwich. *(Rapin*, vol. xii. page 139.*)*

Jan. 18.—Lord Byron and his army making a sudden and violent storm upon five several places of the town of Nantwich at once, he was every where beaten off with the loss of many of his men. *(Ib.)*

Jan. 21.—Lord Fairfax advanced to the relief of Nantwich. He entirely routed the Irish army, consisting of three thousand foot, who were almost all slain or taken prisoners; and of eighteen hundred horse, most of whom escaped by flight, but were so dispersed that they could be of no service to the King.

Rapin, in a note on the foregoing passage, copies a report from Rushworth *(vol. v. p. 302.)* that among the prisoners taken by Lord Fairfax at Nantwich, were an hundred and twenty Irish women, with long knives, wherewith they were said to have done mischief. This was, however, one of those false reports which the puritanical Rebels found their advantage in propagating at this time; for the Irish forces (as they were called) at this action, were many of them Englishmen, and all Protestants, sworn to maintain the church of England and the just rights and prerogatives of the king. It is, therefore, not very likely that their wives had learned the use of the Irish skeins, a savage instrument, very seldom used even by the wives of native Irish, through the whole course of the rebellions and massacres in which these deluded people have been engaged. But Rapin is one of those writers who are very unjust

to the memory of Charles I. In this very place he takes it for granted, that the army Lord Byron commanded was composed of Irish Papists, thirsting for the blood of their Protestant fellow-subjects; and accordingly concludes the account of the action at Nantwich in the following manner: "Thus the King received no benefit by these troops, nay, they rather did him a prejudice, in that, by all his proceedings to procure them, he confirmed the mistrust abundance of people had entertained upon his account, with respect to the Irish Rebellion."

As Rapin here alludes to the cessation of arms with the Irish rebels, which has been already proved to have been adopted by the Marquis of Ormond from imperious necessity, though it was but a mere trick in the faithless Irish to agree to it, the following observations of Warner may be with propriety inserted here.

"The English historian to this day, RAPIN especially, have represented the complaints of the Council, and of the officers of the army in Ireland, as a contrivance of the King's, who had a mind to make use of them for a pretence for the cessation. But the falsehood of this assertion must have appeared from what have been already related, upon the unexceptionable evidence of such of the Council in Ireland as were ill enough affected to the King."

19*th*.—The Scotch army enters England, notwithstanding the season of the year, which one would have thought should have hindered their march. (*Rushworth*, vol. v. p. 603.)

Coronet devises being universally borne in these days, an officer in this army figured for his devise, the Scottish troops entering England. The old scarlet dame of Babylon appears before them, dressed in all her trinkets. She says, on a label, by way of motto, "OMNE MALUM AB AQUILONE;" the army replies, "VÆ TIBI BABYLON." *Estiennes Coronet Devises Symbols, &c.* p. 85. London, 1650.)

21*st*.—The Marquis of Ormond was solemnly sworn in Christ Church, Dublin, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with general acceptance. On which occasion, Robert Sibthorp, Bishop of Limerick, preached on the last verse of the seventy-seventh Psalm, "Thou *leddest thy people like a flock, by the hand of Moses and Aaron*;" upon which he paraphrased exceeding elegantly. (*Borlase*, p. 141.)

Had the commission, and the powers which the Marquis of Ormond now received, been sent to him at the execution of the Earl of Strafford, the miseries of his country, by this rebellion, might have been prevented. But that time was over: the rebellion was now at its height; the Scots were

masters of Ulster, and the rebels of the greatest part of the other provinces: the one refusing to obey the orders of Government, and the other having formed a government of their own in opposition to it. In such a *confluence of difficulties*, as he expressed it, a man of less loyalty than the Marquis of Ormond would never have undertaken it; a man of less integrity and abilities could not have conducted it. (*Warner*, vol. ii. p. 12.)

22d.—The Parliament, by the King's order, assembled at Oxford. In his first speech he told them, that he had called them together to receive their advice, and consult with them about the means to appease the troubles of the kingdom. (*Rapin*, vol. xii. p. 186; and *Rushworth*, vol. v. p. 560.)

About this time the Earl of Holland, and some other Lords, who had withdrawn themselves from the Parliament, and retired to the King, meeting but with a cold reception at Oxford, where every thing was managed by the Papists, thought fit to change sides once more, and return to London. (*Rapin*, vol. xii. p. 174.)

The Earl of Holland being examined by the Parliament, said, that *after he heard of the cessation in Ireland, his conscience would not give him leave to stay any longer with the King at Oxford.* (*Whitlock*, p. 73.)

The ill reception these Lords met from the King, made his Majesty, and all about him, be looked upon as implacable, and so diverted all men from any thoughts of returning to their duty; and chuse rather to stay where they were, than expose themselves by unreasonable and unwelcome addresses. (*The Earl of Clarendon's History of the Great Rebellion*, vol. iii. p. 367.)

There is nothing more certain in this history, than that the Queen and her Popish Counsellors had too much ascendancy in the Court of Oxford. The Queen, in a drawing-room, was one of the liveliest women of the age, and the vivacity of her imagination, which surprized every body, made a great impression on the King. But though her temper led her to be always meddling in his Councils, yet she had no solid judgment, nor was she so secret as such times, and such affairs required. The Marquis of Ormond complained often that his own dispatches thither, were known to the Irish, as well as the directions that were sent him from thence; and though he had expressly desired that no countenance might be given there, to any who might pretend to be powerful with the Irish, the consequence of which he plainly shewed, yet the contrary advice was followed, with respect to Lord Antrim, a most bigoted Papist,

and withal so immoderately vain and ambitious, that it was no wonder he should form projects of dignity above his merit, and of power beyond his abilities. (*Warner's History.*)

The historian might have added, that it was as little surprising to find the Queen disclosing her illustrious consort's most important state secrets, and ruining him and her children, by intriguing with the Popish Rebels in Ireland; for, as a Romish subject holds but half allegiance to a Protestant Sovereign, so a Popish wife necessarily divides her fidelity and affection between her auricular confessors and her husband.

No. III.

"*Consilium futuri ex præterito venit.*"
(Seneca, Ep. 38, Sec. 13.)

1641.—In the month of February, this year, Sir Edward Deering, who had taken a thorough dislike to the proceedings of both Houses of Parliament, when he found their design was to ruin the Church of England, and being equally disgusted with the Court of Oxford, followed the example of Lord Holland; and returning to London, petitioned the House of Commons for liberty to retire to his house near Canterbury, where he died in a few months after. He had been highly distinguished for his speeches on grievances, in the beginning of this Parliament, and about a week before his death, published a learned discourse concerning THE PROPER SACRIFICE, wherein he solidly and eloquently confuted the Popish doctrine of Transubstantiation. (*Rushworth*, vol. v. p. 382, 384.)

March 16.—By reason of divers robberies and murders, daily committed by the soldiers on such as brought provisions for the relief of the City of Dublin, the Lord General issued a proclamation this day, strictly prohibiting all such outrages, under the utmost peril of the martial laws. (*Borlase*, p. 141.)

About this time the Fort of Duncannon, one of the strongest in Ireland, was surrendered by Lord Esmond to General Preston, before Sir Arthur Loftus, who was to have been the under Governor, arrived with a supply for its relief. Upon this event, Sir Arthur Loftus carried his provisions into Munster, and Lord Esmond died soon afterwards. (*Ib.* p. 151.)

23d.—The Popish Commissioners, after a delay of four months, occasioned by the diversity of opinions in their assembly, at Kilkenny, and the difficulty of adjusting their instructions, and the propositions to be offered from their body, appeared this day before the King at Oxford. Their first propositions discovered the confidence and vanity of their party.

Besides THE PUBLIC ESTABLISHMENT OF THE POPISH WORSHIP, they demanded a REPEAL OF THE ACTS FOR ENCOURAGEMENT OF ADVENTURERS, which, (like their present SIMPLE REPEAL,) they must have known that THE KING could NOT PROCURE. They required that NO STANDING ARMY should be maintained in Ireland, and at the same time, that THEIR OWN SUPREME COUNCIL should be continued until all their grievances were redressed by Parliament, and even *for some time after*. They required, in effect, what they seek at the present day, and made bold efforts to accomplish during the late war, namely, THE UTTER EXTINCTION OF THE ENGLISH POWER AND PROTESTANT RELIGION IN IRELAND. They were, however, obliged on the above-mentioned occasion to recede from these imperious pretensions, on the King's expressing his firm determination to break off all conference with the proposers of such extravagant and insolent demands. *(See Carte's Ormonde*, vol. i. page 499, *and Leland's Hist. Ireland*, vol. iii. page 235.*)*

March 24.—Dr. Robert Maxwell, Archdeacon of Down, and Rector of the parish of Tynan, in the County of Armagh, was consecrated Bishop of Kilmore, in St. Patrick's Church, Dublin.—He had been, as appears by his deposition before the Commissioners appointed for ascertaining the sufferings of the Protestants in this rebellion, a great sufferer from the fury of the Rebels. His brother, Lieutenant James Maxwell, with his wife and unborn infant, destroyed in a most cruel and barbarous manner, his horse, books, and papers burned, and himself kept for a considerable time prisoner at Armagh, by Sir Phelim O'Neil. He was the son of George Maxwell, Dean of Armagh, and had his education and Doctor's Degree in Trinity College, Dublin.

April 13.—The Marquis of Montrose entered Scotland, arrives at Dumfries, and seizes it, expecting the Irish forces from the Earl of Antrim, but being disappointed, and in some danger of an attack from General Leslie and the Earl of Calandar, he returned to Carlisle with his army. *(Sanderson's Reign of King Charles*, p. 789.*)*

In a few days afterwards the reinforcement from Ireland arrived, amounting only to *one hundred and ten men* instead of *ten thousand*, which Lord Antrim had engaged to send. They were commanded by Alexander Mac Donnel, a Scotchman, and joined Montrose, in Athole ; but Argyle, their enemy, was in their rear with an army marching after them. Eight hundred of the countrymen joined Montrose here, who enabled him to march through his enemies' country, burning

their houses, and wasting their fields, in retaliation for a treacherous attack they had made on the rear of his army. This was the first onset of the war. *(Ib. p. 790.)*

April 15.—The Protestant agents arrived at Oxford, with a petition to his Majesty, in behalf of themselves and others of his Majesty's Protestant subjects, whose names were subscribed to it.

They stated in this petition, that the kingdom of Ireland, after having cost a vast expense of treasure, and much effusion of British blood, had been happily reduced and planted, by his Royal Predecessors, especially Queen Elizabeth, and his Majesty's illustrious Father, King James, of ever blessed memory. That great sums of money had been disbursed in buildings and improvements, churches edified and endowed, and FREQUENTED BY MULTITUDES OF GOOD PROTESTANTS, his Majesty's CUSTOMS AND REVENUES RAISED TO GREAT YEARLY SUMS BY THE INDUSTRY OF HIS PROTESTANT SUBJECTS, and great sums of money by way of SUBSIDIES and CONTRIBUTIONS, cheerfully paid unto his Majesty by his said subjects. In which state of happiness this country continued till the present CONSPIRACY and REBELLION was raised out of detestation of his Majesty's Government, and FOR ROOTING OUT OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION, AND THE DISPOSESSING OF HIS MAJESTY OF THE SAID KINGDOM.

They farther stated, that this rebellion broke out (*like that of* 1798) immediately after his Majesty had ENLARGED, BEYOND PRECEDENT, HIS ROYAL FAVOUR AND BOUNTY TO THEM, in granting all that their agents, in conjunction with those of their Protestant fellow-subjects, had desired of him; and at a time when THE PROTESTANTS LIVED AMONG THEM IN ALL LOVE AND AMITY WITHOUT DISTRUST. THE CONSEQUENCE OF WHICH REBELLION WAS, that the said Petitioners, and all who laboured to oppose the designs and practices of the said Rebels, had been driven from their dwellings, estates, and fortunes, THEIR HOUSES AND CHURCHES BURNED AND DEMOLISHED, all monuments of civility utterly defaced, his Majesty's forts and places of strength thrown down, and the Common and Statute Laws of his Kingdom utterly confounded, by their taking upon themselves the exercise of all manner of authorities and jurisdiction, ecclesiastical and civil; so that his Royal Revenues were brought to nothing, and the Protestant Clergy, with their revenues and support, for the present brought to nothing; that the Kingdom of Ireland, IN ALL PARTS FORMERLY INHABITED WITH BRITISH PROTESTANTS, WAS NOW DEPOPULATED OF THEM; many thousands of them

most barbarously used, stripped naked, tortured, famished, hanged, buried alive, drowned, and otherwise, by all barbarous cruel sorts of death, murdered; that such as remained of them were reduced to that extremity, that very few of them had wherewithal to maintain a being, and all of them so TERRIFIED and AFFLICTED with those barbarous and inhuman cruelties, the true report of which had been spread abroad through the Christian world, that it was to be feared that HIS MAJESTY'S BRITISH SUBJECTS (as in 1816) would be discouraged from coming to inhabit this kingdom, and that the remnant of what is left would be forced to depart, all this being done by a conspiracy of the Papists, who did publicly declare their intention to be, THE UTTER EXTIRPATION OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION, AND ALL THE BRITISH PROFESSORS THEREOF, OUT OF HIS MAJESTY'T KINGDOM OF IRELAND.

The Petitioners concluded in the following words: —

"WE, THEREFORE, your Majesty's most humble, loyal, and obedient Protestant subjects, casting themselves at your Royal feet, and flying to you for succour and redress in these our great calamities, as our most gracious Sovereign Lord and King, and next and immediately under ALMIGHTY GOD, our protector and defence, most humbly beseeching your Sacred Majesty to admit into your Royal presence our said agents, viz. *Captain William Ridgeway, Sir Francis Hamilton, Knight and Baronet, Captain Michael Jones, and Mr. Fenton Parsons;* and in your great wisdom, to take into your Princely care and consideration, the distressed estate, and humble desires of your said subjects, so that to the glory of GOD, your Majesty's honour, and the happiness of your good subjects, THE PROTESTANT RELIGION MAY BE RESTORED, throughout the whole kingdom, to its lustre; that the losses of your Protestant subjects may be repaired in such manner and measure, as your Majesty in your Princely wisdom shall think fit; and that this your kingdom may be settled, as that your said Protestant subjects (a DESIDERATUM in 1816) may hereafter LIVE THEREIN UNDER THE HAPPY GOVERNMENT OF YOUR MAJESTY, AND YOUR ROYAL POSTERITY, WITH COMFORT AND SECURITY; whereby your Majesty will render yourself, through the whole world, a most just and glorious defender of the Protestant religion, and draw down a blessing on all other your Majesty's royal undertakings; for which your Petitioners will ever pray," &c.

Signed by the Earl of Kildare, Lord Viscount Montgomery, Lord Blany, and many others.

No. IV.

" *There was a party in the King's Court in the interest of the* " *Catholics, though against the interest of his Majesty. If the* " *Queen and this party could have condescended to use modera-* " *tion, the King was so much under her influence, and the* " *assistance of the Irish was so necessary to him in his war with* " *the Parliament, that their counsel, in all probability, would* " *have proved fatal to the Protestants of Ireland. But the Ca-* " *tholics, one would think, were under an infatuation from the* " *beginning to the end of this whole business.*"

(Warner's History of the Rebellion and Civil War in Ireland, vol. ii. p. 21.)

1644, *April* 17.—The King, for the greater security of the Queen's person, removed her Majesty towards the West, to Exeter, guarding her progress with sufficient forces. *(Sanderson's Reign of King Charles,* p. 725.*)*

On this day the Irish Parliament assembled. *(Borlase,* p. 141.*)*

April 18.—The Speakers of both Houses of the Irish Parliament published a letter, prohibiting the Commanders and Officers of his Majesty's armies, and others, to take the solemn league and covenant. *(Ibid.)*

Monroe and his Officers had, before this time, taken the covenant with great solemnity in the Church of Carrickfergus. This General affected the utmost moderation on this occasion, leaving it entirely to the Kirk Ministers to prevail, by their exhortations, without attempting any violence against those who refused this oath; but the English Officers of the Royal Party were not deceived by this apparent lenity—they every moment expected an order from the English Parliament for imposing the covenant by force; and their apprehensions were confirmed, when a Commission from the English Houses, under their broad Seal, was received by Monroe, empowering him to command all the forces of Ulster, Scottish and English, in their name, and under their authority, and to carry on the war against all the enemies of the Covenanted Party. *(Leland's History of Ireland,* vol. iii. p. 231, *and Carte's Ormonde,* vol. i. p. 493.*)*

On this day the Protestant Agents of Ireland presented their propositions to the King at Oxford. Among other things, they demanded the following:—

1st. The establishment of the true Protestant Religion in Ireland, according to the laws and statutes then in force.

2d. The banishment of the Popish Titular Archbishops, Bishops, Jesuits, Friars, and Priests, and all others of the Roman Clergy, because they had been THE STIRRERS UP OF ALL REBELLION, AND BECAUSE, DURING THEIR CONTINUANCE IN IRELAND, THERE COULD BE NO HOPE OR SAFETY FOR HIS MAJESTY'S PROTESTANT SUBJECTS.

3d. The re-enaction of all the laws and statutes established in Ireland against Popery and Popish Recusants, and the due execution of them.

4th. The restitution and re-edification of all the Protestant Churches and Chapels which had been seized or destroyed by the Popish Rebels—the expenses to be defrayed by those who had seized and destroyed them.

5th. THAT ALL POPISH LAWYERS MIGHT BE SUPPRESSED OR RESTRAINED FROM PRACTISING IN IRELAND, the rather, because the Lawyers in England were not suffered to practise unless they take the Oath of Supremacy, and because IT HAD BEEN FOUND, BY WOFUL EXPERIENCE, THAT THE ADVICE OF POPISH LAWYERS TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND, HAD BEEN A GREAT CAUSE OF THEIR CONTINUED DISOBEDIENCE.

6th. That the Protestants should be restored to the quiet possession of all their CASTLES, HOUSES, MANORS, LANDS, TENEMENTS, AND LEASES, as they had the same at the beginning of the rebellion, and from whence, without due process of law, they had been put or kept out, and that they might be answered of and for all the mean profits of the same in the interim ; and that all their MONEY, PLATE, JEWELS, HOUSEHOLD STUFF, GOODS AND CHATTELS WHATSOEVER, which, without due process or judgment in law, had been taken or detained from them by the Popish Confederates during the rebellion, should be restored to them, or paid for by said Confederates.

7th. THE ESTABLISHMENT AND MAINTENANCE OF A COMPLETE PROTESTANT ARMY IN IRELAND, FOR THE TIME TO COME, THAT HIS MAJESTY'S RIGHTS AND LAWS, THE PROTESTANT RELIGION, AND THE PEACE OF THAT KINGDOM, BE NO MORE ENDANGERED BY THE LIKE REBELLIONS IN TIME TO COME. *(See Borlase's Appendix,* No. XIII. p. 75.*)*

The proposals of each of these agents, both Protestant and Popish, were referred to "*a Committee for Irish Affairs,*" at Oxford, consisting of the Earl of Bristol, Lord Cottington, Earl of Portland, Lord George Digby, Sir Edward Nicholas, Sir John Culpeper, Sir Edward Hyde, and some others, who

were much troubled by the contests of the Protestant and Popish agents. *(Borlase, p. 142.)*

At the same time the Irish Parliament, then sitting at Dublin, sent over authorised agents to represent to the King the grievances of his Protestant subjects in Ireland, that nothing might be granted in that treaty, to the prejudice of their interest and security. These agents were Sir William Stewart, Sir Gerard Lowther, Sir Philip Percival, and Justice Donnelan, to whom were added, being resident at Oxford, Sir George Radcliffe, and Sir William Sambach. *(Ibid.)*

These precautions were absolutely necessary, on account of the activity of the Queen's party at Oxford, whilst the treaty was on foot for settling the affairs of Ireland. In many instances this party so overruled the King, that he directed measures which it became an honest Secretary to counteract. In proof of this, Warner, who is one of our most impartial and moderate historians, quotes the following passage of a private letter from Sir George Radcliffe to the Lord Lieutenant, a little before the several agents went from Ireland :—

"*I must tell you the advice of a very good friend, Mr. Secretary Nicholas, that dares not write so himself. You will have many things recommended from the King, and others; do not just the contrary, but forbear a little, till you have returned a civil answer, and then do what you will, but let no letters put you from your own way.*"

The Popish agents were Lord Viscount Muskerry, Sir Robert Talbot, Dermot Mac Teig O'Bryan, and some others. *(Borlase, p. 141.)*

Immediately after the arrival of the Popish agents at Oxford, Archbishop Usher, then in attendance on the King, waited on his Majesty, and besought him *not to do any thing with the Irish in point of religion, without his knowledge;* and when the point of toleration came to be debated at the Council Board, the King, with all the Lords there, absolutely denied it; and the Archbishop being afterwards (in June, 1647,) questioned on this subject by a Parliamentary Committee, professed that HE HAD BEEN EVER AGAINST GRANTING A TOLERATION OF POPERY, AS DANGEROUS TO THE PROTESTANT RELIGION. *(Dr. Parr's Life of Archbishop Usher, p. 64.)*

About this time Primate Usher preached before the King on a fast day; the text 2 Chron. vii. 14.—"*If my people, which are called by my name, shall humble themselves and pray, and seek my face, and* TURN FROM THEIR WICKED WAYS: *Then will I hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin, and will heal their land.*"

In this Sermon, among other things suitable to the occasion, this excellent Prelate observed, that as "no prayers or fastings could sanctify rebellion, or tempt GOD to own an unjust party,"—so "*neither would a just cause alone justify those who maintained it, any more than a true religion without practice; it being necessary for us first to do our duty, otherwise the good cause, and the true religion, would both prove unavailing to us.*"—These latter observations he aimed against a looseness and debauchery of manners, which he had observed in too many at the Court of Oxford, who believed that their being of the right side in adhering to their lawful King, would atone for all other faults. He would also tell such people in conversation, that such actions as they were guilty of would frustrate all their hopes of success—asking, how could they expect that GOD should bless their arms, whilst they were grossly offending him? Nor was he less severe on the Houses of Parliament, then in rebellion against his Majesty, and declared the war they had made to be wicked, and of fatal consequence, casting an irreparable scandal upon the Protestant religion.

No. V.

"*The civil and religious liberties of these nations depend,* "*under GOD, on the maintenance and extension of the Pro-*
"*testant Religion in the Church, and the Protestant Ascendancy*
"*in the State.*"

(Preface to Fox's Book of Martyrs, p. 2.)

1644, *April* 19.—The Propositions of the agents of the Popish Confederates were read in the Council for Irish affairs, at Oxford, in the presence of the President, Lord Cottington, and by him and the rest of the Council communicated to Sir William Stewart, and the other Commissioners from the Privy Council in Ireland, under the charge of inviolable secresy. *(Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 140.*)*

April 25.—The King sent an answer to the Petition of the Protestant agents, permitting them to present their Propositions to him. *(Cox's App.* xiii.*)*

April 27.—A warrant was issued, creating Henry Viscount Wilmot, and Thomas Viscount Dillon, Lords President of the Province of Connaught, except the County and Town of Galway, the Government whereof, with ten shillings a day, was granted to the Lord of Clanrickard. *(Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 147.*)*

Some time after this Major Ormsby being garrisoned at Tulsk, in the County of Roscommon, which place belonged to Mr. Lane, afterwards Lord Lanesborough, the proprietor demanded the house, which could not be justly refused him, though his right was unseasonably insisted on at that time, because Major Ormsby had done good service, and was very troublesome to the Irish.—But the Major perceiving that he must turn out, and having no other convenient place to carry his soldiers unto, he cunningly declared against the cessation, and kept correspondence with those of that faction in Ulster, and hereupon he preyed upon the Irish to that degree, that his garrison lived whilst most of the rest of the English were starving; insomuch, that as many as could did flock to him, whereby the other garrisons were left almost empty, and so he continued till the Earl of Castlehaven forced him to submit to the cessation, as that Lord writes in his Memoirs, or rather, until his castle was taken by Lord Taafe, in the year 1645. *(Ibid.)*

On this day the Protestant agents presented their proposals to the King, who referred the consideration of them to the Committee for Irish Affairs, some of whom were so disaffected to the Protestants of Ireland, that they said, *These proposals were drawn by the close Committee at London, and that they wondered his Majesty would receive so mutinous a Petition.* *(Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 140.*)*

The Committee of Irish Affairs, at Oxford, sent the following answer to the proposals of the Protestant agents :—

1st. That their Lordships did not think that the Propositions presented by the Protestant agents to his Majesty, and that morning read before their Lordships, were the sense of the Protestants of Ireland.

2d. That those Propositions were not agreeable to the instructions given the said agents by the Protestants of Ireland.

3d. That if those Propositions were drawn, they would lay a prejudice on his Majesty and his Ministers to posterity; these remaining on record, if a treaty should go on, and peace follow, which the King's necessity did enforce, and that the Lords of the Committee apprehended, the said agents did flatly oppose a peace with the Irish.

4th. That it would be impossible for the King to grant the Protestant agents' desires, and grant a peace to the Irish.

5th. That the Lords of the Committee desired the Protestant agents to propose a way to effect their desires either by force or treaty, considering the condition of his Majesty's affairs in England.

The Protestant agents replied :—

1st. That they humbly conceived, that the Propositions which they had presented, were the sense of the Protestants of Ireland.—(N. B. *Sir Richard Cox tells us, that the Parliament of Ireland was interrogated on the point, and did declare their concurrence with what the agents had done.*)

2d. That the Propositions were agreeable to the instructions given to the said agents by the Protestants of Ireland, and conduced to the well settlement of Ireland.

3d. That they had no thought to draw prejudice on his Majesty or their Lordships, by putting in those Propositions, neither had they so soon put in Propositions, had not his Majesty, by his answer to the Protestant Petition, directed the same.

4th. That they humbly conceived, that they were employed to make proof of the effect of the Protestant Petition, to manifest the inhuman cruelties of the Rebels in Ireland, and then to offer such things as they thought fit FOR THE SECURITY OF THE PROTESTANTS IN THEIR RELIGION, LIVES, LIBERTIES, AND FORTUNES.

That the said Protestants had no disaffection to peace, so as punishment might be inflicted according to law, as in the Propositions are expressed; and that the said Protestants might be repaired for their great losses out of the estates of the Rebels, not formerly by acts of this present Parliament in England otherwise disposed of, which the said agents desired might be represented to his Majesty and the Lords of the Committee accordingly.

5th. That the said Protestant agents were strangers to his Majesty's affairs in England, and conceived that part more proper for his Council, than the said agents, and, therefore, desired to be excused for meddling in the treaty further than the manifesting the truth of the Protestant Petition, and proposing in the behalf of the Protestants, according to the instructions given them, which the said agents were ready to perform whensoever they should be admitted thereon. *(Bor. App.* xiii.*)*

April 30.—The Protestant agents being men of courage, and not easily to be daunted, waited on Lord Cottington, Chief of the Committee, and prayed a copy of *the Irish Proposals*. He made strange of it, as if he knew no such thing, and told them, *that they meant the Irish Remonstrance.* They replied, that was in print and common, and they did not mean it, but they meant "THE IRISH PROPOSITIONS." His Lordship told them, if any such were, it was fit they should have a copy;

but that *he knew of no such thing*, although he was really present at the Committee on the nineteenth of this month, when these Propositions were read. Hereupon the agents addressed themselves to Sir William Stewart, who, with the other Commissioners from the Privy Council of Ireland, had got a copy of these Propositions, desiring them to get them an audience from the King before matters went too far in the Treaty, and to obtain a copy of the Irish demands; to which, the next day, Sir George Radcliffe returned answer—*That they had acquainted the Lords of the Committee with the desires of the agents; and that they were offended that the agents should be so forward in prejudicating his Majesty's justice and theirs, and that they should be heard before the conclusion of the Treaty. (Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 140.)

May 1.—The Protestant agents were sent for to the Committee, and their instructions and proposals, and *the order of concurrence of the Irish House of Commons* being read, the Earl of Bristol told them that "the King and the Committee were sensible of the prejudicate opinion the agents had of their justice, in pressing to be heard, and by their *belief of vulgar reports*," (such, perhaps, as that of the Irish proposals having been received, which Lord Cottington denied,) "but that the agents could not be more careful of the Protestants' persons and religion than they were."

The agents replied, that "if they had erred in pressing to be heard, it proceeded from their zeal to the service, and for the preservation of that remnant of poor Protestants that intrusted them, and out of a desire that his Majesty and their Lordships might be rightly informed of their past sufferings and present calamities;" they also desired to be admitted to proof of particulars.—Upon this they were ordered to withdraw; and being afterwards called in again, they were commanded to subscribe their Propositions, which they did, and were then ordered to attend Archbishop Usher, Dr. Lesley, Bishop of Down, and Sir George Radcliffe, in the afternoon, which they did, and were told by them how offensive the heighth and unreasonableness of their proposals were, repeating the answer of the Committee to their proposals, and adverting to the reply they had made to it, which they repeated. Hereupon Sir George Radcliffe told them, that "whilst they continued so high in their demands, they must expect nothing but war." They answered, "they were ill provided for it, but would rather run the hazard of it, than have a dishonourable, destructive peace; and that THEY COULD NOT MAKE FARTHER ALTERATIONS IN THEIR PROPOSALS WITHOUT BETRAYING

THEIR TRUST." Sir George replied, "that if they would abate three parts of them, he was sure the fourth part would not be granted them; that they were sent to preserve the Protestants of Ireland, but that if the Irish agents returned without a peace, they would destroy the remainder of the Protestants, since the King was not in a condition to help them, and, therefore, desired the agents to think of some way of securing them. They answered that there were five months of the cessation unexpired, within which time means of relief might be found; and if not, IT WERE BETTER TO QUIT IRELAND FOR A TIME, THAN TO MAKE A DESTRUCTIVE PEACE." Then Sir George asked, "how the English should get out of Ireland?" The agents said, "by keeping the Irish agents in England till it should be done." He replied, that "he would rather advise the King to lose Ireland than break his faith with the Irish agents who came to treat with him upon his word, and that it was not likely, if the Irish had not good conditions of peace, that they would forbear arms till the end of the cessation." *(Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 141.*)*

May 2.—The Protestant agents gave Secretary Nicholas a new set of Propositions, to the same effect with the former, only a little more moderate, to be presented to the King. *(Ibid.)*

May 7.—Sir William St. Leger being come to Oxford, told Lord George Digby, that the Protestant forces that came from Munster were much dissatisfied that the Protestant agents from Ireland received so little countenance. His Lordship answered, that "the greatest kindness he could do them, was to call them madmen, that he might not call them roundheads, for putting in such proposals." He desired to speak with some of them, but *they refused to come to one who had expressed such prejudice against them.*

No. VI.

"*Roma armis terras, ratibusque subegerat undas*
Atque iidem fines orbis et urbis erant.
Vincere restabat cœlum, perfregit olympum
Priscoriem pietas aurea Pontificum.
At bona posteritas, ausis ne cedat avitis
Tartara præcipiti tendit ad ima gradu."
(Georgii Buchanani Poemata, p. 287.)

1644. *May* 9.—The Protestant agents were ordered to attend the King and Council at Oxford, which they did, and

his Majesty told them, "*They were sent by his Majesty's Subjects to move him in their behalf, and desired to know in what condition the Protestants of Ireland were to defend themselves if a peace should not ensue?*" They answered, that "*they humbly conceived they were employed, first to prove their petition, and to disprove* THE SCANDALOUS ASPERSIONS WHICH THE REBELS HAD CAST UPON HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT AND THE PROTESTANTS OF IRELAND." The King replied, that "*it needed not any more than to prove the sun shines when we all see it.*" They answered, that "*they thought his Majesty was not satisfied, but that those of the Pale had been forced into rebellion.*" The King said, *that was but an assertion of the Irish,* and then renewed his former question about their condition to resist, if a peace should not ensue. The agents desired time to answer this question; but the King told them, he thought they came prepared to declare the condition of the whole kingdom, and asked them *would they have peace or not?* The agents answered, that *they were bred up in peace, and were not against it, so that it might stand with* HIS MAJESTY'S HONOUR, AND THE SAFETY OF HIS PROTESTANT SUBJECTS IN THEIR RELIGION, LIVES, LIBERTIES, AND FORTUNES.

Then Lord Digby interposed, and said, that "*the agents desired a peace.*" Yes, said the Duke of Richmond and Earl of Lindsay, provided it consists with THE KING'S HONOUR AND THE PROTESTANTS' SAFETY. The King then said, *he would rather that they should have their throats cut in war, than* SUFFER *by a peace of his making;* and then told the agents, they should have a copy of the Irish proposals, and liberty to answer them, but that they were to consider of two things, first, that *he was not in a condition to relieve them with men, money, ammunition, arms, or victuals;* and, secondly, that *he could not allow them to join with the new Scots, or any others that had taken the Covenant. (Hibernia Anglicana,* vol. ii. p. 142.)

May 12.—Sir Robert Talbot and Dermot Mac Teig O'Bryan, two of the Popish agents, left Oxford on their return to Ireland. *(Ibid.)*

May 13.—The Protestant agents having got a copy of the Irish Propositions, presented to his Majesty a full answer to them, which may be found in the Appendix to Sir Richard Cox's Hibernia Anglicana, No. XIII. The Propositions were seventeen in number; the design of them will clearly appear from the last four of them, which, with the replies of the Protestant agents, may be inserted here.

PROPOSITION XIV.—*That, insomuch as the long continuance of the Chief Governor or Governors of Ireland, in that place of*

so great eminency and power, hath been a principal occasion that much tyranny and oppression hath been used and exercised upon the Subjects of that Kingdom. That your Majesty will be pleased to continue such Governors hereafter but for three years; and that none once employed therein be appointed for the same again, until the expiration of six years next after the end of the first three years; and that an Act pass to disannul such Governor or Governors, during their Government, directly or indirectly, in use, trust, or otherwise, to make any manner of purchase or acquisition of any manors, lands, tenements, or hereditaments within that Kingdom, other than from your Majesty's own heirs and successors.

ANSWER OF THE PROTESTANT AGENTS.—We humbly conceive, that this Proposition tendeth to lay A FALSE AND SCANDALOUS ASPERSION on your Majesty's Government over Ireland, and that it toucheth very high upon your Majesty's *wisdom, justice*, and *power;* and, under colour of supposed corruptions, pretended to be in the greatest officer that commandeth under your Majesty there, IF HE CONTINUE SO LONG IN HIS GOVERNMENT AS MAY WELL ENABLE HIM TO FIND OUT AND DISCOVER THE TRUE STATE OF THE KINGDOM, AND THE DANGEROUS DISPOSITION AND DESIGNS OF THE POPISH PARTY THERE; to prevent him therein, and to turn him out from doing service, *before, or as soon as he is thoroughly informed and experienced how to do the same*, and then to HOLD HIM EXCLUDED SO LONG, that in all likelihood he shall not live to come to that place a second time *(quærunt peregrinum,)* which we humbly conceive will be a great discouragement to any person of honour and fortune, to serve your Majesty in that high trust. And, for their purchasing lands in Ireland, your Majesty may be pleased to leave them to the laws, and punish them severely if they commit any offence, or exercise any oppressions under colour of purchasing of any lands or estates whatsoever.

PROPOSITION XV.—*That an Act may be passed in the next Parliament, for the raising and settling of trained bands within the several Counties of that Kingdom, as well to prevent foreign invasion as to render them the more serviceable and ready for your Majesty's service, as cause shall require.*

ANSWER OF THE PROTESTANT AGENTS.—The having trained bands in Ireland, *for the present*, cannot (under favour) be for your Majesty's service, or the safety of that kingdom, for that THE PROTESTANTS, BY THE SAD EFFECTS OF THE LATE REBELLION, ARE SO MUCH DESTROYED, that the said bands must consist in effect altogether of the Confederates, Catholics;

and to continue them in arms, stored with ammunition, and made ready for service by mustering and often training, will prove, under colour of advancing your Majesty's service against foreign invasions, a mere guard and power of the Irish Confederates, and, by force of arms, ACCORNING TO THEIR LATE OATHS AND PROTESTATIONS, TO EXECUTE ALL THEIR CRUEL DESIGNS FOR THE EXTIRPATION OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION AND ENGLISH GOVERNMENT, BOTH OF WHICH THEY MORTALLY HATE, HOWEVER IN CUNNING THEY DISSEMBLE IT, and to prevent the settling an army of good Protestants, without which your Majesty's good subjects cannot live securely there.

PROPOSITION XVI.—*That an Act of Oblivion be passed in the next free Parliament, to extend to all your Majesty's said Catholic Subjects, and their adherents, for* ALL MANNER OF OFFENCES, CAPITAL, CRIMINAL, AND PERSONAL, *and the said Act to extend to all goods and chattels, customs, mesne profits, prizes, arrears of rent taken, received, or incurred since these troubles.*

ANSWER OF THE PROTESTANT AGENTS.—We humbly pray, that the laws in force be taken into consideration, and do humbly conceive, that your Majesty in honour and justice may forbear to discharge or release any actions, suits, debts, or interests, whereby your Majesty's Protestant subjects, WHO HAVE COMMITTED NO OFFENCE AGAINST YOUR MAJESTY OR YOUR LAWS, shall be barred or deprived of any of their legal or just demands, which, by any of your Majesty's laws and statutes, they may have against the Popish Confederates, who are *the only delinquents*, or any of their party, for, or in respect of any wrongs done unto them, or any of their ancestors or predecessors, in or concerning their lands, goods, or estates, since the contriving or breaking forth of the REBELLION, the said Confederates HAVING, WITHOUT PROVOCATION, SHED SO MUCH INNOCENT BLOOD, AND ACTED SO MANY CRUELTIES AS CANNOT BE PARALLELED IN ANY STORY; and we conceive it to be high presumption in them, upon so weak grounds, to propound an Act of Oblivion in such general terms, some of the Confederates having been contrivers or actors of such cruel murders, and other acts of inhumanity, as CRY TO GOD and your sacred Majesty for JUSTICE; and they having, of your Majesty's revenues, customs, subsidies, and other rights of your crown, are disbursed by them to the value of TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS AND MORE.

PROPOSITION XVII.—*Forasmuch as your Majesty's said Catholic Subjects have been taxed with many inhuman cruelties*

which they never committed, your Majesty's said suppliants, therefore, for their vindication, and to manifest to all the world their desire to have all such heinous offenders punished, and the offenders brought to justice, do desire, IN THE NEXT PARLIAMENT, *all notorious murders, breaches of quarter, and inhuman cruelties committed of either side, may be questioned in the said Parliament, if your Majesty think fit, and such as shall appear to be guilty, to be excepted out of the said Act of Oblivion, and punished according to their deserts.*

ANSWER OF THE PROTESTANT AGENTS.—We conceive *this Proposition is but a flourish,* and, if the Confederates be so desirous to try their innocency as they pretend, *they need not stay for another Parliament in Ireland,* but submit to that which *is now in being,* which is an equal and just Parliament, as in some of our reasons touching that point is expressed; and the offering to draw it to a new Parliament, is, in effect, to desire *that they may be their own judges,* for, as that kingdom is now embroiled and wasted, the chief delinquents or their Confederates will be so prevalent a faction in the next Parliament, that they will be able, and doubtless will, *clear all the Popish party how guilty soever, and condemn all the Protestants how innocent soever.*

This answer being read, the King asked, whether they had answered according to law and justice, or *prudentially* with respect to circumstances? The Agents replied, that they looked upon the Rebels' Propositions as they appeared to them, *destructive to his Majesty, his laws and government, and his Protestant subjects of Ireland.*—Whereupon the Earl of Bristol interposed, and said, that if they asked what in law and justice was due from the Rebels, their answer was full; but that the King expected from them what was *prudentially* fit to be done, seeing the Protestants were not in a condition to defend themselves, and the King would not admit them to join with any Covenanters. The King also asked, what would become of the Protestants if the Irish Agents should break off the treaty, which was to be feared they would do, if their Propositions were not for the most part yielded unto? To which the Agents replied, "*that the Rebels might be brought to better terms if they were held to them, and that they were assured that Lord Muskerry refused to come with limited instructions, but would be at liberty to do as he should see cause;*" whereupon they were ordered to withdraw. *(Hib. Ang.* v. ii. p. 142.)

May 22.—Lord Muskerry and the remaining Commissioners of the Confederates, departed from Oxford on their return to Ireland, upon which the Protestant Agents addressed them-

selves to Secretary Nicholas, to know if his Majesty had further service for them. *(Ibid.)*

May 30.—The Protestant Agents kissed the King's hand, on their departure from Oxford, and were told by his Majesty, that he had written to the Marquis of Ormond concerning the Protestants of Ireland, and that *he would use his best endeavours for them there, as he did for himself here; and said he meant his good Protestant subjects, and not Covenanters or their adherents.*

No. VII.

" *All the doctrines of* POPERY, *all its views, all its artifices* " *are calculated for the sole advantage of the Priests, and the* " *destruction of the People, at the expense of* VIRTUE, GOOD " GOVERNMENT, COMMON SENSE, AND THE GOSPEL."

(Essay on Conspiracy, London. 1644.)

1644.—On dismissing the Popish Agents, the King gave them a pathetic admonition to consider his circumstances and their own, accompanied by some assurances not very consistent with his Majesty's repeated protestations against tolerating Popery, and particularly against repealing the penal laws of Ireland; the precise words of this admonition are preserved by Lord Clarendon, and Dr. Leland observes, that Mr. Carte, who was a zealous advocate of the King, was " *so scandalized at the most obnoxious part of this address, that he thought proper to soften, if not to misrepresent, the expressions recorded by the noble historian.*"—Leland, however, adds, that the King, in this affair, without any special or explicit engagement, left it in his own power, afterwards, to decide, whether such concessions were to be included in the number of their *just* expectations, or *necessary* to complete their happiness. *(See Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, the Earl of Clarendon's History of the Irish Rebellion, Dublin Edition,* p. 21, *and Dr. Leland's History of Ireland,* v. iii. p. 241.*)*

When the Irish Confederates' Agents, returned into Ireland, most of them (*as far as acted in view*) performed their promise and engagements to the King, so that many of the Nobility and Gentry, and most of the persons of considerable fortune, together with the moderate Clergy, *who were easy to be numbered*, were convinced of the necesssity of submitting themselves entirely to his Majesty, till he was able to grant them more, that they might not be glad to accept less. But THE EVIL GENIUS OF THAT PEOPLE, condemned to wilful ruin

and misfortune, soon evidenced how unripe they were for mercy, and that IT WAS NOT SO EASY TO ALLAY THE SPIRITS THEY HAD CONJURED UP AS TO FOMENT AND IRRITATE THEM. The Nobility and men of known fortune, (as in 1815 and 1816,) whom self-interest had by this time taught loyalty, found that THEY HAD LOST THEIR POWER, and that the reverence they had parted with, to the Ecclesiastics, had so much influence on the common people, that, *devoting themselves solely to their Clergy's direction,* THEY OPPOSED ALL CONCLUSIONS WHICH WERE TO BE THE INGREDIENTS OF A HAPPY AND LASTING PEACE. *(Dr. Borlase on the Dismal Effects of the Irish Insurrection,* p. 145.*)*

June 1.—The Earl of Essex and Sir William Waller having joined their forces, hovered about Oxford in hopes of seizing the King's person; his Majesty went to Woodstock to his horse quarters, where he supped and returned to his foot quarters about Wolvercot, among whom he was billetted no better than in his coach all night, and about six o'clock next morning returned to Oxford. *(Sanderson's History of King Charles,* p. 706.*)*

June 3.—This night the King, with divers Lords and Gentlemen, his own troop of horse, and his menial servants, went out of Oxford. His Majesty, knowing that his person was his adversaries' aim, commanded a great body of foot to march towards Abington, to set them on a wrong scent, and the next day drew up his army at Northlye, consisting of three thousand foot, four thousand horse, twelve drakes, and sixty carriages. *(Ibid.)*

June 5.—The Lords of the Committee on Irish affairs at Oxford, to the Protestant Committee of the Parliament of Ireland, requiring them to certify—*Whether the twenty-four propositions of the Protestant Agents of Ireland presented to the King, did agree with their sense of the present condition of that Kingdom;* to which the latter replied, without delay, that *the said propositions were such in substance as* (if way may be found whereby his Majesty might bring to pass the particulars therein conceived) *would conduce to* THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TRUE PROTESTANT RELIGION, THE HONOUR AND ADVANTAGE OF HIS MAJESTY, AND THE FUTURE SECURITY OF HIS HIGHNESS, HIS ROYAL POSTERITY, HIS KINGDOM OF IRELAND, AND HIS PROTESTANT SUBJECTS THEREIN. *(Bor.* p. 144.*)*

June 6.—The King arrived this day at Worcester with his army, but he staid there only a few days, having heard that Waller was marching that way with a Parliamentary army. *(Rapin,* vol. xii. p. 212.*)*

About this time the King's party caused fourteen clothiers to be hanged at Woodhouse, in Wiltshire, and the Parliament ordered eight Irishmen to be executed, who had been made prisoners in some action. *(Ibid*, p. 211.*)*

June 16.—The Queen was this day delivered of a Princess at Exeter, who was baptised by the name of Henrietta Maria. *(Sanderson's Life of King Charles*, p. 725.*)*

In a fortnight or three weeks after this, the Queen, hearing of the Earl of Essex coming towards Exeter, sent to him, on his entering Devonshire, and desired a safe conduct to retire to Bristol. He answered, that if her Majesty would please to go to London, he would have the honour to wait upon her thither, but could not give her a safe conduct to Bristol without the express order of both Houses; whereupon the Queen withdrew into Cornwall. *(Rapin*, vol. xii. p. 210.*)*

June 24.—The Earl of Castlehaven having, by orders from the Supreme Council of Kilkenny, compelled Burke, of Castle Carrow, and the Lord Mayor, at Castlebar, and the Ormsbys, of the County of Roscommon, to submit to the cessation, went to his rendezvous at Granard, a strong post in the County of Longford. Owen Roe O'Neil was at this time with his army at Portlester, to which Lord Castlehaven retreated on the approach of General Monroe and the Scotch army, having left six hundred foot and one hundred horse to guard the bridge of Finea over the river Inny, under the command of one of his Colonels. As there was a castle at the bridge, this officer thought himself pretty secure, and sent out his horse to skirmish with Monroe's army as it approached; but the party he sent out was lost, and the foot thereupon quitted the castle and bridge, and ran to find out their General, who was securely posted amongst the rivers and bogs in Westmeath, where the Scots faced and braved him, but for want of provisions could not stay long enough to do him any great prejudice—nevertheless, they hanged Nugent, of Carlestown, and burned his house. Upon the retreat of the Scots, Lord Castlehaven says, (in his Memoirs,) that he followed them to Dromore, and tells some fine stories to his own credit, but the issue was, that, with much ado, he got home again, Owen Roe having failed of assisting him as he had promised. *(Hibernia Anglicana*, vol. ii. p. 149.*)*

July 2.—The King's army, under Prince Rupert, was defeated at Marston Moor. The Marquis of Newcastle, who had been very unworthily treated on this occasion by the Prince, embarked that very evening for Hamburgh with his two sons, Lord Cavendish, his brother, Sir Charles Cavendish,

Dr. Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, Lord Falconbridge, Lord Withrington, the Earl of Elthyne, Lord Carnwarth, and Sir William Carnaby. The Marquis came no more to England till after the restoration of Charles II. *(Rushworth,* vol. v. p. 637.*)*

The Bishop of Derry retired to Brussels, where he continued about four years, with Sir Henry Vie, the King's Resident, preaching every Lord's day, and administering the Sacrament, and confirming such as desired it. He also assisted the English merchants at Antwerp, in a dispute they had rashly engaged in with some Jesuits, and wrote, for their use, a piece on the occasion, which is now lost. *(Ware's Bishops,* p. 122.*)*

July 15.—The Queen embarked at Pendennes Castle, in Cornwall, and landed at Conquest, in France, where she was received by a Princely train, and conveyed to Paris. *(Sanderson's History,* p. 725.*)*

About this time, the Marquis of Antrim found means to send two thousand five hundred Irish to Scotland, to join the Marquis of Montrose; that so, by giving the Scots employment in their own country, he might divert them from sending recruits into Ireland. *(Hibernia Anglicana,* vol. ii. p. 149.*)*

July 17.—The Lord Inchiquin, having been easily wrought on to agree to the cessation, carried over many of his Munster forces to the King, who, in memory of his service, bestowed on him a Noble Wardship, and would have made him an Earl; but the Presidency of Munster (predisposed of to the Earl of Portland) being his aim, he returns into Ireland, and from Cork, on this day, he and other officers wrote to his Majesty, "that no peace could be concluded with the Irish Rebels, which would not bring unto his Majesty, and the English in general, a far greater prejudice, than the shew of a peace there would bring them an advantage, and thereupon besought him, that he would not so much regard so inconsiderable a handful of people as they were, as to purchase but a seeming security, by leaving thereby the Protestant religion, in all likelihood, to be extirpated, and his Majesty obnoxious to the loss of that kingdom; further beseeching his Majesty, that he would please again to proclaim the Irish to be Rebels, and not to pardon those who had committed so many barbarous crimes as to be as far above description, as they were short of honesty, *professing that they had his Majesty's commission for what they did;* the true sense of which devilish aspersion cast upon his Majesty, with other reasons, made them resolve to die a thousand deaths rather than condescend to any peace; referring them-

selves in other things to their declaration then drawn up." (*Borlase*, p. 146.)

July 18.—Lord Inchiquin, Lord Broghill, Sir William Fenton, Sir Percy Smith, Lieutenant-Colonel Brocket, Lieutenant-Colonel Serle, and Serjeant-Major Muschamp, all of whom had subscribed the foregoing letter to the King, wrote this day to both Houses of Parliament, from Cork, much to the same effect, importuning their agreement with his Majesty, without which the war could not be prosecuted as it ought; offering for the securing of the garrison, whom they pleased; concluding, that they hoped such a wise assembly would distinguish betwixt the wise effects of necessity (the cessation) and dishonesty, including their DECLARATION, which is of too much importance to be omitted or abbreviated in the history of this calamitous period.

The Unanimous Declaration of his Majesty's Protestant Subjects of the Province of Munster.

If in the undertaking of a just design, it were only requisite that the hearts and consciences of the undertakers were satisfied, we should not need to publish this declaration; but lest our enemies should traduce the candour of our actions and intentions, we have made this manifestation of them, which will acquaint the world of their malice and our innocence.

We are confident that all Christendom hath heard of the bloody rebellion in Ireland, and we are as confident THE REBELS AND POPISH CLERGY HAVE SO PALLIATED AND DISGUISED IT, THAT MANY ARE FULLY PERSUADED, THEY HAD REASON FOR WHAT THEY DID. But we believe all men of judgment will change that opinion, when they shall know, that THOUGH THEY WERE A CONQUERED PEOPLE, YET THE LAWS WERE ADMINISTERED UNTO THEM WITH AS MUCH EQUITY AS TO THE ENGLISH; that they enjoyed their religion, though not by toleration, yet by connivance; that their Lords, though Papists, sat in Parliament; and that the election of the Knights of the shire and Burgesses was free, and though of a contrary religion, were admitted into the House of Commons; yet, FOR ALL THESE, and many other past favours and privileges, WHEN EVERY ONE WAS SITTING UNDER HIS VINE AND FIG TREE, WITHOUT ANY PROVOCATION THEY RESOLVED UPON A GENERAL EXTIRPATION, BOTH OF THE PROTESTANTS AND THEIR RELIGION, which, no doubt, they had effected, had not GOD been more merciful than they were wicked, and by a miracle discovered this devilish design; whereof, though we had notice just time enough to secure our main magazine at Dublin, yet

we could not prevent the butchery of multitudes of innocent persons, who suffered at the first in the Province of Ulster; and they have since CONTINUED THIS REBELLION, with such perfidiousness and bloodiness, that though we had been as guilty as we are innocent, yet the prosecuting the war with that barbarousness, had rather been a sin than justice.

No. IX.

"*History bears and requires Authors of all sorts, and we "must look for bare matter in some Writers as well as fine "words in others.*"

(Gibson's Edition of Camden—London, 1695.)

1644, *July* 23.—The King summoned the inhabitants of Somersetshire to Bath, where he made a speech to them, exhorting them to take up arms for him, and furnish him with money. He told them that victory was the only means left to restore peace to the nation—that blessed peace which he had so often sought for from them at Westminster, and which they had so scornfully rejected; but, continued his Majesty, when I mention peace, I would be understood to intend that peace which is built upon such foundations, as are most likely to render it firm and stable; wherein GOD'S TRUE RELIGION MAY BE BEST SECURED FROM THE DANGER OF POPERY, SECTARIES, AND INNOVATIONS; the Crown may possess those just prerogatives which may enable me to protect and govern my people according to law; and the subjects be confirmed in those rights which they have derived from their forefathers, and which I have granted them in Parliament, to which I shall always be ready to add such new graces as I shall find most conducive to their happiness. This is the peace which I labour for, wherein I may justly expect your best assistance with your hearts, and hands, and purses. (*Rapin*, vol. xii. p. 216, *and Rushworth*, vol. v. p. 688.)

Towards the end of July the Marquis of Ormond notified to the General Assembly, being then sitting at Kilkenny, that he had received his Majesty's commission to treat with them on a peace. They appointed twelve Commissioners to treat with him on a continuance of the cessation, and on a peace, for whom they desired a safe conduct; but the Titular Archbishop of Dublin being one of their number, and the Lord Lieutenant being determined to admit none of the Clergy to treat, he desired the Assembly to name another. There being no restriction of that sort in the commission, they justified their

choice, but to remove the difficulty, they were content that the Prelate should stay at home, with three others whom they had named, and asked only for a safe conduct for Lord Muskerry and the other seven, who, except one, were the same men that had been sent to the King at Oxford. *(Warner,* vol. ii. p. 37.*)*

August 2.—Lord Inchiquin having received an expostulation from the Lord Lieutenant, for having revolted to the Parliament, wrote this day to inform him, that on suspicion of another surprisal by the Irish, and out of a care to protect the English, he had cleared Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale of the Irish, and put himself into a posture of safety. *(Borlase,* p. 151.*)*

In this month the citizens of Dublin were numbered, and found to be as follows—

Protestants.....	2565 men 2986 women	5551
Papists.....	1202 men 1406 women	2608
Majority of Protestants in 1644.....		2943

(Harris's History of Dublin.)

The same proportion, held in the year 1733, when it appeared by authentic returns, made by the Collectors of Hearth-money, that the Protestant families were..... 8823
And the Popish families..... 4119
Majority of Protestant families in the city of Dublin, in 1733..... 4704

Such was the progress of the Reformation in the Irish metropolis for two centuries after its introduction there, and it continued to gain ground, in every County of Ireland, notwithstanding all the disadvantages under which it laboured, until the fatal year 1778, when the projects of Edmund Burke and his associates began to operate, and *a system of aggression on the one side, and concession on the other*, rekindled the expiring hopes of an abject and contemptible faction, and laid the foundation of all the succeeding miseries of this ill-fated Island.

August 27.—Colonel Myn, an active Cavalier, who, with the regiment of Englishmen he had brought back from Ireland, had been a perpetual vexation to Massey and the Parliamentary troops in South Wales, was defeated and slain near Eldersfield, to the total ruin of the King's affairs in these parts—many would have made the world believe that Myn's regiment consisted of Irish Rebels, but this was most untrue. *(Sanderson's History of King Charles,* p. 732.*)*

Sept. 1.—The Marquis of Montrose, being reinforced by the

Irish troops, defeats the Covenanters at Tibbermuir, pursued them six miles, killing two thousand of them, and taking as many more prisoners. *(Ibid*, p. 791.*)*

Sept. 6.—The Commissioners appointed by the Confederates, attended the Marquis of Ormond in Dublin, where their Clergy had full power to exert their influence, though the Titular Archbishop of that See (Fleming) had been excluded by the Lord Lieutenant from the number of those with whom he was to treat.

It was agreed, without difficulty, that the cessation should be prolonged; but the controversies about peace proved more perplexing. The Irish were every day more elevated with ideas of their own power, and the hopes of extorting vast concessions from the King. In the course of this treaty, *Ormond discovered* (possibly for the first time) *a secret negotiation between the King and the (Roman) Catholics of Ireland. (Leland*, vol. iii. p. 246.*)*

About this time the Earls of Thomond, Clanrickard, and St. Albans, the Lords Ranelagh, Fitzwilliam, Taafe, and Dillon, who had never receded from his Majesty's commands, wrote to him, that betwixt two parties they were like to be ruined; and therefore implored his Majesty to reconcile the difference betwixt those who were too high, either of the Confederates or Protestants, in their demands, and declare against the Scots, who would make little difference (were it in their power) between them and those whom they now assaulted. *(Borlase*, p. 146.*)*

Sept. 16.—Lord Maguire and Macmahon, two principal conspirators of the massacre of the Protestants of Ireland, had been sent over to the Parliament of England, and imprisoned in the Tower of London; but, on the 18th of the preceding month, they, with a thin steel instrument, sawed asunder a two inch thick oak door in the night time, and with a line let themselves down from the white tower, waded the ditch, and got away. They lodged in Drury-lane, and this night hearing a woman crying oysters in the street, one of them put his head out of the window to call her, and was that instant espied by a servant of Sir John Clotworthy's, who knew him, and immediately gave notice to the Lieutenant of the Tower, who had them apprehended and sent back to their old prison. Mrs. Leviston, a Recusant in the Strand, being accessary to their escape, was suddenly seized, and her house searched by a Committee of three Lords and six Commoners, where they found the French Agent at midnight, no ordinary lodger there. Mrs. Leviston was sent to prison, and a bundle of papers

brought to the Parliament, which discovered much villainy designed in Ireland. *(Trial of Lord Maguire and Macmahon,* p. 732; *Sanderson's History of King Charles,* p. 769; *and Borlase,* p. 98.*)*

October 2.—The Treaty of Peace between the King and the Confederates having several matters of weight and consequence, which necessarily required farther time to be prepared, it was agreed on at the Castle of Dublin this day, that the Treaty should be adjourned to the 4th of November ensuing, the Irish Agents in the interim to have liberty to continue in or come to Dublin, as often as they should think fit; which time they improved, and affairs were so managed, that there were never any other cessation till the peace. *(Borlase,* p. 145.*)*

It cannot be denied, that the levies the Marquis of Antrim sent over to Scotland, under the command of Colonel Kitto, *(Kittagh, or left-handed,)* were the foundation of all those wonderful acts which were performed afterwards by the Marquis of Montrose. They were one thousand five hundred very good men, with very good officers, all so hardy, that neither the ill fare, nor the ill lodging in the Highlands, gave them any discouragement. They gave the first opportunity to the Marquis of Montrose of being at the head of an army that defeated an enemy as oft as they encountered them. After each victory the Highlanders went always home with their booty, and the Irish only staid together with their General. And from this beginning the Marquis grew to that power, that after many battles won by him with much slaughter of the enemy, he marched victoriously to Edinburgh; and he did always acknowledge, that the rise and beginning of his good success was to be imputed to that body of Irish. The King acknowledged their services to the Marquis of Antrim, in several letters of his own hand-writing. Hence the Puritan Parliament enacted, (October 24th, 1644,) that no quarter should be given to any Irishman, or Papist born in Ireland, that should be taken in hostility against the Parliament. *(The Earl of Clarendon's Life by Himself,* vol. ii. p. 246; *Carte's Ormond,* vol. i. p. 478, &c.; *Borlase's Irish Rebellion,* folio, 178; *Hughes' Abridgment;* and *Columbanus ad Hibernos,* No. II. p. 55.*)*

When Montrose, on his march towards Dundee, defeated the Covenanters at Aberdeen, he pursued them with great slaughter into the gates and streets of Dundee. It was a fight of four hours' space, equal, till Montrose's men got the advantage, which soon proved a victory. Could it be other-

wise, when a ragged Irishman, having his leg broke with a great shot, *On my comrades,* (quoth he,) *I am sure now to be mounted a trooper,* and with his skein cut off the skin by which it hung, bidding his comrade to bury it, lest any of the hungry Scots should feed on it. *(Sanderson's History of King Charles,* p. 792.*)*

November 18.—Mac Mahon (the Rebel Chieftain) of Monaghan, was tried at the King's Bench Bar in Westminster Hall, and shortly after executed at Tyburn. Lord Maguire made such a defence for himself, that his final trial was not ended till near the middle of February in the ensuing year. *(Borlase,* p. 99.*)*

In this month one Hartegan, a Popish Priest, who had been sent to France, wrote some letters to the Supreme Council at Kilkenny, of which Sir Richard Cox records the following extracts in his Hibernia Anglicana, (vol. ii. p. 149,) "That my Lord Abbot *(Montague)* said to him in his ear, that he should write to your Lordships *not to trust the English, even the very Catholics, who have more national than religious thoughts.* That the Queen, talking of Ormond, said it was hard to trust, believe, or rely upon any Irishman that is a Protestant, for *every Irishman that goes to church, does it against his conscience, and knows he betrays God.*—(N.B. This is a common opinion among the ignorant Irish Papists in 1819.)—That Clanrickard had something of Essex, his brother-in-law, in him, otherwise should be for the Catholics, which are known to be faithful to the King, whereof no man doubts now. That he (Hartegan) should know all little passages, resolutions, and things that pass daily in Dublin, Ulster, and Cork, and that his Correspondent should write to him the words uttered by Ormond, Clanrickard, and Inchiquin, even when at table, or in conversation. That the Confederates should have succours to prevent their inglorious falling to peace. That Rome and France would dispute who should contribute most to them, so they might see that neither he, (Hartegan,) nor Father Wadding, had slept on their affairs. That Clanrickard was robbing more from the Catholic party than the villainous Scots. That the King was easy, and not to be trusted. That the Confederates were backward in declining the old English. That if they had gallantry they might expect a Temporal Crown in reward. That Castlehaven was more nationally than religiously inclined. Ormond a viper, and an idolater of Majesty. That *the Queen would be cast upon the Irish, whom he advised to play the cunning workmen to take measure of her!*"

No. X.

" *Popery is a conspiracy of artful Ecclesiastics against all the* " *rest of mankind, to rob them of their estates, of their con-* " *sciences and their senses, and make them the dupes and tame* " *vassals of saucy and ambitious pedants.*"

(British Journal, 1723.)

1644, *December* 4.—Priest Hartegan, the Popish agent in France, wrote the following letter to the Supreme Council of the Confederates at Kilkenny:—

" My Lords—By my last letters, I gave you accounts with what cheerfulness OUR GRACIOUS QUEEN received your letters. I represented unto her, since, how expedient it was she made you a fair answer, and should not be sparing of her words when *she is so liberal of her good offices for you here.* She answered me at first she would not dare to do it, without she acquainted first the King, and had his allowance. I replied, she might make a full and proportionable answer to your letter, which sought no condition or any thing at all; but expressed only your *loyalty* and readiness to serve his Majesty. Then she answered me she would make a return within a few days.—Friday last Cardinal Mazarine came to receive and confer with her upon all your demands and affairs, and the articles she would propound; she did not forget your interest and affairs, but was very earnest to press upon his Eminency, that if France really intended to succour the King, it might be done by Ireland, which, when his Eminency heard her say, he promised her, as he told me this day, that France, notwithstanding its infinite other changes, would make an effort, which is as much as to say, strain or bend its forces to succour Ireland. He forthwith wished her to call me, and resolve what might be done; and that he would return to her and receive her orders to be discussed by the Council, and then effected accordingly.

" Yesterday as I visited one of the Prime Ministers of State, he told me, under the secret of not divulging his name, that it was resolved in Council, that arms and ammunition should be sent into England, and money into Ireland, and that of an hundred thousand weight of powder, and six thousand musquets, her Majesty had demanded for the King, she should have the one half, and that of two hundred thousand crowns I sought for your assistance, I should have the one half, so wished me solicit the execution, and get the Lord Nuncius to assist me. I went forthwith to the Lord Nuncius, and induced

him to come along with me to solicit one of the Cardinal's greatest confidants, (because he cannot get audience from his Eminency,) which was done instantly. This day, about noon, I visited our Queen, and had a long talk with her; during which time she acquainted me of the Lord Cardinal's favourable answer above touched, and appointed me to come to-morrow, about one of the o'clock, to resolve what speedy course may be best for succouring Ireland. What resolution shall be taken you shall know by my next; credibly it will be this, that THE KING SHALL REFER THE COMPOSING OF THE AFFAIRS OF IRELAND (GIVING YOU ALL CONTENT) TO OUR QUEEN, AND THE QUEEN REGENT'S ARBITREMENT; and, in the mean time, the Queen Regent shall send you succour of money and arms, that, after the enemies shall be expelled from Ireland, AND ALL THE HOLDS OF THE LAND PUT INTO CATHOLIC HANDS, (and few to Protestants,) then you shall send ten thousand men at least to help the King in England; all which may agree with your intentions and propositions offered to his Majesty last summer.

"The Lady Bamberry has promised me ten thousand pounds sterling to further the work if it goes on, and the Lord Montague and others have made me very large promises to the same effect, the Lord Nuncius offers us all he is worth to be engaged, and we are both to visit shortly one Frenchman, of whom we expect a good sum of ready money. Father Luke Wadding writes, that he hath the Pope's word for a considerable sum—Father Bourke sends you somewhat, all which considered, you should take hearts, and care little for Ormond, Clanrickard, and such unnatural patriots. To-morrow the deceased Queen of Spain's funeral will be royally celebrated in the Metropolitan Church of this Court, where the King and Queen Regent are to assist. I am without news of FATHER PLUNKET.

"But still, my Lords, your faithful servant,

"M. O. HARTEGAN."

"P.S. DOCTOR DWYER returned me from Rome your letter to the Lord Nuncius, which I presented him yesterday, and he received it with cheerfulness." *(Ormond's State Letters.)*

The Queen observed of Priest Hartegan, in a letter to Lord Digby, that "*many things he had written were lies;*" but the reader may judge what an effect his intercepted correspondence must have had on the Protestants of Ireland at this critical period, and what an irreparable injury her Majesty's intrigues with the Romish and French Cardinals must have done to the King's affairs in England. *(See Husband's Collections*, part ii. p. 833.*)*

Dec. 15.—Upon the rumour of the intended treaty of peace, the King was assured that the Parliament would insist upon the continuation of the war in Ireland. This article of Ireland was a tender point, and the King resolved not only not to break the cessation, but to make peace with the Rebels, to which end HE HAD PROMISED THE QUEEN IN FRANCE SOME FAVOURS TO THE (ROMAN) CATHOLICS OF IRELAND. The evil tendency of the Queen's interference in his Majesty's affairs appears in this as well as many other instances—the direct result of which was *the alienation of the affections of the Protestants of Ireland, who saw their interests and security on the point of being sacrificed to a short-sighted and miserable policy.* A great proportion of them were thus driven to join the Parliamentary party, no other alternative being left to them than that of submitting to a Popish ascendancy, or adhering to the Scottish army in Ulster, as Lord Inchiquin and many of the Protestants in Munster had done. *(Sanderson's History of King Charles,* p. 755.*)*

On this day (*December* 15, 1644,) the King wrote to the Marquis of Ormond in the following words :—

" ORMOND—I am sorry to find the sad condition of your particular fortune, for which I cannot find so good and speedy a remedy as the peace of Ireland, and to redress most necessary affairs here—wherefore I COMMAND YOU to dispatch it out of hand, with this addition to my former dispatch. As for Poyning's Act, I refer you to my other letter; and for matter of religion, I do hereby promise them, and command you to see it done, that the penal statutes against Roman Catholics shall not be put in execution, the peace being made, and THEY REMAINING IN THEIR DUE OBEDIENCE: and further, that when the Irish give me that assistance, which they have promised for the suppression of this rebellion, and I shall be restored to my rights, then I WILL CONSENT TO THE REPEAL OF THEM BY A LAW, but all those against appeals to Rome, and Præmunire, *(which were despised and violated with impunity in Ireland in* 1815,*)* must stand."

This letter *(the better to conceal its destructive contents from the abused Protestants of Ireland,)* was written in cypher, and Ormond was commanded to impart the contents of it to none but the Lord Muskerry, Brown, and PLUNKET, the Popish agents, and that with injunction of strict secrecy. *(See Sanderson's History of the Life of King Charles,* p. 755.*)* *Plunket* had probably terrified this unfortunate Monarch into this fatal act, by *threatening* him with the consequences of " *a fire and explosion from the Irish Catholics.*" *(See the Reported*

Debates in a certain August Assembly, on the 26th of April, 1816.)

Dec. 27.—The Queen wrote to the King from Paris, concluding her letter in the following words:—"For myself I think I cannot be in safety without a regiment of guards, seeing the malice which they have against ME AND MY RELIGION, of which I hope you will *have a care of both*, but, in my opinion, religion should be the last thing upon which you should treat. For, if you do agree upon strictness against the Catholics, it would discourage them to serve you; and if afterwards there should be no peace, *you could never expect succours, either from Ireland, or any Catholic Prince, for they would believe you would abandon them after you had served yourself.*"—This letter, with some others, was found in the King's cabinet at the battle of Naseby. The Parliament ordered it to be printed and published. *(Rapin,* vol. xii. p. 259.*)*

About this time the King was unhappily seduced into a vain dependance on secret councils and private agents. Among his most zealous partizans was Edward Somerset, Lord Herbert, eldest son of the Marquis of Worcester; attached to Charles, not only by principle, but personal affection, he had raised a considerable body of forces for his services, at his own and his father's expense. In return for his services the King created him Earl of Glamorgan. His manners were gentle and conciliating, his imagination lively, his temper sanguine, and the opinion he entertained of his own consequence was increased by some enormous instances of royal favour.—Charles, amused with hopes of vast services to be performed by this Lord, had created him Generalissimo of three armies, English, Irish, and foreign, with a power of naming all the inferior officers of this imaginary body. He empowered him to contract with any of his subjects for wardships, customs, or any rights of his prerogatives, entrusted him with blank patents, to be filled at his pleasure, for conferring titles of honour, with a promise of his daughter Elizabeth to the son of this favourite in marriage, with a portion of three hundred thousand pounds.

Glamorgan was a Roman Catholic, and attached to his religion with a remarkable zeal.—He had taken to his second wife, Margaret O'Bryen, sister of the Earl of Thomond, so that he had some possessions, and was allied to some of the most powerful families in Ireland.—On some real or pretended business, he declared his resolution of visiting Ireland about the end of the year 1644. The King recommended him to the Lord Lieutenant, informing him that he had engaged this Lord to further the peace by every possible means, expressing the

utmost confidence in his affection and integrity; yet, at the same time, hinting some suspicion of his judgment. *(Leland's History of Ireland,* vol. iii. p. 256, *from Birch's Inquiry, and Carte's Ormond,* vol. ii. No. xiii.*)*

1645, *Jan.* 6.—The Earl of Glamorgan obtained the following Commission from the King:—

"CHARLES R.

"Whereas, we have had sufficient and ample testimony of your approved wisdom and fidelity, so great is the confidence we repose in you, as that whatsoever you shall perform as warranted under our sign manual, pocket signet, or private mark, or even by word of mouth, without farther ceremony, We do, in the word of a King, and a Christian, promise to make good to all intents and purposes, as effectually as if your authority from us had been under the great seal of England, with this advantage, that We shall esteem ourselves the more obliged to you for your gallantry, in not standing upon such nice terms to do us service, which we shall, God willing, reward. And although you exceed what law can warrant, or any powers of ours reach unto, as not knowing what you have need of, yet it being for our service, We oblige ourself, not only to give you our pardon, but to maintain the same with all our might and power; and, though either by accident, or by any other occasion, you shall deem it necessary to deposit any of our warrants, and so want them at your return, and to supply any thing wherein they shall be found defective, it not being convenient for us at this time to dispute upon them; for of what we have here set down, your may rest confident, if there be faith and truth in men.

"Proceed, therefore, cheerfully, speedily, and boldly; and for your so doing, this shall be your sufficient warrant.

Given at our Court at Oxford, &c. &c.

(Rinuccini's Memoirs, Birch's Inquiry, and Leland's History of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 262.*)*

Jan. 27.—The Queen wrote to the King from Paris, concluding in the following words:—

"I received letters yesterday from the Duke of Lorrain, who sends me word if his service be agreeable to you, he will bring you ten thousand men. Dr. Goffe, whom I have sent into Holland, shall treat with him on his passage upon this business, and I hope very speedily to send good news of this, as also of the money; assure yourself I will be wanting in nothing you shall desire, and that I will hazard my life, that is, to die by famine, rather than not to send to you. Send me

word always by whom you receive my letters; for I write both by the Ambassador of Portugal, and the Resident of France. Above all, *have a care not to abandon those who have served you, as well the Bishops as the poor Catholics.*—Adieu, &c.

" *Paris, Jan.* 27-17, 1644."

(Rapin, vol. xii. p. 264, *and Rushworth,* vol. v. p. 887, &c.*)*

Jan. 30.—The King answered the foregoing letter thus:—" The Treaty (of Uxbridge) begins to-day, I desire thee to be confident that I shall never make a peace by abandoning my friends, nor such a one as will not stand with my honour and safety." *(Ibid.)*

February 2.—The Marquis of Montrose defeated Argyle's forces in their own lands, and killed fifteen hundred of them in the battle and pursuit. *(Rushworth,* vol. vi. p. 228, *Wishart's Life of Montrose,* chap. ix. *and Sanderson's History of King Charles,* p. 795.*)*

The Queen's industry in France had now laboured out a design of some assistance from the Duke of Lorrain, who was at leisure with a rambling army, and money in his purse to do somewhat for any body, and with reputation to himself, he thought not amiss to treat with the Queen of England, at the French Court in Paris, and he with his forces about Colein. Much trouble there was which way to pass to the water side, whether through France or Holland; then, where to land in England, westward or northward. But the Cardinal Mazarine was too wise for either; he went on Richlieu's former road, *to increase, not to amend the English miseries,* &c. &c. The King was abused in the help from Lorrain, though it held on in hope through this year. *(Ibid.)*

No. XI.

" *A grand maxime with them was alwayes to ask something* " *which in reason and honour must be denied, that they might* " *have some colour to refuse all that was in other things granted.*"

(Eikone Basilike, cap. 18.)

1645, *Feb.* 7, 8, *and* 9.—These three days were occupied in Irish affairs by the regal and Parliamentary Commissioners at Uxbridge.

Feb. 16.—The King in great earnest to hasten the peace in Ireland, dispatched the following letter from Oxford to the Lord Lieutenant:—

" Ormond—I cannot but mention the necessity of hasten-

ing the Irish peace. But in case (against all expectation and reason) peace cannot be had, you must not by any means fall into a new rupture with them, but continue the cessation, &c. for a year, for which you shall promise them, if you can have it no cheaper *to join with them against the Scots and Lord Inchiquin*, for I hope by that time that my condition may be such, as the Irish may be glad to accept less, or I BE ABLE TO GRANT MORE."

By those letters the mystery is opened why the King was so violent for a peace with the Irish, but this was tenderly treated by his Majesty's Commissioners, and well they might be willing to shadow these designs, if they were acquainted with the bottom, which few could fathom. *(Sanderson's History of King Charles*, p. 762.*)*

About this time the Rebels had a printing press at Waterford, where one Thomas Bourke, an Irish printer, in the course of the preceding year, published the scandalous remonstrance of the Confederate Papists, at Trim, with his Majesty's arms affixed thereon, which was, with insolence and ostentation, published at Oxford, and this was taken notice of by the Protestant Agents there, that they might leave nothing undone that might justly advance their cause. *(Smith's History of Waterford*, p. 148.*)*

Feb. 19.—The King wrote the following letter from Oxford to the Queen at Paris:—

" DEAR HEART—I cannot send thee any word concerning the issue of our treaty, only the unreasonable stubbornness of the Rebels gives daily less and less hopes of accommodation this way; wherefore, I hope, no rumours shall hinder thee from hastening, all thou mayest, with all possible assistance to me, and particularly that of the Duke of Lorrain's, concerning which I received yesterday good news from Doctor Goff, that the Prince of Orange will furnish shipping for his transportation, and that the rest of his negotiations go on favourably. As for trusting the Rebels, either by going to London, or disbanding my army before a peace, do no ways fear my hazarding so cheaply or foolishly; for I esteem the interest thou hast in me at a far dearer rate, and pretend to have a little more wit.

" I rest eternally thine,

" C. R."

(Rushworth, vol. v. p. 887, *and Rapin*, vol. xii. p. 266.*)*

About this time the Duke of Ormond discovered and defeated a design formed by some partizans of the English Parliament, to seize the city of Dublin, and the towns of Drogheda

and Dundalk; and his credit, his influence, and his attachment to the King, were considered as the only security to the Royal Cause against the power of the (Roman) Catholics, and the subtlety and turbulence of the Covenanters. *(Leland's History of Ireland*, vol. iii. p. 250.*)*

The King's Commissioners at Uxbridge had, upon the matter of the Parliament's Propositions, consented unto many particulars and alterations of great importance, and complained that the others had not abated one tittle of the most severe of their Propositions, nor have offered any prospect towards peace, but by submitting totally to these Propositions which would dissolve the frame of Government, Ecclesiastical and Civil. *(Sanderson's Reign of King Charles*, p. 762.*)*

Concerning Ireland, the Parliament's Commissioners proposed that the King should *null* the cessation made by Royal Authority, and, at the desire of the Lords Justices and Council of that kingdom, for the preservation of the remains of the poor Protestants there from famine and sword. They also required that *the King should put the whole War Militia and Government of Ireland into the hands of the Scots General, by advice of a Joint Committee of both Kingdoms, wherein each to have a negative voice.* To which the King's Commissioners acquainted them with the just grounds of the King's proceedings in that business of Ireland, which they conceived might satisfy all men of his piety and justice therein, and *offered to join in any course for the good of that kingdom. (Ibid*, p. 764.*)*

The House of Commons now resolved to remodel the army, and to get rid of their old General, the Earl of Essex, and to bethink of a new one in quality not more than a Knight, with intention not overlong to trust to the Lords at all. *(Ibid*, p. 770.*)*

When the Treaty of Uxbridge was broken off, the Irish Confederates were told that their very existence depended on their speedy and effectual support of the Royal Cause, as it appeared to be the determined purpose of the Parliament to invest the Scots with the entire dominion and property of Ireland. Such popular topics were the more urgently enforced, as the King now deemed it more necessary to obtain some foreign succours, than in any former period of the civil war. The new projected model of the Parliamentarian army threatened some momentous consequences. As Charles expressed it to his Queen, "*there was little or no appearance but that the approaching summer would be the hottest for war of any that had yet been.*" *(Carte's Ormond*, vol. iii. Appendix, No. 345; *Rushworth's Col-*

lections; The King's Cabinet Opened; Leland, vol. iii. p. 248 and 249.)

Feb. 27.—The King sent directions to the Marquis of Ormond to conclude the desired peace with the Irish, giving him leave to get the approbation of the Council, so as, and no otherwise, that by seeking it he should not hazard the peace, or so much as an affront, by their foolish refusing to concur with him, promising, upon the word of a King, if God should prosper him, that so far from receiving any prejudice by doing this so necessary work, though alone, that his Majesty would account it as one of the chiefest of the Lord Lieutenant's great services to him, and that he should be accordingly thought on. *(Warner,* vol. ii. p. 64.)

Ormond, (said the King in his instructions on this occasion,) you are to make the best bargain you can, and not to discover your enlargement of power till you needs must; and, though I leave the managing of this great and necessary work entirely to you, yet I cannot but tell you, that if the suspension of Poyning's Act, for such bills as shall be agreed on there, and THE PRESENT TAKING OFF THE PENAL LAWS against the Papists will do it, I shall not think it a hard bargain, so that freely and vigorously they engage themselves in my assistance against my Rebels of England and Scotland, for which no conditions can be too hard, not being against conscience or honour. *(Carte's Ormond,* vol. ii. No. xviii.)

Whatever plausible reasons might be urged to reconcile this repeal of the Penal Statutes to the conscience of the King, or his sentiments of honour, Ormond well knew the dangerous effects of such a measure, and particularly in a country where a vast majority of the inhabitants were Popish. He was sincerely attached to the Protestant religion; *the temper, the passions, the prejudices of the Protestant party, and their* HORROR OF THE LEAST CONCESSION IN FAVOUR OF POPERY; the odium, and the danger in which he must be involved, by treating upon terms which the King could not avow; and he probably foresaw that THE IRISH PAPISTS WOULD BE ENCOURAGED BY SUCH IMPORTANT CONCESSIONS TO RISE IN THEIR DEMANDS. No wonder, therefore, that on the first discovery of the King's disposition to recede from those terms, which he had hitherto professed to hold most sacred, the Marquis grew impatient of his present situation. He petitioned to be removed from the Government, professing to apprehend, that the Confederates expected more from a countryman and a kinsman in this station, than could be with propriety granted, and that he must shortly be obliged to abandon it by want, or

be reduced to a dishonourable subjection to the insolence of the Papists, or the Covenanters. *(See Carte's Ormond*, vol. i. p. 520, *and Leland's History of Ireland*, vol. iii. p. 250.*)*

March 5.—The King wrote the following letter to the Queen from Oxford :—

Dear Heart,

Now is come to pass what I foresaw, the fruitless end (as to present peace) of this Treaty, but I am still confident I shall find good effects of it; for, besides that my Commissioners have offered, to say no more, full measured reason, and the Rebels have stucken rigidly to their demands, which, I dare say, had been too much, though they had taken me prisoner, so that assuredly the breach would light foully on them. We have likewise, at this time, discovered, and shall make it evidently appear to the world, that the English Rebels, (whether basely or ignorantly will be no very great difference,) have, as much as in them lies, transmitted the command of Ireland from the Crown of England to the Scots, which, besides the reflection it will have upon these Rebels, will clearly shew, that Reformation of the Church is not the chief, much less the only end of the Scottish Rebellion.

But it being presumption, and no piety, so to trust to a good cause, as not to use all lawful means to maintain it; I have thought of one means more to furnish thee with, for my assistance, than hitherto thou hast had; it is, that I give thee power in my name *(to whom thou thinkest most fit)* that I will take away all the Penal Laws against the Roman Catholics in England, as soon as God shall make me able to do it, so as, by their means, or in their favours, I may have so powerful assistance as may deserve so great a favour, and enable me to do it. But, if thou ask what I call that assistance, I answer, that when thou knowest what may be done for it, it may be easily seen, if it deserve to be so esteemed. I need not tell thee what secresy the business requireth, yet this I will say, that THIS IS THE GREATEST POINT OF CONFIDENCE I CAN EXPRESS TO THEE, for it is no thanks to me to trust thee in any thing else but in this, which is the only thing of difference in opinion betwixt us. And yet I know thou wilt make a good bargain for me, even in this, *I trusting thee though it concerns* RELIGION—*as if thou wert a* PROTESTANT, &c. &c. *(See Rapin*, vol. xii. p. 266.*)*

If this deluded Princess had been educated in the sound principles of the Protestant faith, her Royal Consort might have securely and safely relied on her fidelity; but loving

Popery better than her duty to her God, her King, or her husband, she abandoned herself to the direction of those artful and intriguing Ecclesiastics, whose pernicious counsels alienated the affections of multitudes of his most valuable subjects, brought this unfortunate Monarch to the scaffold, and finally excluded his posterity from the British Throne.

No. XII.

" *State Papers are the very chart and compass of History.*
" *We sail by their direction with certainty as well as safety;*
" *and when those lights fail us, we are forced in a great degree*
" *to grope and guess our way, and content ourselves with proba-*
" *bility only.*

(Ralph.)

1645.—To reconcile the Marquis of Ormond to the burthen of a station from which he could not be removed, the King loaded him with such graces as in his circumstances he could bestow. He enlarged his powers, and to encourage him to proceed with more alacrity in the delicate and dangerous transactions entrusted to his conduct, a general pardon of all offences passed the great seal, to the Chief Governor, Privy Councillors, and others employed in any part of the King's service. The Marquis also received a Commission, which he had formerly solicited, for accepting the submissions of such Irish Confederates as were inclined to peace upon terms offered by the King, and for restoring them to their estates and blood. To prevent the clamours of the zealous Protestants, and allay their apprehensions on this indulgence to the Rebels, and on a more dangerous one, which, by vacating an order made under the administration of Parsons, admitted Popish Recusants into Parliament, a bill was transmitted from England for remitting to the Protestants of this country, as well clergy as laity, all rents, compositions, services, twentieth parts, and first-fruits, due to the King at Michaelmas, 1641, or at any time afterwards, or to be due at Easter, 1645. *(See Leland's History of Ireland,* vol. iii. page 251.*)*

March 12.—The King wishing to conclude a peace with the Irish without the intervention of the Lord Lieutenant, sent the following Commission to the Earl of Glamorgan :—

" CHARLES R.

" Charles, by the Grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. to our trusty

and right well-beloved cousin, Edward, Earl of Glamorgan, greeting,

" We, reposing great and especial confidence in your approved wisdom and fidelity, do by these (as firmly as under our great seal to all intents and purposes,) authorize and give you power to treat and conclude with the confederate Roman Catholics, in our kingdom of Ireland, if upon necessity any be to be condescended unto, wherein our Lieutenant cannot so well be seen in, and not fit for us at the present publicly to own: Therefore, we charge you to proceed according to this warrant, with all possible secresy: and for whatsoever you shall engage yourself upon such valuable considerations as you in your judgment shall deem fit, we promise upon the word of a King and a Christian, to ratify and perform the same that shall be granted by you, and under your hand and seal, the said confederate Catholics having by their supplies testified their zeal to our service.

" And this shall be in each particular to you a sufficient warrant.

" Given at our Court, at Oxford, under our signet and royal signature, the 12th day of March, in the twentieth year of our reign, 1544." *(Rushworth's Collections*, vol. vi. p. 239.)

The date of this warrant is remarkable, for it was at a time when the King's affairs did not seem to require, absolutely, his making use of the Irish (Roman) Catholics. In the foregoing campaign he had gained a signal advantage over the Earl of Essex, with all the Western Counties. He had fought a battle at Newbury, which had not procured his enemies any real advantage, and on the contrary, he had shewn in the business of Dennington, that he believed he had no reason to fear them. It was just after the Treaty of Uxbridge, where he did not think himself under a necessity of making any concessions. *(Ralph*, vol. xii. p. 314.)

By virtue of this Commission Glamorgan entered on a private treaty with the confederates, with a vain impatience to be distinguished as a leader of 10,000 Irish forces, and the person who was to restore the King to his independence, power, and splendour.—Abbate Scarampi, the Pope's agent, remonstrated against the scheme of making peace publicly with the Marquis, and privately with the Earl, and of separating the religious from the civil articles; yet within one month after his arrival the treaty was concluded. *(Leland*, vol. iii. p. 264.)

About this time the Queen resolved to solicit the Pope for his assistance, and when she heard of the Nuncio Rinuccini's appointment to go to Ireland, she sent Sir Kenelm Digby to

Rome, to that end, where he continued several months in his solicitations, and at last procured a subsidy from his Holiness. In the mean time the Queen endeavoured to make a peace with the Irish, through the guarantee or mediation of the Queen Regent of France; and Lord Jermyn, the King's Minister, with her, said in a letter to Lord Digby, which was intercepted, that the only thing he feared in such a treaty was, "that the King's party in Ireland might possibly not acquiesce in such a peace as would be fit for the King to make, and then he would have the scandal of it, for it would be a scandalous one, that is unavoidable, without the benefit of an assistance from Ireland." But this proposal of a treaty between the two Queens and the confederate (Roman) Catholics, came to nothing. *(Warner's History,* vol. iii. p. 55.*)*

It being now reported that Oxford would soon be besieged, and that the King would speedily quit that place, Archbishop Usher was advised by his friends not to run the hazard of remaining there, he therefore returned to his son-in-law, Sir Timothy Tyrrel, to Caerdiffe, in Wales. Here he staid almost a year free from the dangers of war, this being a strong garrison, and well manned, which invited many persons of good quality to come thither for safety, so that the Lord Primate had a good opportunity to pursue his studies, having brought many chests of books with him, and he now made a great progress in the first part of his Annals. *(Parr's Life of Primate Usher,* p. 58.*)*

In this month (March) the Assembly at Oxford not fadging together, their faction so increased, that the King, wearied (as he said) with their impertinences, were dissolved. The King observed on this occasion, that, being then freed, as well from the base and mutinous motions of his mongrel Parliament there, as of the chief causes, Wilmot, Piercie, and Sussex, whom he sent away to the Queen in France to be rid of them, complaining at the same time that "he feared their repair thither would rather prove a change than an end of their villainies. *(Sanderson's History of King Charles,* p. 768.*)*

March 16.—The Fort of Duncannon, which had been betrayed by Lord Esmond to the Parliament, having been blockaded on the land side since the beginning of January by the army of the Confederates under the command of General Preston, surrendered on this day; and Esmond the Governor died in a few days after, worn out with age and vexation. *(See Leland,* vol. iii. p. 252.*)*

At this time Lord Inchiquin being neglected by the English Parliament, was closely pressed by the army of Lord Castle-

haven, which consisted of 1000 horse and 5000 foot. In the course of the winter, Castlehaven had the triumph of seizing, at Rostellan, Henry O'Bryen, who had betrayed Wareham to the English Parliament, and sent him as a present to the King, to be punished for his disloyalty, as his Majesty should think fit. Inchiquin, in the mean time, was obliged to shut himself up in Cork, while Castlehaven was wasting the country, even to the walls of that city. When the Confederate army had at length invested Youghall, Lord Broghill arrived with some supplies from the English Parliament, which obliged Castlehaven to raise the siege, and to retire to Kilkenny. *(Ibid.)*

April 5.—Lord Castlehaven marched from Clonmel to Cappoquin, which he took, as also Drumanna and Knockmore. In the mean time Lord Inchiquin, though he was not able to draw out more than a thousand horse and fifteen hundred foot into the field, ventured with the foot to besiege Ballymartyr, and to put Imokelly and Barrymore under contributions, whilst Lord Broghill, with the horse, posted near Castle Lions, and covered his camp from the enemy. *(Hibernia Anglicana,* vol. ii. p. 157.*)*

April 10.—On this day the treaty between Ormond and the Irish Confederates, was, by appointment, to be renewed. The Confederates wished to gain time for receiving intelligence from their foreign agents, and weakly conceived, that by delaying their decisions until the King should be plunged into new and greater difficulties, they might extort more advantageous terms. They proposed that the conferences should be still farther postponed. The Chief Governor insisted that they should be resumed on the day appointed. The Irish Agents attended him, but not in such numbers as their powers required. *(Leland, and Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond,* vol. i. p. 540.*)*

April 17.—A week being now gained by the Agents of the Confederates, they declared, that as their General Assembly was to meet on the 15th of May, they could conclude nothing without their approbation; that they were confined merely to deliver their propositions, and to debate the matter of them, desiring the best answers that could be afforded, and promising, if possible, to prevail upon their party to accept of them. *(Ibid.)*

April 24.—On this day Lieutenant-General Cromwell having routed the King's and Queen's regiments of horse, under the command of the Earl of Northampton, at Islip-bridge, near Oxford, pursued them to Blackington-house, where

Colonel Windebank (son of the Secretary) kept a garrison for the King, and by treaty had the house and garrison rendered up to him upon articles, with all the powder, ammunition, and arms, and seventy-two horse. This was the first success of the new model, and the sudden surrender startled those at Oxford so, that the Colonel was called to a Council of War, and condemned to be shot to death, which he took with patience and courage, clearly excusing himself not to be able to hold out against so great a power, and being, besides, overswayed by the puling tears of some ladies, got thither on a visit to his fair bed-fellow bride. The King graciously provided for his widow, and blamed Prince Rupert's malicious instigating with devised reasons, to hasten the execution, thus presently repented. *(Sanderson's History of King Charles,* p. 802.*)*

April 25.—The Lord Lieutenant wrote to Lord Muskerry, and the rest of the Supreme Council, for the restitution of the Castle of Knockmore, taken on the 5th of this month by Lord Castlehaven, from the owner, Sir Richard Osborne, who had all along obeyed the cessation, and did not join with Inchiquin. *(Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 157.*)*

April 30.—On this day the King wrote a letter to Rinuncini, an Italian Prelate, and the Pope's Nuncio in Ireland, which was to be delivered by Lord Glamorgan, as a credential for what the Earl should negotiate with him. There is a copy of this letter in the Memoirs of Rinuncini, transcribed from the original, which the writer saith was then extant, and sealed with the King's privy seal in red wax. It concluded thus :—

" This is the first letter which we have ever wrote immediately to any Minister of State of the Pope, hoping that it will not be the last; but that after the said Earl (Glamorgan) and you have concerted your measures, we shall openly show ourself, as we have assured him.

" Given at our Court at Oxford, April 30, 1645.

" Your Friend.

" CHARLES R."

(Warner's History of the Rebellion and Civil War in Ireland, vol. ii. p. 53.*)*

Warner makes no other reflections upon this letter, than that it adds a credit and authenticity to the Commissions, however extraordinary, that were produced by Lord Glamorgan, and which Carte and other writers after him have pronounced to be forgeries.

No. XIII.

" *Was not religion the stalking horse, and* HATRED TO ENG-
" LAND *the real lever of the Nuncio Rinuccini in* 1645 *?*"
(Columbanus ad Hibernos, No. II. page 38.)

1645, *May* 4.—The Marquis of Montrose defeated the Covenanters, at Aldern, with great slaughter.

May 10.—The battle of Castle Lions, in the County of Cork, was fought. The General of the Confederate army having received a repulse at Lissmore, marched to Mitchelstown, which he burned, and then Lieutenant-General Purcell, with the Irish horse, advanced beyond Fermoy, towards Castle Lions, and it happened luckily that Lord Broghill, who went the night before to suppress a mutiny at Youghall, returned that morning before the fight. It will be easily believed that he was amazed to find the Lieutenant-Colonels, Ridgway and Bannister, whom he knew to be sober men, so drunk, that they were not able to give a pertinent answer to any question he asked them: nevertheless, it so happened to them by the knavery of an Irish sutler, who purposely brought to the camp a cask of drink, made of RILEA, which has that intoxicating quality. However, the Lord Broghill, as his fashion was, encouraged his men, and assured them that by the help of GOD he would beat the Rebels.

May 15.—The general assembly of the Popish Confederates assembled at Kilkenny. This assembly, however apparently united in one common cause, was composed of discordant parties influenced by various motives, and agitated by different passions. The Irish of Ulster were still conscious of their enormities, and impatient of being despoiled of their hereditary possessions. They were, of consequence, obstinately determined against any peace which should not fully secure their persons, and utterly subvert the Northern plantations. The clergy, who had the whole commonalty at their devotion, laboured to obstruct all measures of accommodation which might not gratify the utmost extravagance of their wishes. Too ignorant to discern, and too selfish to regard, the real interest of their party, they entertained their imaginations with gay prospects of riches, power, and magnificence, and intoxicated their partizans with declamations on the splendour of religion. *(Leland,* vol. iii. p. 255.*)*

In this month Sir Robert King, Colonel Beale, a citizen of London, and Arthur Annesley, Esq. were appointed Commis-

sioners for Ulster, by the English Parliament. They were to carry with them twenty thousand pounds in money, besides provisions and ammunition; but the dispatch was so slow, that they landed not there till October; besides, some Commissioners should have joined with them from Scotland, who never came upon the place; so that nothing could be orderly done, in that the Scots, by a late treaty, pretended a right in the government of Ireland, which his Majesty, in his papers, took just exception against, they long certainly having it in their design to make themselves masters of the north of Ireland, since they failed of retaining any interest in the government of England. But the troubles increasing in Scotland, through Montrose and Colonel Kittoe joining together, several of the Scotch regiments were drawn from Ulster, so that no more were left than what garrisoned Carrickfergus, Belfast, Coleraine, and some other places near the sea-coast, where they committed the most notorious extortions and oppressions ever laid upon a people. *(Borlase,* p. 151 and 152.*)*

May 22.—Rinuncini, the Pope's Nuncio, arrived at Paris, on his way to Ireland, and remained there intriguing with Cardinal Mazarine for upwards of three months. *(Carte's Life of Ormond,* vol. i. p. 561.*)*

The main end of Rinuncini's mission was to bring Ireland to its old condition, if not of being tributary to the See of Rome, at least of being subject to the Pope in spirituals. Among other instructions stated in his Memoirs, he was directed to assemble the Irish Bishops, and to encourage them to persist in the war until a Roman Catholic should be appointed Lord Lieutenant. He was to divert the Queen, Henrietta Maria from all thoughts of going into Ireland. He was to learn whether Ormond was one of her creatures, and if so, to prevail with her to send him orders for delivering up Dublin and Drogheda to the Irish, if not in an open manner, at least by connivance, and to gain him over to the Catholic faith, and to the interests of the Holy See. *(Ibid, and Columbanus ad Hibernos,* No. II. p. 184.*)*

Ormond believed, and not without reason, that Rinuncini's grand design was to confer the crown of Ireland on a foreign power. So Beling says, *(Philopater Irendus,* lib. i. p. 45,*)* who was acquainted with both—and Carte says, *(Life of Ormond,* vol. i. p. 559,*)* that Henrietta Maria endeavoured to stop Rinuncini, at Paris, on his way to Ireland, and that the Nuncio believed she suspected him of that intention. *(Ibid,* p. 188.*)*

May 29.—On this day Peter Hill, Esq. being examined by

the Commissioners appointed for ascertaining the extent of the sufferings of the Protestants, in the massacre of 1641, made oath, that about the beginning of March, in that fatal year, fourscore men, women, and children, English and Scotch, were sent by direction of Sir Phelim O'Neil, from the County of Armagh to Claneboys, in the County of Down, where they were met by Captain Phelim McArt McBrien, and his company of Rebels, most of his own regiment, who carried and forced all these Protestants to a Lough, called Lough Kernan, in the same County of Down, and forced them upon the ice, both men, women, and children. That finding the ice so frozen that they could not be drowned, they forced them as far as they could on the ice; but not daring to pursue them for fear of breaking the ice under their own feet, they took the sucking children from their parents, and with all their strength threw them as far as they were able towards the place where the ice was weak; whereupon their parents, nurses, and friends, striving to fetch off the children, went so far that they broke the ice, and both they and the children perished together by drowning, save one man that escaped from them wounded, and one woman. *(Mr. Hill's Deposition, quoted in the History of the County of Down, published by the Physico-Historical Society of Dublin,* 1744, p. 107.*)*

About the year 1724, several human bones were taken out of this lake, of which some were locked together, and with them some brogues and shoes, with other pieces of leather. Dr. Borlase erroneously calls this lake Lough Earn. *(Ibid.)*

June 14.—The battle of Naseby was fought. The King's private cabinet was taken on this fatal day, and his private letters were most ungenerously published by the Parliament. Among these they found a letter from the King to the Queen, by which it appeared, that the eminent places of the kingdom were to be disposed of by her Majesty's advice; from this they concluded, that they were to be disposed of by her Popish Counsellors and the Jesuits, who were her chaplains and confessors; but the King replied, in a subsequent declaration, that the places alluded to in this letter were private and menial, such as those of Treasurer of the Household, Captain of the Pensioners, and Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, not one of which was a Papist. *(See Sanderson,* p. 803.*)*

The King's loss at the battle of Naseby was irreparable, for besides, that there were slain above an hundred and fifty officers, and gentlemen of quality, most of his foot were taken prisoners, with all his cannon and baggage, 8050 arms, and other rich booty, among which was also his Majesty's own

cabinet, where were reposited his most secret papers and letters between him and his Queen, which showed how contrary his counsels with her were to those he declared to the kingdom; for in one of them he declared his intention "to make peace with the Irish, and to have 40,000 of them over into England to prosecute the war there." These, and many other papers relating to the public, were printed, with observations, and kept upon record by order of the two Houses of Parliament, who also made a public declaration of them, shewing what the nobility and gentry who followed the King were to expect. *(Life of Oliver Cromwell,* 3d Edition, London, 1731, p. 27.*)*

June 27.—Mr. Daniel O'Neal, Groom of the Bedchamber to the King, received instructions from his Majesty, to acquaint the Marquis of Ormond, that "the King would be glad if he could frame such a body of forces in Ireland as might be worthy of his own coming to command it. *(Borlase,* p. 152.*)*

June 30.—The Earl of Glamorgan arrived in Ireland. He was received by the Marquis of Ormond with the attention due to a nobleman highly favoured and intrusted by the King; and on his departure to Kilkenny was recommended to Lord Muskerry, in a letter from the Marquis, as a person whose authority with the King, and whose innate nobility might be especially relied on, and one whom the Chief Governor would endeavour to serve above all others in every thing which he should undertake for the service of his Majesty, and with whom he would most readily agree for the benefit of the kingdom. *(Birch's Inquiry,* p. 62, and *Leland,* vol. iii. p. 261.*)*

The Irish Confederates had been by this time offended at that stateliness with which Ormond conducted their Treaty. Their zealots considered him as secretly disaffected, and in conjunction with a Presbyterian Council, (as they called them,) determined to defeat the King's hopes of succour, by obstructing the Irish peace. To this they attributed every delay, and when the seizure of the King's cabinet at Naseby, discovered his private instructions to Ormond, to conclude a peace, whatever it might cost, they were enraged, and printed the letter with severe animadversions on the Marquis. In such a temper, they received Glamorgan with particular satisfaction: and taking advantage of the letter written by Ormond to Lord Muskerry, affected to consider it as a formal stipulation on the part of the Chief Governor to concur with the Earl in all his transactions, and to ratify all his engagements. *(Leland,* v. iii. p. 262.*)*

July 25.—The Earl of Glamorgan's secret treaty with the Irish Rebels was signed this day, it consisted of the following articles:—

1. That all the professors of the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland, shall enjoy the free and public use and exercise of their religion.

2. That they shall hold and enjoy all the Churches by them enjoyed within that kingdom, or by them possessed at any time since the 23d of Oct. 1641, and all other Churches in the said kingdom, other than such as are now actually enjoyed by his Majesty's Protestant subjects.

3. That all the Roman Catholics shall be exempted from the jurisdiction of the Protestant Clergy, and that the Roman Catholic Clergy shall not be punished or molested, for the exercise of their jurisdiction over their respective Catholic flocks.

4. That the following Act shall be passed in the next Parliament, to be holden in Ireland.—(Here is inserted the form of an Act for securing all the King's concession to the Roman Catholics.)

5. That the Marquis of Ormond or any others shall not disturb the professors of the Roman Catholic religion in the possession of the articles above specified.

6. The Earl of Glamorgan engages his Majesty's word for the performance of those articles.

7. The public faith of the kingdom shall be engaged unto the said Earl by the Commissioners of the Confederate Catholics, for sending 10,000 men by order of the General Assembly at Kilkenny, armed the one-half with muskets, and the other half with pikes, to serve his Majesty in England, Wales, or Scotland, under the command of the Earl of Glamorgan. Signed the 25th of August, 1645.

Moreover, the Irish Commissioners engaged their word and the faith of the Supreme Council of Kilkenny, that two thirds of the Clergy's revenues should be employed for the space of three years towards the maintenance of the 10,000 men, the other third being reserved for the Clergy's maintenance. *(Rapin's History of England,* vol. xii. p. 317.*)*

This treaty, though made very secretly, was, however, discovered by an extraordinary accident. The Romish Archbishop of Tuam, President of Connaught, going into Ulster about some affairs, met with a body of Irish troops marching to besiege Sligo, and joined with them, whether for security sake or some other design. When they came near Sligo, the garrison made a sally, charged the troops that came to besiege them, utterly routed them, and killed the (Titular) Archbishop. In his pockets it was that authentic copies, attested and signed by several Bishops, were found of the treaty above-mentioned, and of the full powers given to the Earl of Glamorgan, by the

King, which were sent to the Parliament. *(Rushworth's Collections,* vol. vi. p. 230.*)*

About this time the King wrote a letter to Prince Rupert, from Cardiffe, concluding with the following words:—

"As for the Irish, I'll assure you they shall not cheat me: but it is possible they may cozen themselves; for be assured, what I have refused to the English, I will not grant to the Irish Rebels, never trusting to that kind of people, of what nation soever, more than I see by their actions; and I am sending to Ormond such a dispatch, as I am sure will please you, and all honest men; a copy thereof by the next opportunity you shall have. *(Sanderson's History of the Reign of King Charles I.* p. 842.*)*

No. XIV.

"*We have nothing before our eyes in this undertaking but the* "*preservation of the Protestant Religion, the covering of all* "*men from persecution for their consciences, and the securing to* "*the whole nation the free enjoyment of all their laws, rights,* "*and liberties, under a just and legal Government.*"

(The Declaration of the Prince of Orange, at the Hague, Oct. 10, 1688.)

1645, *August* 30.—The Nuncio Rinuccini left Paris on his way to Ireland. *(Carte's Ormond,* vol. i. p. 561.*)*

While this Ecclesiastic remained in Paris, he took the opportunity of a negotiation with the Queen to express his attachment to the King of England, and endeavoured to convince her Majesty, that the business on which he was to proceed, would prove the most effectual means of restoring his power and authority. The Queen, with equal insincerity, declared her satisfaction at his being appointed to go to Ireland, and the hopes she entertained, that by his mediation a firm peace should be established between her royal consort and the Irish, an event equally necessary to the interests of both. She represented the danger to the (Roman) Catholic Confederates, should the King be totally subdued, or forced to an agreement with his adversaries. Hence she inferred the necessity that the Irish should moderate their demand, and *not endeavour to extort the whole at once.* (A plan which, in the maturity of their political experience, they adopted with singular success, about the year 1778.) She mentioned her desire, that the Nuncio should stay at Paris until the treaty should be finished; that by his endeavours with the Pope, he might have the

honour of giving success to an affair so ardently desired by all the powers of Europe, who justly trembled at the ruin of the King of England, and dreaded the conjunction of the English Parliamentarians with the Huguenots and Dutch; a conjunction hateful and formidable to all monarchies.

This intimation was enforced by a memorial which the Nuncio received from the (Roman) Catholics of England. They had heard that Sir Kenelm Digby had been sent by the Queen to apply for subsidies at Rome. "They solicited Rinuccini that these subsidies should be refused, until the Irish should receive their just demands with regard to religion, and the rights and interests of English Catholics be equally secured." They proposed to unite with their brethren in Ireland, so as to form one army for defence of the King, but insisted on a previous concession of their demands, and full security for the performance. *(See Birch's Inquiry, Carte's Ormond,* vol. i. p. 559, and *Leland,* vol. iii. p. 269.)

September.—The (Roman) Catholics having settled every part of their secret treaty to their satisfaction, their Agents returned to Dublin in the beginning of this month, in order to renew their public treaty with the Lord Lieutenant. But his Lordship desired, before he entered upon it, that they would express in writing, with what concessions of his they were satisfied, and (a pertinent question in 1816) ALL THE DEMANDS THEY INTENDED TO MAKE, that time and trouble might be shortened. This request was complied with, and most of their former extravagant propositions were now omitted. They moved for the suspension of Poyning's Act, restoring the planted lands in Wicklow and Kilkenny to the old proprietors, relief to the sufferers through the Ulster Plantation by Parliament, and (like the Vestry-man of St. Bridget's, and the Mock Parliament of Capel Street,) an Act to assert the Independence of Ireland; but when these were refused, they seemed to acquiesce. A general pardon to them and the heirs of such of their party as were dead, was granted, with an exception of the authors and procurers of murder. They were gratified in ascertaining of some few instances of offices and commands to be conferred on such of their party as the King should choose. They fixed the assistance they would give the King at 10,000 foot, and it was agreed to give a commission to persons of their naming to applot money on their quarters for paying and subsisting the men, and settling all disputes in them for any thing under 10*l.* value, till the peace was perfected, provided that nothing was done but under the authority, and with the concurrence of the Lord Lieutenant. No-

thing seemed now to obstruct a peace but the article of religion—the Agents requiring that the (Roman) Catholics might be exempted by Act of Parliament from the Oath of Supremacy, the Book of Common Prayer, and all penalties and incapacities imposed on them in virtue of any Statute since the Reformation. But the Marquis, apprehending that this was intended to qualify Popish Clergy to hold their livings without the Oath of Supremacy, or using the English Liturgy, insisted on the restriction "that this exemption should not extend to the Statutes of Provision and Premunire, nor to any other laws in force, which concerned the jurisdiction or prerogative of the Crown, nor to that Statute of Queen Elizabeth, which related to Ecclesiastics and the Common Prayer." The Agents used all their endeavours to prevail on the Marquis to withdraw his restrictions; and declared they had power to conclude a peace, if their exemption might stand without them; but he would not yield, and after many debates upon it, the Agents left Dublin on the 12th of November, to report their proceedings to the Assembly. *(See Warner,* vol. ii. p. 63.*)*

Sept. 11.—Bristol surrendered to the Parliamentary forces, an event unexpected, and little less fatal to the King's party than the defeat at Naseby. *(Lord Clarendon's History of the Great Rebellion,* vol. iv. p. 690.*)*

Sept. 13.—After a sharp conflict at Philiphaugh with Dav. Lesly's army, the Marquis of Montrose and his forces were routed by the Parliamentary cavalry, and he himself was obliged to fly with his broken forces into the mountains. *(Rushworth,* vol. vii. p. 231.*)*

The Covenanters, though not much addicted to "the profane and unprofitable art of poem-making," could not refrain from some strains of exultation over the defeat of the truculent tyrant, James Graham.—For Montrose, who with resources which seemed as none, gained six victories, and re-conquered a kingdom, who, a poet, a scholar, a cavalier, and a general, could have graced alike a court, and governed a camp; this Montrose was numbered by his covenanted countrymen among "the troubles of Israel, the firebrands of Hell, the Corahs, the Balaams, the Doegs, the Rabshakahs, the Hamans, the Tobiahs, and Sanballats of the time." *(Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border,* vol. ii. p. 24.*)*

Sept. 26.—An honourable person wrote this day from Denbigh, to acquaint the Marquis of Ormond, that the King persisted in his earnest desire to have him in England, for that without flattery they were likely to be in more want of such a General than of an army. *(Borlase,* p. 125.*)*

October 15.—The King's forces were defeated this day at Sherburn, in Yorkshire. Lord Digby's coach and horses, and cabinet were taken this day, and with them all those letters concerning the Irish affairs, and the Marquis of Ormond, which were bound up with those of the King's taken at Naseby. Most of the letters taken at Sherburn were duplicates of the originals, for Digby was some time Secretary of State. And here were other letters also of a later date, bewailing the King's low and decaying condition since Naseby fight, and evermore advising Ormond to make peace or cessation with the Irish Rebels, and requiring him to come in person speedily over to the King, with all the ammunition and forces he could command, leaving the rest and the Rebels to dispute the quarrel together. *(Sanderson's History of King Charles,* p. 836.*)*

October 22.—The Pope's Nuncio, Rinuncini, arrived at Kenmare River, in a frigate of twenty-one pieces, with twenty-six Italians of his retinue, besides divers regular and secular Priests. Amongst other accounts of these times, there is a list given in of some arms, ammunition, and Spanish gold; but we have not yet heard of the blessing they produced. *(Borlase,* p. 153.*)*

The King was at this time so much distressed by the ill run of his affairs in England, that though he had all along protested to the Parliament against granting any toleration of Popery in Ireland, as inconsistent with his honour and conscience, and but three months before had assured the Marquis of Ormond, "that he would rather leave it to the chance of war, than to give his consent to any such allowance of Popery, as must evidently bring destruction to that profession, which, by the Grace of God, he should ever maintain through all extremities," yet all this was now laid aside; and on the 22d of October he wrote Lord Ormond the following letter:—

"Ormond,

"I find by your's to Digby, that you are somewhat cautious not to conclude the peace without at least the concurrence of the Council there; which, if you could procure, I confess it would be so much the better. But the Irish peace is of such absolute necessity, that no compliments or particular respects whatsoever must hinder it. Wherefore, I absolutely command you, without reply, to execute the directions I sent you the 27th of February last, giving you leave to get the approbation of the Council, so as, and no otherwise, that by seeking it, you do not hazard the peace, or so much as an affront, by their foolish refusing to concur with you; promising upon the word

of a King, if GOD prosper me, you shall be so far from receiving any prejudice by doing this so necessary work, though alone, that I will account it as one of the chiefest of your great services to me, and accordingly you shall be thought on,

" By your, &c.

" CHARLES R."

The directions in February, to which the King refers in this letter, were, to consent to the suspension of Poyning's Act for such Bills as might be agreed on, and the repeal of the Penal Statutes against the Papists, by a law, which, in a former letter, he had said he could not, either with his own honour, or the safety of his Protestant subjects, consent to. The Marquis, on receipt of this letter, in conjunction with the Council, sent Dan O'Neil to Kilkenny, with the answer to a paper the agents had delivered at parting, for an explanation of some general answers to their articles; and with a proposal, that if the Assembly did not agree to the restrictions he had insisted upon, above mentioned, the whole article might be left to his Majesty's determination. Thus the Marquis was endeavouring to save the King's honour, if he could, by concluding a peace without a flagrant violation of it; but if that could not be done, he was determined to save his own. In a few days after Lord Digby made his escape from a defeat (at Sherburn) in Yorkshire, and arrived at Dublin, of whose assistance the Marquis was very glad: as he was known to be the Chief Minister and favourite of the King, and he sent a letter to Kilkenny to press for a speedy resolution in answer to the proposal of the Lord Lieutenant.

No. XV.

" *The dread of Popery in the last age was not an unmeaning*
" *antipathy to certain speculative opinions, but a well-grounded*
" *fear of the influence of such opinions on society. It was a*
" *design well becoming any Government, to abridge the power of*
" *a body of men confessedly under a foreign influence.*"

(Henry Boyd's Historical Essay prefixed to the Translation of Dante's Poems.)

1645, *November* 9.—This day Dr. Henry Jones, on his return from England, where he had been sent to solicit relief for the distressed Protestants of Ireland, was consecrated Bishop of Clogher.

He was son of Lewis Jones, the vivacious Bishop of Killaloe,

and brother of Sir Theophilus Jones, and Colonel Michael Jones, the latter of whom was made Governor of Dublin upon the surrender of it by the Marquis of Ormond, in 1647.

Dr. Jones bore so distinguished a part in the transactions of these times, that a brief account of them here may not be foreign to the design of this chronicle.

He was in great danger of losing his life in the beginning of the massacre of 1643, but was preserved by a humane Roman Catholic Gentleman, named Philip Mac Mulmore O'Reilly, who had protected several of the Protestants, and, therefore, ought to be remembered.

On the 29th of October, in that fatal year, one of the O'Reilly's, Sheriff of Cavan, with 3000 men, passing by the Castle of Belanenagh, where Mr. Jones then lived, and which he maintained for six days, summoned the place; which not being tenable, he surrendered, and was, with his family, committed to the charge of the said Philip Mac Mulmore O'Reilly, and a garrison placed in his castle.—He was soon after employed by the Rebels of the County of Cavan to deliver a remonstrance to the Lords Justices, Bishop Bedell having refused that employment. He accepted the charge, not thinking it safe to refuse, and returned after ten days' stay in Dublin, having left his wife and children as hostages among the Rebels. *(See his relation of this matter*, p. 6, &c.*)* He was instrumental in the preservation of Drogheda, by giving timely notice to the Lords Justices of a design formed by the Rebels against it, which obliged the Government to strengthen the garrison. Upon his coming to Dublin, after he had been set at liberty by the Rebels, he was employed by commission from the Government, to take the examinations of all the Protestants who had escaped the fury of the first insurrection, to enquire into their losses, and to examine witnesses towards the conviction of such, who had been engaged in the Rebellion, either by any act of their own, or by corresponding with, or relieving the Rebels. *(See Nelson's Collections*, vol. ii. p. 535, *and Sir James Ware's Works concerning Ireland*, vol. i. p. 159.*)*

November 12.—The Agents of the Roman Catholic Confederates having urged the Marquis of Ormond to withdraw his restrictions, and after many debates upon this subject in vain, left Dublin on this day, to report their proceedings to the General Assembly at Kilkenny.

The Lord Lieutenant had very wisely taken the advice and approbation of the Council in all his proceedings on this treaty; and he had very freely and plainly informed Lord Digby that if it was possible, it would be dangerous to conclude a

peace without or against the advice of Ireland. *(Warner,* vol. ii. p. 63.*)*

On the same day the Nuncio Rinunccini arrived at Kilkenny. *(Carte's Ormond,* vol. i. p. 561.*)*

At this time the negotiation with Ormond seemed hastening to a conclusion. The Court of Rome had deemed his presence necessary in Ireland, to preserve the interests of the (Popish) Church; so that he was repeatedly ordered to proceed on his journey before he set out from Paris. *(See Leland,* vol. iii. p. 271.*)*

The Supreme Council assembled now under the Presidency of Lord Mountgarret.

In his first speech to them, the Pope's Nuncio declared that nothing should ever induce him to swerve from fidelity to the King; and he not only made that declaration *in verbo principis,* on the word of a Prince, which was his usual asseveration, but he solemnly appealed to God when he delivered his credentials, that nothing should induce him to swerve from it—"*Protestor itaque ac Tea Sancte Juro me nihil unquam moliturum contra serenissimi Regis Caroli commoda,*", &c.—See his speech addressed to the President, Lord Mountgarret, and the Supreme Council. *(An Historical Address on the Calamities occasioned by "Foreign Influence," in the Nomination of Bishops to the Irish Sees, by the Rev. C. O'Conor, D.D.* p. 204.—*Motto: Quod Episcopi nos tradideirunt non est ratis sed conjuratio. Printed by J. Seely, Buckingham,* 1810.*)*

It is true that he (the Nuncio) professed the greatest attachment to the Royal Family, and that he *swore,* in the presence of the (Roman) Catholic Council, that he would never directly or indirectly confederate against them. But it is equally true, that he wrote to Cardinal Pampleili, that "in his own opinion, the King's destruction would be of the greatest advantage to the cause he was embarked in—that he most earnestly wished that the English Parliament might conquer him, and make themselves masters of that kingdom—and that Ormond might be bribed, by holding out to his ambition prospects of regal power, to be established on the ruin of the Stuart race!" Those are his own words. His letters are preserved in his Italian Memoirs, fol. 1124, 1147, 1170, and 1210, and they are quoted by Carte, vol. i. p. 574.—*Ibid.—N. B. Mr. O'Conor, the author of this Historical Address, and of "Columbanus ad Hibernos," is himself a Roman Catholic Ecclesiastic, and descended from one of the five distinguished families who governed Ireland before the arrival of the English in the reign of Henry II.*

November 19.—The Nuncio had his first audience of the Supreme Council, when Lord Mountgarret, the President, seated in a chair of state, and wearing his hat according to the ceremonial prescribed by Beling, received his credentials, without moving from his place, which the Nuncio considered as a great failure of respect. *(Carte's Ormond*, vol. i. p. 561.*)*

In his first audience with the Supreme Council, Rinunccini professed the fairest intentions of promoting the interests of religion, and the peace of the kingdom. The Council on their part assured him that all their proceedings should be with his knowledge and concurrence. They explained the several concessions granted by the Lord Lieutenant in civil affairs; and those of a religious nature yielded by the Earl of Glamorgan, a (Roman) Catholic Nobleman, highly trusted, and duly authorized by the King, to satisfy the Confederates in those points which retards the peace. They explained the necessity of observing privacy with respect to these religious concessions, until the King should be enabled and emboldened to avow them. Some concessions also with respect to religion they had endeavoured to obtain from the Marquis of Ormond; and although they had not succeeded to their utmost wishes, yet care had been taken that nothing should be admitted into the public articles inconsistent with the private concessions of the Earl of Glamorgan. In such a situation they observed it was of the utmost importance to determine what might still be requisite for the preservation of their religion, and support of the King, as his necessities were urgent, and the power of the English Parliament formidable, and the cessation speedily to determine. *(Carte's Ormond*, vol. i. p. 561, *and Leland*, vol. iii. p. 271.*)*

Glamorgan also addressed himself to the Nuncio with particular deference. He declared the utmost deference for his character, a firm resolution of acting entirely with his concurrence and by his direction; explained the nature of his commissions to treat with the Irish, together with several other powers he had received from the King, and which demonstrated the extraordinary confidence his Majesty reposed in him. He shewed him a letter from the King, sealed and addressed to Pope Innocent X. as a proof of his attachment to the Holy See; and to the Nuncio himself, he delivered another letter, in which Charles expressed satisfaction at his purpose of going to Ireland; desiring him to unite with the Earl of Glamorgan, and promising to ratify whatever they should jointly resolve, recommending *a punctual observance of secresy*, and assuring him, that although this letter was the first he had written to a

Minister of the Pope, yet he hoped it would not be the last. "When the Earl (said his Majesty) and you have concerted your measures, we shall openly shew ourself as we have assured him, your friend. *(Birch's Inquiry, Rinuccini's Memoirs, and Leland's History of Ireland.)*

The only effects of such condescensions was to make this vain ecclesiastic more confident and assuming. He condemned all that had been done, and observed, that in their boasted articles no mention had been made of a Catholic Lord Lieutenant, no provision for Catholic Bishops and Universities, no stipulation for the continuance of the Supreme Council, or "Government of the Confederates." He observed to Glamorgan, that the King should be no longer deceived by Heretics, that the safety of his crown depended next, under GOD, on the Pope, and the union of all his Catholic subjects with those of other countries; that it was of the utmost moment to his interests to secure the Irish, by granting all their just petitions, and that his Lordship was bound to apply those extensive powers with which he was entrusted to the service of the King and Monarchy, as well as to the establishment of the orthodox faith.—Glamorgan, upon this, was prevailed on to sign an instrument by way of appendage to his former treaty, in which he engaged, that when ten thousand Irish should be sent into England, the King should oblige himself never to employ any but a (Roman) Catholic Lord Lieutenant of Ireland—to allow the (Roman) Catholic Bishops to sit in Parliament, Universities to be erected under their regulation, and that the jurisdiction of the Supreme Council should subsist until all the private articles were ratified. *(Leland,* vol. iii. p. 272.*)*

Very soon after the arrival of the Nuncio in Kilkenny, finding that he could not bring the Supreme Council to agree in his measures against a peace with Ormond, and against a peace with Glamorgan, which he equally resisted, he convened the Bishops to his own house on the 20th of December, 1645, and prevailed on all those who were then in Kilkenny, namely, those of Dublin, Cashel, Waterford, Cork, Clogher, and Clonfert, to sign a protestation against any peace that should be made without his consent. Those conspirators secretly agreed, that the instrument so signed should not be produced, until after the Council had finished their Treaty with Ormond, and then that they should throw off the mask, and oppose that Treaty by all means in their power. Strange influence of foreign dominion!—or rather, strange and impious dominion of foreign influence! All those Bishops had SWORN to abide by the acts

of the Supreme Council, as stated in the Oath of Association, and yet, here they felt no scruple in secretly plotting against that very oath, and BECOMING PERJURERS FOR THE COURT OF ROME ! ! *(Dr. O'Coner's Historical Address,* p. 186.)

No. XVI.

" Time would fail me should I recount all the treasons of " which the Pope and his Agents have been the authors and " fomentors ; and yet these men (who make Rebellion an article " of their faith) have the impudence to speak and write of their " loyalty to temporal Kings and Princes."

(Stopford's Ways and Methods of Rome's Advancement.)

1645. The secret negotiations at Kilkenny were suddenly disconcerted about the time of the arrival of the Nuncio by a particular incident, which has been already noticed, with respect to the Earl of Glamorgan's treaty, and requires the following explanation. While the Irish Confederates were urgent with the Marquis of Ormond to declare the Northern Covenanters Rebels, he was industrious rather to reconcile these forces to the King's Government and service. Neglected as they were by the English Parliament, they expressed their discontents with sufficient warmth ; and not only the old British troops, but even Monroe and his Scots shewed some disposition to unite with the Chief Governor upon moderate and reasonable terms—(the only glimpse or safety for the King and the loyal Protestants in their present desperate situation.) The Parliament alarmed at the consequences of such an union, resolved to send 10,000*l.*, some clothes and provisions, for the service of Ulster ; and that a Committee of their own body should visit this province, examine the state of the soldiery, and hear their complaints. In the mean time Sir Charles Coote, their trusty partizan, whom they had lately commissioned to command in Connaught, was dispatched with a requisition to the British Generals of the North, that they should assist him against the Rebels in his government, and particularly to reduce the town of Sligo, their principal place of strength. After some hesitation, 4000 foot and 500 horse were detached from the Scotch and English forces. They marched without opposition. Sligo was readily surrendered ; and all the adjacent counties exposed to their depredations, to the extreme annoyance both of the Rebels and the loyal inhabitants. In this exigence the Marquis of Ormond commis-

sioned Lord Taafe to suppress those who violated the cessation, or broke into the quarters of the loyalists in Connaught: and with the assistance of the Earl of Clanricarde, and others of the western province, proceeded with success. At the same time the Confederates of Kilkenny, no less alarmed and provoked at the hostilities of the Northerns, directed Sir James Dillon, of Ballymulvey, in the County of Longford, one of their officers, to march with 800 men to the assistance of the Popish Archbishop of Tuam, who was employed in collecting forces for the recovery of Sligo. This military Prelate led the assault, forced his way into the town, and was on the point of expelling the British garrison, when his forces were suddenly alarmed with the intelligence of a strong northern army just approaching. They retired, were vigorously attacked, and routed by Sir Charles Coote. The Titular Archbishop fell in this action: and in ransacking his baggage, the victors found, among other papers of consequence, "a complete and authentic copy of the private treaty which the Earl of Glamorgan had concluded with the Confederates," and in which was contained a distinct recital of his commission, and of his oath to the Confederates.

An acquisition so important was instantly transmitted to the English Parliament. The papers were printed, and industriously spread, to the dishonour of the King, the scandal of his Protestant adherents, and the utmost exultation of his triumphant enemies. Copies were sent to the Lord Lieutenant and Lord Digby, at Dublin, others were in the hands of many Irish subjects. Those of the Popish party, who thus discovered the fulness of the King's concessions, were extravagantly elated, the Protestants astonished and dismayed, and the Ministers terrified at the prospect of a general revolt of this whole party. The effect natural to be expected from this discovery, was nothing less than that all good Protestants, as Lord Digby expressed it, should "conclude that the scandals formerly cast upon his Majesty of inciting the Irish Rebellion were true; and that he designed to introduce Popery, even by ways the most unkingly and perfidious." *(See Leland,* vol. iii. p. 275, 276; *Carte,* vol. i. p. 530, 537; *and Birch's Inquiry,* p. 98.*)*

As soon as the Lord Lieutenant and Council, to which Lord Digby was now joined, had received copies of Glamorgan's Treaty, they judged it necessary to do something to vindicate the King's honour and justice, so deeply wounded by it, and to prevent, as much as possible, any farther prejudice to his affairs, and therefore determined to send for Glamorgan, and

examine him as to the part he had taken in this dangerous transaction. *(See Warner,* vol. ii. p. 68.*)*

December 24.—The Earl of Glamorgan arrived at the Castle of Dublin late at night. Lord Digby had sent for him, to explain a letter he had sent to the Government by one Walsh, in which he said that 3000 men were ready to embark, in order to relieve Chester, about which, Walsh, who was well instructed in every thing else, could give no satisfaction. *(Ibid.)*

December 26.—The Council assembled, Lord Digby came to the Board, and charging the Earl of Glamorgan with a suspicion of high treason, moved that his person might be secured; after this he produced the Treaty, which being read, he declaimed against it with great warmth, assuring them, "that he was confident that the King, to redeem his crown, his life, and the lives of his Queen and children, would not grant to the Confederates the least piece of concession, so destructive to his regality and religion." *(Ibid,* p. 68.*)*

Upon this Glamorgan was committed to prison.

On the next day after his commitment, the Earl of Glamorgan was examined by a Committee of the Council, to whom he owned the whole transaction; that he had consulted with nobody in it but the parties with whom he had made the agreement, and what he did therein was not, as he conceived, obligatory on his Majesty; but two days afterwards he desired, that to his confession might be added the following words—"and yet without any just blemish of my honour, honesty, or conscience!" He sent for the original counterpart of the articles, and the copy of his oath, and delivering them to the Council, he was enlarged from his imprisonment, but still confined to the Castle. To shew that the King was not obliged by his agreement, he produced a defeazance which he had signed, expressing that he did not intend to oblige his Majesty otherwise than he himself should please; but at the same time promising upon his word and honour not to acquaint the King with this defeazance, till he had endeavoured all he could to induce his Majesty to grant what he had stipulated; which endeavour was to discharge his engagement to them. *(Ibid,* p. 59.*)*

December 29.—Dr. Henry Tilson, Bishop of Elphin, wrote to the Lord Taafe, complaining that none of the conditions made with him and his son, Captain Henry Tilson, on their surrender of the Castle of Elphin, had been observed, but that the Titular Bishop Boetius Egan kept his books and some of his goods, and turned out his servant, so that he was damnified

to the value of four hundred pounds; and it appears by another letter of Bishop Tilson's, that when the Romish Bishop was urged with the aforesaid agreements and articles, he replied, that "they were past and out of date." Upon complaint of these matters to the Lord Lieutenant, and that the Irish refused to permit the Clergy of the Diocese of Elphin to levy any of their dues, alleging that the Bishop was ousted by his Majesty's commission, his Excellency did send positive orders to restore the Bishop to the Castle of Elphin, but in vain, for the Lord President wrote back, but that he had used his utmost endeavours with Lord Taafe, but could not prevail, because of some danger he pretended from Sir Charles Coote and the Scots. On the 16th of August preceding, Bishop Tilson and his son, who was Governor of the Castle of Elphin, had, by letter, submitted to Lord Dillon, President of Connaught; and in three days afterwards the Lord President, the head of the army, came thither, accompanied by Lord Taafe, and told the Bishop that Capt. Tilson and his foot company must quit the Castle of Elphin within two hours; and though they offered to take any oath of fidelity to his Majesty's service, and the Bishop offered to stand obliged for what they should promise or swear, yet all would not do; but the Lord President and Lord Taafe having at length condescended to sign some articles for their security, they marched out of the Castle into the village, and the Lord President and his guard lodged in the Castle that night, and afterwards left it under the command of Captain John Brown, who admitted Boetius Egan, the Titular Bishop, into the Castle on the 7th of September, being accompanied by Sir Lucas Dillon, and they made a guard for the Bishop on the knee, from the gate to the church, where the Bishop rung one bell, and one of the six Friars accompanying him, rung another, (perhaps by way of livery or seizin;) they also burned incense, and sprinkled holy water; and the next day, being the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, they said several Masses in the Cathedral Church, and the Bishop preached there, and he was so vain and confident in his present possession, that he sent word to the Protestant inhabitants that if they would continue his tenants he would use them no worse than the former Bishop had done. *(See Hibernia Anglicana,* vol. ii. p. 159, *Ware's Bishops,* p. 635, *and Athen. Oxon.* vol. i. 721.*)*

1646, *Jan.* 7.—The Supreme Council of the Confederated (Roman) Catholics of Ireland sent the following letter to the Pope:—

"Beatissime Pater,

"Quod in ipso limine sui Pontificatus rebus nostris consu-

here voluerit et illustressimum Virum Archiepiscopum Fermanam, Prælatum vestræ sanctitatis domesticum, et assistentem sedis Apostolicæ extraordinarium Nuncium ad nos miserit, gratias quas possumus humillime reddimus; illum si non qua decuit magni scentia, certe insuperabill amore et gaudio recipimus, illum etiam de vestræ sanctitatis in nos nostramque causam, animi effectu, et solicitudine discurrentem avide audivimus, speramusque; nos Apostolica benedictione, quam vobis vestræ sanctitatis nomine impertivit suffultos, et subsidiis ulterioribus, quæ tanto bello necessaria duxerit, paterna sanctitatio cura, tanti etiam tam prudentis viri adhortationibus et consiliis, eo res nostras promovere posse ut ' de stabilata in Hiberniam Catholica Religione Triumphare Posset Innocentius Christissimus,' quam et vestri sanctilati et nobis victoriam a Deo exercituum, humili et confidenti corde implorant demisse benedictionem obsecrantes.

" Vestræ Sanctitatis ad Pedum Ocula.

" *Kilkenniæ,*
7 Jan. 1645-6."

No. XVII.

" *A heaven on earth they hope to gain,*
But we do know full well,
Could they their wish'd-for ends attain,
This kingdom must be hell."
(Mercurius Pragmaticus.)

1646, *January* 30.—The King wrote to the Lord Lieutenant, approving of the prosecution of the Earl of Glamorgan; stating that he had employed this agent knowing his interest with the Roman Catholic Party in Ireland, but binding him under the strictest limitations merely to those particulars concerning which his Majesty had given the Lord Lieutenant private instructions, as also even in those to do nothing without his Excellency's special directions; adding, that though very confident of Glamorgan's affection and obedience, his Majesty had not much regard to that nobleman's abilities, and had, therefore, bound him up by his positive commands from doing any thing but what the Lord Lieutenant should particularly and precisely direct him to, both in the matter and manner of his negotiations.—*(Cox's Appendix*, p. 120.*)*

In a private letter to the Lord Lieutenant, by the same dispatch, with that ordering the Earl of Glamorgan to be diligently and thoroughly prosecuted, the King said, " though he

had too just cause for clearing of his honour, to command as he had done, the prosecuting of this nobleman in a legal way, yet he would have the Marquis suspend the execution of any sentence against him until the King was informed fully of all the proceedings. *(Warner,* p. 1170.*)*

February 3.—The King wrote the following letter to the Earl of Glamorgan :—

" GLAMORGAN,

" I must clearly tell you, both you and I have been abused in this business ; for you have been drawn to consent to conditions mueh beyond your instructions, and your treaty hath been divulged to all the world. If you had advised with my Lord Lieutenant, as you promised me, all this had been helped. But we must look forward. Wherefore, in a word, I have commanded as mueh favour to be shewn to you, as may possibly stand with my service or safety : and if you will trust to my advice, which I have commanded Digby to give you freely, I will bring you so off that you may be still useful to me, and I shall be able to recompense you for your affection ; if not, I cannot tell what to say. But I will not doubt your compliance in this, since it so highly concerns the good of all my crowns, my own particular, and to make me have still means to shew myself,

" Your most assured friend,

" CHARLES.

" *Oxford, February* 3, 1645-6."

(Harleian Collection of Manuscripts, copied by Dr. Ferdinando Warner, and quoted in his History of the Rebellion and Civil War in Ireland, vol. ii. p. 71.*)*

February 8.—The Earl of Glamorgan wrote to the Lord Lieutenant, stating that it was impossible to make the Irish nation do any notable service for the King against the heir, and contrary to the Nuncio's satisfaction. Nevertheless, that Earl was busy in hastening the Irish forces, designed for the relief of Chester, and in order to it, he hired ships, and was frequently at Waterford. *(Hib. Anglicana,* vol. ii. p. 157.*)*

February 14.—Dr. John Maxwell, Archbishop of Tuam, died in Dublin, quite spent with grief for the miseries of the times, and was buried in Christ Church, at the expense of the Marquis of Ormond. He was a man of consummate learning, and before his advancement to the Archiepiscopal See of Tuam, was Bishop of Killala and Achonry, to which Sees he had been translated, from that of Ross, in Scotland, his

native country. While he was Bishop of Killala, he was forced out of his Episcopal Palace by the Rebels, plundered of his goods, afterwards wounded, and in other respects most injuriously treated. Bishop Burnet, in his life of Dr. Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore, gives the following account of Archbishop Maxwell.—"That he was a man of eminent parts, and an excellent preacher; but that by his forwardness, and aspiring, he had been the unhappy instrument of that which brought on all the disorders in Scotland. That when he had been left for dead among the Irish, he was preserved by the Earl of Thomond, who, passing that way, took the care of him to Dublin, and, that then his talent for preaching, which had been too long neglected by him, was better employed, so that he preached very often, and very much to the edification of his hearers. That he was so much affected with an ill piece of news he heard concerning the King's affairs in England, that he was some hours after found dead in his bed. *(Ware's Bishops,* p. 617, *and Burnet's Life of Bedell,* p. 41.*)*

About this time, the King's party being nearly subdued, the victors began to quarrel among themselves.

These contests were between the Presbyterian and Independent parties, the one not enduring any superior, nor the other any equal. The Presbyterians grasped at the whole power, proceeding with equal bitterness against all the new sects, as they had against the Episcopal party; and finding themselves superior in both Houses of Parliament, little doubted of being able to reform the army, and new model it again, which, without doubt, they would have attempted, had not the death of the Earl of Essex about this time prevented them. This party prevailed very much in the city, so that an address was presented to the Parliament from the Mayor and Common Council, wherein, after acknowledging the care of the two houses in the reformation of the church, &c. they desired, that such assemblies as were privately held to introduce new sects, might be suppressed, and that those who were distinguished by the name of Independents, might be removed from all employments, civil and military. A party in the House of Commons became encouragers of such petitioners (Ludlow calls them "betrayers of the cause of the country,") as came to them from the city of London and other places for a speedy peace, and to suppress sectaries. The army, both officers and soldiers, were complained against as "holding erroneous and schismatic doctrines, and for taking upon them to preach and expound the Scripture, not being learned or ordained," and as Oliver Cromwell espoused the Independent party, the Parliament

was particularly jealous of him, and was for taking measures to dismiss him and his chief partizans, from their military posts. Cromwell was no less jealous of them, and being aware of what they designed, resolved to be even with them, and to secure himself, and prevent the designs of the Presbyterians against him, from that time forward, he exerted himself to make a strong party for military power. *(See Ludlow's Memoirs, and the Life of Oliver Cromwell,* p. 37, *Dublin,* 1736.*)*

February 16.—The Parliamentary Commissioners by a letter from Belfast, offered to treat with the Lord Lieutenant—but he foresaw they would not submit to the King's authority, without which he could not incorporate with them as they desired; besides, he was too far advanced in the treaty with the Irish to stop it upon such slender expectations as their overtures could warrant; and, therefore, he was reserved in his answer to this address, and they finding by his coldness to them that he had closed with the Irish, or at least designed it, they broke off this negotiation on the very same day whereon the Irish peace was concluded. *(Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 162.*)*

February 28.—The King wrote the following letter to the Earl of Glamorgan, and sent it to him by Sir John Winter, cousin german to that nobleman, a Roman Catholic, a great confident of the Queen's, and one who had been her Secretary:—

"HERBERT,

"I am confident that this honest trusty bearer will give you good satisfaction, why I have not in every thing done as you desired; the want of confidence in you being so far from being the cause thereof, that I am every day more and more confirmed in the trust that I have of you. For, believe me, it is not in the power of any to make you suffer in my opinion by ill offices. But of this and divers other things, I have given Sir John Winter so full instructions, that I will say no more, but that

"I am,

"You most assured, constant Friend,

"CHARLES R.

"*Oxford, Feb.* 28, 1616."

About this time the Parliament of England having accommodated the Spaniards with 2000 men; they, in lieu thereof, so tempered the Irish (ever devoted to that nation) that the Spaniards having then an agent in Ireland, he took them off from doing any thing effectual in our King's business. *(Borlase's Dismal Effects of the Irish Insurrection,* p. 160.*)*

March 16.—The Commissioners of the Parliament of Scot-

land send propositions of peace to the King, in which they desire, among other things, that all the articles to be settled concerning religion in England may be extended to Ireland according to the covenant. *(Sanderson,* p. 910.*)*

March 21.—Lord Ashley was totally defeated in a battle fought with Sir William Brereton and Colonel Morgan, Governor of Gloucester, near Slow in the Wold, upon the edge of Gloucestershire. Ashley himself was taken prisoner, with 1500 horse and foot, and his baggage, ammunition, and all; and, therefore, he told them that took him, "their work was done, they might go play;" meaning that the King had lost all. *(Sanderson,* p. 885.*)*

March 23.—The King wrote to the Parliament, that he offered to come to his two Houses, upon their assurance of the safety of his person, and to advise with them for the good of, and safety of the kingdom, provided, that all those who had adhered to his Majesty might have liberty to return in peace to their own home, to live in quiet, without the obligation of the national oath or covenant; and sequestration to be taken off from their estates. And that then his Majesty would disband all his forces, dismantle his garrisons, pass an act of oblivion, and free pardon to all, and give ample satisfaction to the kingdom of Scotland.

March 26.—The King's Secretary of State wrote from Oxford, to inform the Irish Government, that for want of supplies from Ireland, the army in the West of England had been disbanded, so that supplies would then do no good. *(Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 162.*)*

Among the propositions sent to the English Parliament, this day, by the Scottish Commissioners, was one for the settling of Church Government according to the Covenant—they returned their humble thanks to the Parliament for removing the Book of Common Prayer and abolishing Episcopacy; but added, that somewhat, or rather the most was wanting, of the greatest consequence, which at this time by their effects their eyes were wide open to see "heresies and sects were so multiplied, and schism prevailed so much, that this church, after so many miseries of a bloody and long lasting war, was now likely to be in a worse case than the former was, from which it had been pretended for a great happiness to be delivered," and they told the Parliament, (what may with the strictest propriety be alleged in 1816,) that "it would be a sin and a shame to England, that all sorts of blasphemies, (even the denial of the Divinity of Christ, and the very existence of the Holy Ghost,) heresies, and sects now multiplied," liberty of conscience being the

whole cry, and that unity and uniformity, so much preached, then slighted, and the commissioners prayed to God, that "the ruin of religion, and the consequences thereof, should not follow."—*Sanderson, p.* 912.

No. XVIII.

"*Under the British Constitution, the predominancy is Protestant. It was so declared at the Revolution—it was so provided in the Acts settling the succession of the Crown—the King's Coronation oath was enjoined to keep it so—the King, as first magistrate of the State, was obliged to take the oath of abjuration, and subscribe the declaration, and every other member of the State, legislative and executive, stands bound by the same obligation.*"—(Sir Hercules Langrishe.)

1646. *January* 17.—The king having heard that the Parliament had published the papers taken at Sligo with the Romish Archbishop of Tuam's baggage, with those taken in Lord Digby's coach at Sherburn, sent them a tarter message than he had hitherto done, observing, that if they had considered what they had done themselves in occasioning the shedding of so much innocent blood, by withdrawing themselves from their duty to him at a time when he had granted so much to his subjects, and in violating the known laws of the kingdom to draw an exorbitant power to themselves over their fellow-subjects, they could not have given such a false character of his Majesty's actions, as they had endeavoured to do by the publication of these papers.—*Sanderson's History of King Charles, p.* 852.

Jan. 20.—About this time, the king being blocked up at Oxford, and the garrison being extremely straitened for provisions, his Majesty commanded a fast and prayers to God, writing thus by his secretary to the Vice Chancellor, and the heads of the University: "That divine service established by law, as it now is in your respective houses; and also that upon Wednesdays and Fridays, to meet four times each day at divine service, and so to continue during these sad times; and a general fast each Friday from food, till five o'clock after the evening service; and this to be done now and hereafter, according to the good example of the primitive christians!

(Signed) "EDWARD NICHOLAS."

Jan. 22.—When the news of Lord Glamorgan's imprisonment reached Kilkenny, where the Supreme Council resided, the (Roman) Catholics were thrown into a prodigious conster-

nation, and some insisted on their taking arms, and besieging Dublin, in order to release him. The friends of the Marquis of Ormond endeavoured to moderate this violence; but they were obliged to consent to the calling a general assembly, and to proceed to an open rupture if they could find means to support a war. The general assembly being met, they wrote to the Marquis to press him to the release of Lord Glamorgan, as absolutely necessary to the relief of Chester, then besieged, for which three thousand men were ready to embark, and nothing wanting but ships, for which the Earl had contracted to transport them, but that neither that expedition, nor the treaty of peace could go on till he was set at liberty. The Lord Lieutenant and Council, therefore, considering the inconvenience to the king's affairs, from Lord Glamorgan's imprisonment, and that his offence arose from an injudicious zeal (if we may not suppose that he had convinced them of having done nothing beyond his instructions, as he constantly insisted) on the 22d of January admitted him to bail, and he repaired immediately to Kilkenny, in order to expedite the relief for Chester, to procure some money of the confederates of the king's army, and to hasten the agents to conclude a peace. *Warner's History*, vol. ii. p. 72.

About this time, a letter of the Earl of Glamorgan to his Countess, acquainting her that his imprisonment did not give him much uneasiness, was, with other papers of considerable consequence, intercepted by the Parliamentary party in the following manner: Whilst Fairfax was in Cornwall, hemming in Lord Hopton, a ship came from Ireland into Padstow, not doubting but to have been well received; whereas the townspeople, with the help of some Parliamentary dragoons, seized and boarded her. The Captain, one Allen, of Waterford, had thrown a packet of letters overboard, which were found floating on the water, and carried to Fairfax, who found, amongst other papers, Glamorgan's letter to his lady, with Lord Digby's narrative of his proceedings against Glamorgan. These letters being shewn and read to the people of that county, who were summoned to appear on the downs by Bodmin, made great impression on them, so that many of them offered to assist in blocking up all passages, to prevent the royal army from breaking through.—*Rushworth's Collection*, vol. vi. p. 104.

25.—The Archbishop of York wrote from Conway to Lord Ashley, stating that he had intelligence from Colonel Butler, that the men and shipping were then ready in Ireland, though retarded by reason of the distraction arising from the arrest of the Earl of Glamorgan, but that the Earl was out upon bail.

"There was no relying," said the Archbishop, "on these Irish forces for this service (the relief of Chester,) though if they come, they shall be carefully transported to such rendezvous as I shall hear is most fitting for the passage of your Lordship's army, and to that end your Lordship shall be punctually informed of their landing and condition.—*Sanderson*, p. 858.

Jan. 29.—The king sent a declaration, by way of message to the Parliament, stating that his Majesty having received information from the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland, that the Earl of Glamorgan had, without his or their directions or privity, there entered into a treaty with some commissioners of the Roman Catholic Party, and also drawn up and agreed unto certain articles with said Commissioners *highly derogatory to his Majesty's honour and royal dignity, and most prejudicial unto the Protestant Religion and Church there in Ireland*, whereupon the said Earl of Glamorgan was arrested upon suspicion of high treason, and imprisoned by the said Lord Lieutenant and Council, at the instance, and by the impeachment of the Lord Digby, who, by reason of his place and former employment in these affairs, knew best how contrary that proceeding of the said Earl had been to his Majesty's intentions and directions, and what great prejudice it might bring to his affairs, if those proceedings of the Earl of Glamorgan should be, any ways, understood to have been done by the directions, liking, or approbation of his Majesty.

His Majesty further stated, that having in his former messages for a personal treaty offered to give contentment to his two Houses, in the business of Ireland, he now thought fitting, the better to shew his clear intentions, and to give satisfaction to his said Houses of Parliament, and the rest of his subjects in all his kingdoms, to send this declaration to his said houses, containing the whole truth of the business, which was, that the Earl of Glamorgan having made offer unto him to raise forces in the kingdom of Ireland, and to conduct them into England for his Majesty's service, had a commission to that purpose, and to that purpose only. That he had no commission at all to treat of any thing else without the privity and directions of the Lord Lieutenant, much less to capitulate any thing concerning religion, or any propriety belonging either to church or laity. That it clearly appeared by the Lord Lieutenant's proceedings with the said Earl, that he had no notice at all of what the said Earl had treated and pretended to have capitulated with the Irish, until, by accident, it came to his knowledge. And his Majesty protested, that until such time as he had advertisement that the person of the said Earl of Glamor-

gan was arrested and restrained, as above said, he never heard, nor had any kind of notice, that the said Earl had entered into any kind of treaty or capitulation with those Irish commissioners, much less that he had concluded or signed those Articles, *so destructive both to Church and State, and so repugnant to his Majesty's public professions and known resolutions.*

And for the further vindication of his honour and integrity in this matter, his Majesty declared that he was so far from considering any thing contained in those papers or writings framed by the said Earl, and those Commissioners with whom he had treated, that he did absolutely disavow him therein, and had given commandment to the Lord Lieutenant and the Council there, to proceed against the said Earl, as one who, either out of falseness, presumption, or folly, had so hazarded the *blemishing of his Majesty's reputation with his good subjects*, and so impertinently framed those articles of his own head, without the consent, privity, or directions of his Majesty, or the Lord Lieutenant, or any of his Majesty's Council there. But true it was, that, for the necessary preservation of his Majesty's Protestant subjects in Ireland, whose case was daily represented to him to be so desperate, his Majesty had given commission to the Lord Lieutenant to treat and conclude such a peace there as might be for the safety of that crown, the preservation of the Protestant Religion, and no way derogatory to his own honour and public professions.

But to the end that his Majesty's real intentions in this business of Ireland might be the more clearly understood, and to give more ample satisfaction to both Houses of Parliament, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland, especially concerning his Majesty's not being concerned in any peace or agreement there; he desired if the two Houses should admit of his Majesty's repair to London for a personal treaty, as was formerly proposed, that speedy notice might be given thereof to his Majesty, and a pass or safe conduct, with a black for a messenger, to be immediately dispatched into Ireland, to prevent any accident that might happen to hinder *his Majesty's resolution of leaving the whole business of Ireland wholly to the two Houses, and to make no peace there but with their consent*, which, in case it shall please God to bless his endeavours in the treaty with success, his Majesty did by this declaration engage himself to do.

This declaration was directed to the Speaker of the House of Peers, and contained some other particulars not relative to Ireland. It did not satisfy the Parliament, and when it was read in the House of Commons, some of the members produced the

letters and papers taken at the defeat of Lord Ashley, already mentioned, and a letter from Lord Glamorgan to the king, from Waterford, a copy of which shall be given under its proper date of February 23, 1645-6.

No. XIX.

We find through this whole scene, that the confederated Roman Catholics of Ireland wrought upon the necessities of the King, their demands, as his straights, ever increasing.—Doctor Borlase.

1646. *March* 28.—Peace was privately signed in Dublin by Lord Muskerry and the Roman Catholic Commissioners, without the consent of the Pope's Nuncio, at which he felt exceedingly hurt as soon as he discovered it.—*See Hib. Ang. II. and Dr. O'Conor's Historical Address*, p. 190.

March 30.—The English Parliament issued an ordinance, "that in case the king should, contrary to the advice of Parliament, already given him, come, or attempt to come, within the lines of communication, the Committee of the Militia of London should have power and authority to raise such a force as they should think fit, to prevent any tumult that might arise on his coming, and to suppress any that should happen, and to apprehend and secure any such as should come with him, to prevent resort with him, and to secure his person from danger. That all persons whatsoever, who had borne arms against the Parliament, are to depart the city by the 6th of April, upon the penalty as followeth, viz. The Lords and Commons taking notice of the great concourse and resort of Papist officers and soldiers of fortune (and such as have been in arms against the Parliament of England) from the enemy's garrisons and quarters unto the city of London and Westminster, and other parts between the lines of communication, that such depart before the 6th of April next, or be declared against as spies, and to be proceeded against according to the rules of war."—*Sanderson's History of King Charles*, p. 886.

April 3.—The Irish pretended now to be very diligent in getting their men together. Ships were prepared, and the Earls of Antrim and Glamorgan were at Waterford to forward the business. The Supreme Council, on this day, wrote to the Lord Lieutenant, that they had 6000 men ready, and desired they might be mustered. But notwithstanding this, it is believed that they never really intended to send any succours to the king, for the Lord Muskerry, the very same day, (viz. the 3d of April) and by their command, signified to the Lord

Lieutenant, the difficulties of their enterprize in England, and desired that they might be employed against the king's enemies in Ireland. On the same day they discharged the ships at Waterford from demurrage, and in a day or two afterwards, without waiting for an answer from the Lord Lieutenant, employed most part of these forces against the English at Bunratty.---*Hib. Ang.* v. ii. p. 162.

On this day the King wrote to the Lord Lieutenant, informing him of his resolution to go from Oxford to the Scottish army at Newark. "If it shall please God, (said his Majesty in this letter) that we come safe thither, we are resolved to use our best endeavour, with their assistance, and with the conjunction of the forces under the Marquis of Montrose, and such of our well-affected subjects of England as shall rise for us, to procure an honourable and speedy peace with those who hitherto refused to give ear to any means tending thereto."---*Sanderson*, p. 898.

On receipt of this letter the Lord Lieutenant communicated the contents of it to Montrose by this summons :

SIR,

This morning I received a dispatch from his Majesty, and commands therein to impart it not only to all his council, but to all his loyal subjects. I am confident you have so good a title to the knowledge thereof, that I have held it my part instantly to dispatch it to you by an express.

I rest your's,

ORMOND.

This letter affords a proof of the difficulty and delay in the communications between the king and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland at this time. His Majesty's letter was written on the 3d of April, and it did not arrive at its destination until the 20th of the ensuing month.

April 7.---On this same day the city and garrison of Exeter, after having endured an hard siege, surrendered to the forces of General Fairfax and Lieutenant-General Cromwell. The governor, Sir John Berkley, marched out of it with two thousand persons. The Princess Henrietta Maria, the king's youngest child, went out thence, and was disposed of by the Parliament at St. James's with the rest of his Majesty's children, till she was conveyed away afterwards by her governess into France.---*Sanderson*, p. 889.

Barnstable town, in Devonshire, was surrendered to the parliamentary forces. In this month, Ruthen Castle, Barnstable, St. Michael's Mount, Dunston Castle, Woodstock Castle, and others, were delivered up to the Parliament, which put the

king upon desperate resolutions for the safety of his person, closely besieged in Oxford.---*Ibid.* p. 889.

But now came strange news of an ecclesiastic Apostate, Doctor Williams, Archbishop of York ; he being quite out of hope, in this low condition of the king, longer to uphold himself in his high place ; and desirous at least to make his peace with the Parliament, betakes himself to his house at Purin, near Conway, in Wales, put a garrison therein, and fortified the same, protesting against the king's party, and dissuading the county from contribution to the king. He writes to Colonel Mitton, (of the Parliament's party) to assist him against the Lord Byron, who understanding of his revolt, had sent a party from Conway to besiege him. Soon after, this Metropolitan became an utter enemy to the King, and, no doubt, his own conscience, changing his canonical habit for a coat of mail, with that bold, open, malapert, petulant impudence, as for the less dishonour of the function I forbear to mention, leaving him, whilst he lived, neglected of the orthodox ministers, and a scorn even to his own abettors.---*Ibid.*

On this day the Marquis of Ormond informed the King, by letter, that the treaty of peace was so far concluded, that matters of religion were submitted to his Majesty, and the King obliged to nothing, unless assisted in proportion and time mentioned in his Majesty's letter of the first of December. He added, that he was as industrious as could be to make that peace effectual to his Majesty, by a speedy publication, and a considerable supply, but finding the promised succours diverted another way, he began to despair of any good from the confederates.---*Hib. Ang.* v. ii. p. 162.

April 8.---The Confederates sent the Lord Lieutenant word, that a fleet was seen at sea, which they were afraid would land men near the Shannon, and therefore they had sent 3000 of the forces designed for England, to reduce Bunratty, so that no more of the Irish army was sent over to England than 300 men under Milo Power, which were designed to be a guard for the Prince of Wales, and went to him to Scilly, together with the Lord Digby, in May, in order to convey the prince into Ireland.---*Ibid.*

In this month the English Parliament voted Philip Viscount Lisle, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for one year, allotting him 40,000l. with what else was requisite for his despatch.---*Borlase*, p. 168.

April 15.---The Earl of Argyle and the Scots Commissioners endeavoured by letter to renew the treaty with the Marquis of Ormond, and though they proposed to have some of their

soldiers admitted into Dublin, and that Ormond should submit to King and Parliament, yet there were mutual passports granted for Commissioners to treat, and the interest of both parties centering in the prosecution of the common enemy, inclined them to moderation, and gave great hopes of success, when the news of the king's surrender to the Scots drew Argyle home from Ireland to his own country, and so the treaty was dissolved.---*Hib. Ang.* v. ii. p. 162.

April 18.---The Supreme Council removed from Kilkenny to Limerick.---*Dr. O'Conor's Historical Address*, p. 190.

April 27.---The King left Oxford in disguise, attended only by two persons. Various and strange conceits amazed the members of the Parliament of England on hearing this news, by a letter from Colonel Rainsbrough; some thought he had gone to Wales, others to Montrose, in Scotland, but the most that he had come to London concealed. Forthwith the Commons voted the following order:

"That what person soever shall harbour and conceal, or know of the harbouring or concealing of the King's person, and shall not reveal it immediately to the speakers of both houses, shall be proceeded against as a traitor to the Commonwealth, forfeit his whole estate, and die without mercy."---*Sanderson*, p. 897.

April 28.---The Parliament having invited the Prince of Wales to come to them from the Islands of Scilly, and to reside in such places where they conceived most convenient, and with such attendants and counsellors only as should be by them appointed, they received this day in reply a letter sent with a trumpet, intimating that he was by that time in the Isle of Guernsey, near the coast of France, desiring them that a pass might be granted for the Lord Capel to go to the King to Oxford, to make some overtures to him, in order to peace, and that the Archbishop of Armagh might have leave to come to the Prince. But nothing was done herein.---*Ibid.* p. 885.

May 3.---The Nuncio Rinuccini wrote from Ireland to Cardinal Pamphili, the Pope's nephew, that the only way to gain Ormond to their party was by offering him the aid of all the Catholic powers, for any ambitious private views that might be suggested to him on the ruins of the Royal Family.---*Rinuccini's Memoirs*, fol. 793—797. *Carte's Ormond*, v. i. p. 560. *Dr. O'Conor's Historical Address.*

May 5.—The King surrendered himself to the Scots near Newark. In this affair his Majesty was not a little influenced by the Queen, and upon her account by the French, who had an agent in the Scots' camp. They pretended zeal for the

King's re-establishment, and the Cardinal did really give the Lord Digby ten thousand pistoles for the service of Ireland, which he brought to the Marquis of Ormond in July. Nevertheless, by what they did to the Irish Agents in France, and the sequel of the whole affair, it is manifest that they were AMBODEXTERS, and their interest lying in the confusion and desolation of these kingdoms, they did what they could to keep them embroiled. However, the king confided much in this French agent, and it was he that managed the treaty between his Majesty and the Scots; and either he did really obtain, or persuaded the king that he had got from them the following conditions:

1. That they would not endeavour to force his conscience.

2. That they would afford a safe retreat amongst them to all his Majesty's faithful friends and adherents.

3. That by force or treaty they would endeavour to re-establish him in his just rights.

Upon these terms the king went from Oxford to the Scots' camp, near Newark, from whence they removed him to Newcastle, and whilst he was there, lying under the deep resentments of the ingratitude and perfidy of the Irish rebels, who had always heightened their demands as his necessities increased, and clogged their promises of succours with harder conditions than were fit to put upon any Christian, not to say their king, viz. 'The subversion of the religion he professed,' he wrote to the Marquis of Ormond, prohibiting him from treating with them any farther.---*Hib. Ang.* v. ii. p. 164.

No. XX.

We have no cause to wonder at the Protestants' jealousy of us, when we see the three several tests, hitherto made use of for trying the affection of Roman Catholics in these kingdoms, in relation to the Papal pretences on one side, and the Royal rights on the other; I mean the oath of supremacy first, the oath of allegiance next, and last of all that which I call the "Loyal Formulary," or Irish Remonstrance of 1661; *even all three, one after another, to have been with so much rashness, and wilfulness, and obstinacy, declared, opposed, traduced, and rejected.*—Friar Peter Walsh's Letter to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, 1674, p. 45.

1646. *May* 6.—The Scots General and Commissioners write to the Committee of the Parliaments of both kingdoms, acquainting them with the arrival of the king at their quarters, "so private a way that many who first saw his Majesty, and

knew his person, were disbelieved when they announced an arrival so unexpected. We believe, said they, your Lordships will think it was matter of much astonishment to us, seeing we did not expect him to come into any place under our power. We conceived it not fit to inquire into the causes, but to endeavour that his being here might be improved for the best advantage for procuring the work of uniformity, for settling religion and righteousness, and attaining of peace, &c. &c. *Sanderson*, p. 900.

May 8.—The king sent a message to the English Parliament, from Southwel, that having understood from them that it was not safe for him to come to London until he should consent to such propositions as should be presented to him, and being informed that the army's marching so fast to Oxford made that place most unfit for a treaty, he had resolved to withdraw to this place, only to secure his person, with no intention to continue this war any longer, or to make division between his two kingdoms, but rather to give content to both in a happy peace. His Majesty added in a postscript, that, to shew his real intentions to peace, he was willing that his forces in and about Oxford should be disbanded, the fortifications dismantled, the forces receiving honourable conditions, which being granted, he would give the like order to all the rest of his garrisons.—*Ibid.* p. 901.

May 12.---Rinuccini removed from Kilkenny to Cashel, where he seems to have had the first intelligence of a peace between the Lord Lieutenant and the confederates, and even then only obscure and ambiguous.---*Dr. O'Conor's Historical Address*, p. 190.

May 13.---Dudley Castle surrendered by Colonel Levison to Sir William Brereton for the Parliament.---*Sanderson*, p. 889.

This day the king, reflecting on his sad condition, gave vent to his feelings in a most pathetic soliloquy, which is to be found in the *Eikone Basiliske*, chap. 21. It commences with the following passages: "Although God hath given me three kingdoms, yet in these hath he not now left me any place where I may with safety and honour rest my head; shewing me that HIMSELF is the safest refuge, and the strongest tower of defence, in which I may put my trust."

"In these extremities I look not to man so much as to GOD; he will not have it thus, that I may wholly cast myself and my now distressed affairs upon his mercy, who hath both the hearts and hands of all men in his dispose."

May 17.---The royal garrison of Oxford came to a treaty

with the Parliamentary forces at Heding, which proceeded but slowly. The treaty not excluding the power of arms, never was a garrison maintained so resolutely, and so mightily opposed, until its surrender.---*Sanderson*, p. 890.

May 18.---The king entered Newcastle, received with bonfires, and bell-ringing, drums, and trumpets, with peals of ordnance and vollies of shot, but guarded with 300 Scottish horse, those near him bare-headed. He was lodged at General Leven's quarters, who proclaimed that "No Papists or delinquents should come near his presence."---*Ibid.* p. 904.

May 19.---The king wrote to the city of London, stating as he had before done to the states of the kingdom of Scotland, that from a deep sense of the bleeding condition of his kingdoms, he intended to join with his parliament in settling religion in its purity, and the subjects in safety, expecting their counsel and advice.---*Ibid.* p. 901.

May 29.---The Marquis of Worcester, now 84 years of age, had been at this time six months besieged of Ragland, in South Wales, and hearing of his son, the Earl of Glamorgan, having landed with considerable Irish forces, sends to the Parliamentary Committee, at Chepstow, this bold letter:

"Having notice that you are not ignorant of my son's landing with the Irish forces, I am so much a father, and tender of my whole country's ruin, that if their coming to this place be hasted by the occasion of your answer, you, and not I, will be the occasion of the country's curse. You have taken from me my rents and livelihood, for which, if you give undelayed reparations, I shall be glad to live a quiet neighbour amongst you. If otherwise, you will force me to what my own nature hath no liking of, and yet justifiable by the word of God, and law of nature. I expect your answer by this messenger, as you give occasion.

"H. Worcester."

Ragland, May 29, 1646.

In answer to this letter the Committee return a slight construction of the Marquis's serious offer, and to his requital of news of his son and his Irish rebels, they are pleased to return him better intelligence for his lordship's information, with his Majesty's and the Scots' declaration; adding their intention no more to trouble him with letters or answers.---*Ibid.* p. 894.

June 2.---The Marquis of Ormond forwarded a declaration to the Supreme Council by Sir G. Hamilton and Colonel Barry, by which Dr. O'Conor says it appeared that he still wished for a Protestant Ascendancy over the (Roman) Catho-

lics and Puritans. The same author observes, that the joint letter of the Romish Bishops of Dublin, Cashel, and Elphin, to Henrietta Maria, (dated August 15, 1646, and to be found in Sir Richard Cox's appendix to his Hibernia Anglicana, vol. ii. p 190) proves that these ecclesiastics deserved an equality with Protestants, and the expulsion of the Puritans ; but that the Nuncio and his party wished to establish the ascendancy of the Pope. This (adds Dr. O'Conor,) is the true key to the secret history of those times.---*Hibernical Address, printed by S. Sealy, Buckingham*, 1810, p. 191.

June 5.---Owen Roe O'Neil and the Irish obtained a great victory over the Scots and British at Benburb, wherein Lord Blaney was slain, and Lord Montgomery taken prisoner. This exposed the whole province of Ulster to the mercy of O'Neil, which escaped only by the Nuncio's avocation of him to oppose the Supreme Council. As soon as this disastrous battle was over, Mr. Annesley and Mr. Beale, by their letters importuned the Lord Lieutenant to declare against the Irish, which at that time he could not do, in regard of the cessation, that had not then expired.---*See Hib. Ang.* ii. p. 165.

In this month, Archbishop Usher, after great sufferings in Wales, arrived safe at the Countess of Peterborough's house in London, where he was most kindly received by her ; and from this time he commonly resided with her at some or other of her houses till his death.---*Dr. Parr's Life of Primate Usher*, p. 63.

About this time, G. Leyburn, an English Priest, who was at Kilkenny, openly maintained that the Nuncio had slandered Henrietta Maria, and imposed upon the Irish ; adding that his story of a treaty in agitation between the Pope and the Queen, was a fable invented by the Nuncio to ruin the King, and prevent the peace of the kingdom. The Nuncio, highly incensed at this, endeavoured to have Leyburn taken up, but could not succeed.---*Rinuccini's Memoirs*, p. 898.

Writing to the Pope on O'Neil's victory at Benburb, Rinuccini commenced his letter thus : "Your Holiness's arms have obtained a signal victory," &c.---*Ibid, and Dr. O'Conor's Historical Address*, p. 189.

June 10.---The Lord Folliot, General Monro, and Sir Charles Coote, joined Messrs. Annesley and Beale in an address to the Marquis of Ormond, importuning him to declare against the Irish. Lord Folliot and Mr. Galbraith went with it, although they had no safe conduct or passport for doing so, which was the more strange, because those Commissioners had refused a pass to a messenger Ormond would have sent to the

King, unless they might know his errand, and because in this address they did not give Ormond the title of Lord Lieutenant. Nevertheless, his Excellency answered them that he would join with them, and as the cessation should expire, (viz. on the 13th of July) would declare against the common enemy, provided they would submit to his Majesty's authority. But they who had all their support from the Parliament, could not do that, and so this negotiation determined without effect. *Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 165.

On this day the King pressed the two Houses of Parliament by another message, to send their propositions for peace, that he might give them all just satisfaction, and desired again the liberty to come to London, and treat in person with them.--- *Rapin's History of England*, v. ii. p. 223.

The Scottish army wrote this day to the English Parliament, to request that propositions of peace might be sent to them, that they should clearly know how to proceed in the intended pacifications, and to satisfy the Parliament in disbanding the forces, delivering up the garrisons possessed by them, and retiring home for the good of both kingdoms. This letter was signed by Leven and all the Scots Commissioners. Together with this, two other documents were presented to the Parliament, one a copy of a paper delivered to the king from the Committee of Estates of Scotland, concerning the Prince of Wales, and the other an intercepted letter from the king to the Prince, in the following words :

CHARLES,

This is rather to tell you where I am, and that I am well, than at this time to direcct you in any thing, having writ fully to your mother what I would have you to do, whom I command you to obey in every thing *except religion*, concerning which I am confident she will not trouble you ; and see you go no whither without her or my particular direction. Let me hear often from you, so God bless you.

Your loving Father,

C. REX.

Sanderson, p. 907.

The King little suspected at this time, that the intrigues of his artful queen were but too successfully employed in perverting both his sons and unhappy successors to the fatal errors of the Popish religion.

No. XXI.

" *At a private meeting in Kilkenny*, 1648, *the Nuncio Ri-*
" *nuccini gravely observed to the Earl of Glamorgan, that the*

" *king should no longer be deceived by Heretics, that the safety* " *of his crown depended next under God on the Pope, and* " *the union of all his Catholic subjects with those of other* " *countries, that it was of the utmost moment to his interests to* " *secure the Irish by granting all their just petitions, and that* " *his Lordship was bound to apply those extensive powers, with* " *which he had been entrusted, to the service of the king and* " *monarchy, as well as to the establishment of the orthodox faith.*" Leland's History of Ireland, v. iii. p. 273.

1646, *June* 11.—The king now in durance, and out of all hope to be able to manage his affairs in Ireland, and being laboured by the English and Scots, at Newcastle, not to treat with the Rebels of Ireland any more, wrote the following letter to the Marquis of Ormond :—

Newcastle, June 11, 1646.

C. R.

Right Trusty, &c.---Having a long time, with much grief, looked upon the sad condition our kingdom of Ireland hath been in these divers years, through the wicked and desperate rebellion there, and the bloody effects that have ensued thereupon, for the settling whereof, we could have wholly applied ourselves, if the difference betwixt us and our subjects here had not diverted and withdrawn us. And not having been able by force (for that respect) to reduce them, we were necessitated, for the present safety of our Protestant subjects there, to give you power and authority to treat with them, upon such pious, honourable, and safe grounds, as the good of that our kingdom did require. But for many reasons, too long for a letter, we think fit to require you to proceed no further with the Rebels, nor to engage us upon any conditions with them after sight hereof. And having formerly found such real proofs of your ready obedience to our commands, we doubt not of your care in this, wherein our service, and the good of our Protestant subjects in Ireland, is so much concerned."---*Sanderson*, p. 908.

When the foregoing letter was submitted to the Lord Lieutenant to the Council board, they resolved to yield obedience to it, and to draw up instantly a letter, to declare to the king their punctual submission, with an ample relation of other occurrences and passages concerning the King's service in Ireland, when on a sudden, one of the Council of honourable rank, gave it in to be considered, that the King being now under restraint, might not have been free

to do as himself might think fit, but what his new master should enforce from him; and that this command of his was likely to have proceeded from them in the Scots army. To clear this doubt, the Bishop of Meath, (Doctor Anthony Martin) gave his opinion, that it seemed to him to be the King's free act, without enforcement. Observing, that they were not required by his Majesty's letter to take the covenant or to withdraw obedience from the government established by his royal authority; but the King being now disobliged of all former engagements which the Irish had upon him, by their wilful breach of conditions, he would not now again trust them any more upon the like score, and therefore the matter of peace being now the Rebels' aim, no longer than they might be anew furnished for a more fearful war: besides the King's party must be enforced to make war upon the Parliament's party, who were absolutely resolved never to afford them a peace, until they should be revenged on them, for the inhuman murders committed on the British and Protestants. And, that being now united with the power of two potent kingdoms, England and Scotland, this same nation of Ireland could never be able to oppose them.

But this advice was somewhat checked by the visible assistance of the French, who had already heightened up the King's party to a war against the Parliament, and to join in peace with the Irish, having already sent the Lord Digby with 10,000*l.* to Ormond as the earnest of some particular matters thereafter. The pretence was to restore the King, but in truth the French King aiming at his own advantage by favouring the Irish; for the French Resident in Ireland had written to Ormond, that "if the King and Parliament should conclude a peace, it must be necessary to comprehend the Irish therein, and for their settlement in their due rights, otherwise his master must take the Irish into his protection," a practice evermore of the Irish to seek the protection of foreign Princes. *Ibid*, p. 961.

The Nuncio Rinuccini having, on the 8th of June, entered a formal protest against any treaty that should be concluded without the Pope's consent, and being now confident of his own strength, he threw off the mask completely, recommended to the (Roman) Catholics of Ireland to put themselves under the protection of a foreign power, and avowed his opinion that that power ought to be the Pope.--This says Carte (Life of Ormond, p. 574) awakened the jealousies of his aiming at temporal dominion. *Dr. O'Conner's Historical Address*, p. 194.

To the King's letter, probibiting any further treaty with the Irish Rebels, the Lord Lieutenant and Council returned the following answer: " That they would not proceed in the treaty : that the Rebels had three armies in the field, viz. the Munster army before Bunratty, the Connaught army before Roscommon, and the Ulster army hovering towards Dublin. That the Parliamentary frigates were in the harbour, and all over the coast, hindering provisions, &c. that the cessation would determine on the 13th of July. That they had but thirteen barrels of powder, and were in want of all other necessaries for the war, and therefore hoped to renew the cessation for a month, and in the mean time prayed most earnestly for supplies ; adding, that they could not be sure that those who had fallen upon them unprovoked in a time of quiet, would not break a cessation as soon as they should find themselves baffled in their expectations of a peace. *Hib. Ang.* v. ii. p. 165.

June 18.—An order of Parliament being now issued, that whosoever should come from any of the King's garrisons to London should signify their names to the Committee at Goldsmith's Hall, and there give notice of their being in town, and where they lodged. Archbishop Usher sent his Chaplain, Dr. Parr, to acquaint them that he was in town, at the Countess of Peterborough's house; but they refused to take notice of his being in town, without his personal appearance; so, upon a summons from the Committee of Examinators at Westminster, he appeared before them, being by his friends advised so to do; they strictly examined him where he had been ever since his departure from London, and whether he had any leave for his going from London to Oxford ; he answered he had a pass from a Committee of both Houses. They demanded further, whether Sir Charles Coote, or any other, had ever desired him to use his power with the King for a toleration of the Popish religion in Ireland ? He answered that neither Sir Charles Coote, nor any other, had ever moved any such thing to him, but that as soon as he had heard of the Irish agents coming to Oxford, he went to the King, and beseeched his Majesty not to do any thing with the Irish in point of religion without his knowledge ; which his Majesty promised he would not ; and when the point of toleration came to be debated at the Council Board, the King, with all the Lords there, absolutely denied it ; and he professed, for his part, that he was ever against it—(for the Protest of this excellent Prelate, against the toleration of Popery in Ireland, signed also by eleven other Bishops on the 26th of November, 1626, see the 19th number of these Annals)—as he con-

sidered it dangerous to the Protestant religion. Having answered these queries, the Chairman of the Committee offered him the negative oath, which had been made on purpose for all those who had adhered to the King, or came from any of his garrisons; but he desired time to consider of that, and so was dismissed, and appeared no more, for Mr. Selden, and others of his friends in the House, made use of their interest to put a stop to that trouble. Not long after this he retired with the Countess of Peterborough to her house at Ryegate, in Surrey, where he often preached, either in her house, or in the parish church of that place, and always, while he continued there, many of the best of the gentry and clergy thereabouts resorted to him, as well to enjoy his excellent conversation, as for his opinion and advice in matters of religion.—*See Primate Usher's Life, by Richard Parr, D.D.* p. 63 and 64, *London*, 1686.

Archbishop Usher would not have come to London at this time, had it been in his power to escape into a foreign land, through fear of being persecuted by the ruling faction in the Parliament. For this purpose, he had obtained a pass from the Earl of Warwick, then Admiral; but when he had procured a vessel, and was preparing to go to it from St. Donates, in Wales, a squadron of ships came into the road before Caerdiffe, under the command of one Molton, Vice Admiral for the Parliament, whereupon the Primate sent Dr. Parr to him, being there on shore at Caerdiffe, to know if he would suffer him to go by him; the Dr. shewed him the pass above mentioned, to which Molton returned a rude and threatening answer, absolutely refusing it, saying, if he could get him into his hands he would carry him prisoner to the Parliament, and threatened to send Dr. Parr also to his ship, by which it appears how highly enraged those of that faction were at this good Bishop for adhering to the King.—*Ibid.* 62.

June 22.—Oxford surrendered to the Parliamentary forces, and the few remaining garrisons soon after, viz. Worcester, Wallingford, Pendennis Castle, and Ragland Castle.—*Life of Oliver Cromwell*, p. 35, *London*, 1731.

By the articles of Oxford, Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice had conditions to transport themselves beyond seas, and the Duke of York was to be conducted to the Parliament, and so to St. James's, to the rest of the royal children there.—*Sanderson*, p. 891.

July 4.—The Lord Digby, one of the Secretaries of State, and afterwards Earl of Bristol, returned to Dublin from France, and assured the Marquis of Ormond, that notwith-

standing the King's letter of the 11th of June (which was extorted from him in duress, and proceeded from ignorance of the affairs in Ireland, and particularly of the advances of the treaty of peace), "it was his Majesty's pleasure, that a peace should be concluded with the Irish," and that he had a positive verbal message from the King to that purpose; and therefore he made a solemn and formal protestation before the Lord Lieutenant and Council, which being reduced to writing, was entered at large in the Council-book, at Dublin, on the 28th of this month; and thereupon they proceeded to the conclusion of the peace.—*Hib. Ang.* v. ii. p. 165.

J. DE FALKIRK.

No. XXII.

"*A superstitious, vague, and sottish opinion of the Pope's power, as dark as Erebus, as confused as ignorance could make it, held the unshaken empire of its leaden sceptre over the minds of the rude, ignorant mass of our people; and believing it quite impossible that a Papal Nuncio could do wrong, they blindly obeyed his every mandate, with as passive an obedience, and as vile and dangerous submission, as the barbarous hordes of Turkey obey the Mufti.* Columbanus ad Hibernos, No. ii. or a Letter on the novelty and danger of the New Discipline now introduced into the (Roman) Catholic Church of Ireland, by the Rev. C. O'Conor, D. D. Printed by J. Seely, Buckingham, 1810.

1646. *July* 11. --At length of time the tedious propositions of peace were finished by the English parliament, and sent to the king by the committee, viz. the Earls of Pembroke, Montgomery, and Suffolk, Sir John Hippesley, Sir Walter Earl, Mr. Goodwin, and Mr. Robinson. The 13th of these propositions required that the militia of the kingdoms of England and Ireland should be in the hands of the Parliament for 20 years; and Papists actually in arms at that time, or having taken up arms at any time preceding, for the king of England or Scotland, and all persons that had assisted in rebellion in Ireland, except such of them as had come in to the Parliament of England, should be excluded from pardon.---*Sanderson*, p. 917.

July 13.---The Irish confederates, pursuing their little advantages underhand, caused some of their leading men to write the following letter to Generals Preston and Birne:

"We beseech you in plain English, give no credit to my Lord Digby, nor to any that goeth double ways, and remember

Lucan. Seem, nevertheless, to trust him, and lose no advantage upon any pretence whatsoever, when you may do it with safety. If the enemy have the harvest, quel consequences. As you are a Catholic or a Patriot, spare no man that will not join with you, for kindred, religion, or any other pretence whatsoever. If the king's condition doth not forthwith master the Parliament, it will beget a bloody war there; if he do absolutely master them, judge, in both cases, how necessary it is the army and nation be considerable, and able to stand upon their own legs. Burn or master the enemy's corn or hay, till the body of the army come with resulted strength; several strong parties may do good service. In case you undertake Trim or Mainooth, be sure you master Naas, Sigginstown, and Harristown; and rather demolish them than they should do hurt. If Sigginstown and Harristown be not burnt, they will do the country hurt.---*Hib. Ang.* v. ii. p. 164.

July 16.---This day the Princess Henrietta Maria was conveyed from her residence, or prison, at Oatlands, by her Governess, Lady Dalkieth, who escaped with her to France, so now the eldest son and the youngest daughter were with the queen, and the dukes of York and Gloucester, with the Princess Elizabeth, at St. James's.---*Sanderson*, p. 892.

July 17.---On this day Owen Roe O'Neill returned a very civil answer to the Lord Lieutenant's invitation of him to Dublin, importing that, as yet he had no authentic notice of the peace from his former masters, but as soon as he should have it, he would hasten to pay his duty to his Excellency. *Hib. Ang.* v. ii. p. 165.

July 20.---Elated, as he was by his power, the Nuncio did not forget his great friend the Earl of Glamorgan, to whose violent bigotry, in a great measure, he owed his influence. He made the Earl General of Munster, in the room of Lord Muskerry, whom he had confined, and the assembly of the province confirmed his nomination. But this was only an earnest of the favors he intended to shew him, having promised to make him Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, if the Marquis of Ormond was drove from Dublin; and his Lordship deserved these great things at the hands of the Nuncio. For a short time before, the Earl had taken a sort of oath of allegiance to him, in which he swore to do nothing of any moment without the consent and approbation of the Nuncio; that if by chance he should do any thing that was disliked, he would, upon the first signification, correct this error, and that he would resign the lieutenancy whenever the Nuncio would require it, and in all things would be obedient to the Holy See.

The Earl, however, did not deserve the favour of the Nuncio on his own account only, but also for the trust and confidence put in him by the king, who still kept up a secret correspondence with him, as appears by the following letter in the Nuncio's memoirs, a copy of which, it seems, was published in an Italian Mercury of that time, by *Vittoria Siri.*

" GLAMORGAN,

" I am not so strictly guarded, but that if you send me a prudent and secret person, I can receive a letter, and you may signify to me your mind ; I having always loved your person and conversation, which I ardently wish for at present, more than ever, if it could be had without prejudice to you, whose safety is dear to me as my own. If you can raise a large sum of money, by pawning my three kingdoms for that purpose, I am content you should do it ; and if I recover them, I will fully repay that money ; and tell the Nuncio, that if once I can come into his and your hands, which ought extremely to be wished for by you both, as well for the sake of England as Ireland, since all the rest, as I see, despise me, I will do it ; and if I do not say this from my heart, or if in any future time I fail you in this, may God never restore me to my kingdom in this world, nor give me eternal happiness in the next, to which I hope this tribulation will conduct me at last, after I have satisfied my obligations to my friends, to none of whom I am so much obliged as to yourself, whose merits towards me exceeded all expressions that can be used by

Your constant Friend,
CHARLES REX.

Newcastle, July 20, 1646.

Of this extraordinary letter, which Mr. Carte, (as he quotes the page before, and the page after it,) must have seen in the Nuncio's memoirs, he takes not the least notice, and no wonder, for it is enough to confute his assertion, that the commissions produced by Lord Glamorgan were forgeries. In answer to this letter Lord Glamorgan drew up a paper, with the assistance of the Nuncio, inviting his Majesty into Ireland. The king, it is well known, was very soon too closely guarded to make his escape into Ireland, to the Earl or to the Nuncio ; and so that correspondence was at an end. *Warner*, v. ii. p. 99, 100.

July 23.---The propositions of peace were presented to the king by the Parliamentary Commissioners at Newcastle, and his Majesty was beset with petitions and prayers by the English and Scots about him, to consent to them all.---*Sanderson*, p. 892.

July 24.---The French ambassador, Balieme, and Montrel, the Agent, had audience, and very private, with the king. *Ibid.*

July 28.---Lord Digby's message from the king was entered at large in the Council book at Dublin ; and thereupon the Lord Lieutenant proceeded to the conclusion of the peace. *Hib. Ang.* v. ii. p. 165.

July 29.---Peace was finally ratified between the king and the confederates.---*Carte's Ormonde*, v. ii. p. 568.

But now Rinunccini had the (Romish) bishops subservient to his controul; and knowing the influence they possessed over the common soldiery of the Irish armies, he proceeded to gain over the armed force, by sending his excommunication in Irish, to Owen Roe O'Nial (O'Neill) whom he knew to be discontented because no provision had been made in the peace with Ormond, for the restitution of the O'Nial estates, which had been escheated to the crown. O'Nial received his orders to march against the Supreme Council at Kilkenny, at a very interesting moment, after he had defeated the puritannical army at Benburb ; and when he was preparing at Teneragee (Tanderagee) to fall upon the broken remains of that army, with a force which nothing in Ulster was able to withstand. Flushed with the pride of victory, impatient of controul, jealous of General Preston's superior influence and credit with the Council, and irritated because no notice had been taken of him in the list of generals agreed on in the treaty with Ormond, instead of attacking Monroe, he called a Council of War, expatiated on the Pope's power, and with his whole army, now increased to eleven thousand infantry, and one thousand eight hundred cavalry, he wheeled about, marched for Kilkenny, and lost all the fruits of his brilliant victory at Benburb. On his route he received from the Nuncio four thousand pounds in cash, and a supply of gunpowder, and soon after a supply of five hundred pounds, which were borrowed from the Spanish agent, Deigo de la Torre.---*Doctor O'Conor's Historical Address*, p. 195.

July 30.---Peace was proclaimed in Dublin by the Lord Lieutenant and Council ; the proclamation stating that his Majesty had been induced to conclude it out of a deep sense of the miseries of Ireland, and out of an hope that it might prevent the future effusion of his subjects' blood ; redeem them out of the calamities under which they were then suffering, and restore them to all quietness and happiness under his Majesty's most gracious and quiet government.---*Sanderson*, p. 922.

July 31.---The Lord Lieutenant and Council wrote to the king, with a full account of what they had done, and desired his Majesty to send them no more verbal orders, especially such as contradict the written ones, lest they want vouchers of their obedience to his Majesty's commands, and be thought disloyal in doing those things which nothing but duty could make them do.---*Hib. Ang.* v. i. p. 165.

August 1.---The king replied to the Parliamentary propositions, stating that they imported so great alterations in government, both in Church and State, that it was difficult to return a particular and positive answer to them, unless an opportunity could be afforded for the purpose of a full debate upon the subject, and offering, for that purpose, to come to either house of Parliament upon the public faith, conjuring the Parliament as Christians, as subjects, and as men who desire to leave a good name behind them, that they would so receive and make use of his answer, that all issues of blood might be stopped, and those unhappy distractions peaceably settled.---*Sanderson*, p. 920.

August 3.---The Lord Lieutenant sent a kind letter to Owen Roe, to invite him to Dublin, to give his assistance towards the settlement of the nation.---*Hib. Ang.* v. ii. p. 165.

August 6.---Ten authorized persons from the Herald's Office, were sent with all their formalities, to proclaim peace in the different cities and corporations of the kingdom.---*Ibid.*

August 8.---The heralds who had been sent to Waterford to proclaim peace, arrived in that city on this day, where they were so unwelcome to all the people, that nobody would shew them the Mayor's house, until, at length, a little boy did it for sixpence, but the Mayor would not be seen for four hours, and when he was told their errand, he asked why they did not proclaim the peace at Kilkenny, and they answered that they pursued their orders, and supposed the reason might be, because Waterford was, next to Dublin, one of the most ancient and respectable cities in the kingdom. However, after three days stay they could get no other answer, but that the peace should be first proclaimed at Kilkenny ; and the rabble threatened to send them packing with withes about their necks, unless they made haste away.---*Ibid*, p. 166.

From Waterford they went to Kilkenny, where they were received with respect, and the peace was proclaimed even with excess of joy and pageantry. It was also proclaimed at Callan, Fethard, and Cashel, but Clonmel would not receive it until it should be first published at Limerick.---*Ibid.*

August 11.---The Protestant Clergy made a grateful remonstrance of thanks to his Excellency, for his care of religion and the kingdom.---*Ibid.*

In the mean time the restless and indefatigable Nuncio had summoned all the Popish clergy to Waterford, under pretence of an apostolic visitation, and to prepare for a national synod. The famous Nicholas French, Bishop of Ferns, was Chancellor of this congregation, which being assembled, notwithstanding their holy pretences, did nothing else but consult how to break the peace they had so lately consented to, and being puffed up with the success their forces had met with this summer, and taking advantage of the distressed condition of his Majesty and his army, these *holy fathers* made short work with the peace, for on the 12th of August, which was just a fortnight after it was made, they declared all those perjured that would submit to it, and by solemn decree rejected it, as not having sufficiently provided for *the liberty and splendour of religion.*---*Ibid.*

No. XXIII.

"*If all historical evidence were suppressed, what a wide field would be left for the destructive machinations of designing priests and cunning statesmen.*"—Preface to Derriana, a collection of papers relative to the siege of Derry, and illustrative of the Revolution of 1688. Londonderry, published by G. Douglas, 1794.

An Account of Mr. Jeofry Baron's Embassy to France in 1646.

Mr. Jeofry Baron landed at Waterford on Friday, the 11th of March, and came the next day to Kilkenny; and being indisposed two or three days, he came not into the assembly till the 16th, at which time being asked for an account of his negotiation, he answered that for the most part it consisted in the letters he had brought with him, and made some scruple to communicate them to any other than a sworn council, because the matter required secresy. At length a Committee was appointed to peruse the letters; and Sir Lucas Dillon the chairman, reported from that committee, that it was requisite the letters should be read in the assembly, which was done accordingly. The first was a letter of the 30th of January, from Dr. Tirrel (one of the Irish agents,) importing that the rupture of the late peace did at first seem to both the Courts in France to trench far upon the public faith of the kingdom;

but when some slight objections were solidly refuted, and full information given, then the rejection of the peace was confirmed by the king and queen of France, and by Cardinal Mazarine. But when they heard of the return of the Irish forces from Dublin, they suspected their weakness and division, wherefore he advises them to unite their forces, and attack that city again, and make themselves masters of the kingdom, and thereby they will regain the good will of the king and queen of France, and that the queen and Prince of Wales are coming to Ireland, and advises not to agree upon slight terms, for when they come, the Irish will have their wills.

The second was a letter from the King of France of the 26th of September to this effect, that being well informed of the inclinations the kingdom hath to him, he will take a particular care of their interests, &c.

The third and fourth were from Cardinal Mazarine, containing general promises, and that the settlement of his Majesty of England would much rejoice the King of France.

The fifth was from Colonel Fitzwilliams, assuring them that if they would provide a good reception for the queen and prince in Ireland, most of their demands would be granted. That the queen denies to have any power to treat with the Irish, but that she will send for it. That the French will send ships for 2000 Irish. That if they aid Antrim in Scotland, the Scots must look to their own country, and without them the Parliamentarians can do the Irish no hurt. That the Presbyterians and Independents will certainly fall out. That the Irish should not decline any of their proposals for peace, for he is sure they shall have all.

Only he supplicates them to leave one church open in Dublin, for the king's religion, lest the Parliament take advantage to incense the English against the king, queen, and prince, if we should shut all our doors against them. That the Pope has sent the Irish forty thousand pistols, and Mazarine will send six thousand more, &c.

These letters being read, Mr. Baron said his embassy was on two points; first to excuse the not sending three thousand men to the king of France, according to promise, which he had done to content, and the second was to solicit aids from the queen, which at first she promised sufficient to bring the war to the wished period, but at the second audience she was quite off from it, being so persuaded by her Protestant counsellors, and that Cardinal Mazarine sent them twelve thousand livres, which is all he could procure.—*Hib. Ang.* v. ii. 192.

August 13.—The Nuncio and his party being informed that Lord Mountgarret and Lord Muskerry were appointed by the Supreme Council at Kilkenny to go to Dublin to confer with the Lord Lieutenant upon the best way to be pursued for the execution and observation of the peace, they made an order in writing, in which were these words :

" We admonish in our Lord, and require the persons who are departed to Dublin, that they forbear and abstain from going thither for the said end, or if they be gone, that they return, and this under pain of excommunication, commanding the Right Honourable the Bishop of Ossory, and other Bishops, as well assembled as not assembled here, and their Vicars General, as also Vicars Apostolical, and all priests, even irregulars, that they intimate these presents, or cause to be intimated, even by affixing them in public places, and that they proceed against the disobedient in denouncing of excommunication, as it should seem expedient in our Lord.

August 18.—The Supreme Council having, notwithstanding these new orders and injunctions, continued still in their desire of peace, the titular Bishop of Ossory published this extraordinary writing.

Whereas we have in public and private meetings, at several times, declared to the Supreme Council, and others whom it might concern ; that it was, and is unlawful, and against conscience, the employing perjury (as it hath been defined by the special act of the convocation at Waterford) to both commonwealths, spiritual and temporal; and, whereas, notwithstanding our declaration, yea the declaration of the whole Clergy of the kingdom to the contrary, the Supreme Council and the Commissioners have actually proceeded to the publication, yea, and forcing it upon the city by terror and threats, rather than by any free consent or desire of the people: we have duly considered, and taken it to heart (as it becometh us) how enormously this fact is, and appears in Catholics, even against God himself, and what a public contempt of the holy Church it appeareth, beside the evil of it is like to draw upon this poor kingdom, after a mature deliberation, and consent of our Clergy, in detestation of this heinous and scandalous disobedience of the Supreme Council, and others who adhered to them, in matter of conscience to the holy Church, and in hatred of so sinful and abominable an act, do by these presents, according to the prescription of the sacred canons, pronounce and command henceforth a general cessation of divine offices, throughout all the city and suburbs of Kilkenny, in all Churches, monasteries, and houses in them whatsoever.

Given at our Palace of Nooa Curia the 18th of August, 1646.

DAVID OSSORIENSES.

This was the intruding titular Bishop of Ossory, David Roeh, who seized possession of that See on the flight of Bishop Williams. It has been already recorded in these annals (No. XXXVIII.) that on the death of this bigotted and ambitious ecclesiastic, a splendid monument was erected to his memory in the Consistorial Court of Kilkenny Cathedral, on which was an inscription, stating that he had whipped heresy out of that Church.

The peace being thus rejected, the Nuncio, like a true son of thunder, prepares for war, and in order to it he borrowed a good sum of money from the Spanish agent Don Diego de la Torres; and he recalled Preston out of Connaught, and ordered Owen Roe to intercept the Lord Lietenant in his return from Kilkenny to Dublin.

In the mean time the Marquis of Ormond, who did not suspect that there could be so much perfidiousness and treachery among Christians, went forward from Kilkenny to Carrick, and so to Clonmel; and though he was denied entrance into this latter town, and had notice that Colonel Pierce Butler, alias M'Thomas, (from whom he expected better things,) was ready with five hundred horse to disturb his march; nevertheless he went towards Cashel, but the Mayor of that place sent him word, that Owen Roe had threatened that city with utter destruction if they should receive or entertain his Excellency, and at the same time he had full information of the whole design to intercept him, and thereupon he marched that night to Callan, and the next day to Leighlin bridge, before Owen Roe, (who was within six miles of Kilkenny) could overtake him, and so he got safely to Dublin, where he was received with that joy which friends usually express at the arrival of those they gave up for lost.

From Callan his excellency sent the Lord Digby to Kilkenny, to acquaint the supreme council with his return, and the reasons of it, and to stay leiger with them; and he also sent some of his servants for some necessaries he had left at his house in Kilkenny; but when they came there, they found this inconstant city, which a few days before had received the lord-lieutenant with acclamations of joy, pulling down the monuments of his entertainment, (viz. the devices on the gates and market cross, and other matters of pageantry,) and expressing so much passion and malice against him, that most of his servants were forced to withdraw, and those few that staid were obliged to remain incognito. However, the supreme council ordered Sir Lucas Dillon and Dr. Fennell, by letters, to assure his excellency that, notwithstanding what had hap-

pened, there should be no further hostilities used; whereof, Ormond took hold, and desired them to ascertain a competent time of cessation, that they might come to a right understanding; whereunto they made no reply; but, instead of that, Ormond had certain advice from other hands, that Owen Roe had fallen into the Queen's county with great violence, and had taken several castles from the king's party, and destroyed all; that his soldiers had, in cold blood, murdered Major Pigot, and fifty others, to whom they had promised quarter.

About the same time the castle of Athlone was surprised by George Dillon, a friar, uncle to the Lord President; and, that place being the principal fortress of Connaught, was a great accession of strength to the confederate party. And so the triumphant nuncio, not doubting but that all was his own, came in state to Kilkenny, where he caused all the supreme council, except Plunket and Darcy, to be imprisoned, and immediately he instituted a new supreme council of his own creatures, who, to requite his kindness, did, in effect, commit to him the entire power of governing and commanding as he pleased, as well in temporal as in ecclesiastical matters.—*Hib. Ang.* v. ii. p. 169, &c.

No. XXIV.

"*When the business of the late times are once ripe for an history, and time, the bringer of truth, hath discovered the mysteries of iniquity, and the depths of Satan, which have wrought so much crime and mischief, it will be found that the late rebellion was raised by the arts of the Church of Rome. The Jesuits professed themselves independents, as not depending on the Church of England; and Fifth Monarchy men, that they might pull down the English monarchy, and that in the Committees, for the destruction of the King and Church, they had their spies and agents.*"—Peter de Moulin's Vindication of the Protestant religion. London, 1664.

1646, *August* 20.—It was in the evening of the 20th of August when his Majesty's heralds came to proclaim peace in the city of Limerick, where they found the gates shut, so that they had no admittance till the next day at noon, and then were civilly treated by the mayor, who was for the peace. However, upon that day, the leading men of the city could not agree on this subject.—*See Hib. Ang.* v. ii. 166.

22. It was carried by the major vote of the aldermen and council of the city of Limerick, that the peace should be proclaimed, and all things were prepared accordingly;

whereupon, one friar Wolf, with an armed rabble of above five hundred persons, went to the high cross, and denounced excommunication against the adherents to the peace. Nevertheless the mayor who lived near the cross, was coming out in his formalities to make the proclamation, but the rabble, with hideous outcries drove them back again, and followed them into the house, and from chamber to chamber ; they wounded the mayor and the king at arms, and dragged them to prison : and they mortally wounded pursuivant Henry King, and most of the rest were likewise wounded, and all were imprisoned for about ten days, and the mayor's house was broken into and pillaged. During all this tumult, the friar cried out, kill, kill, kill, *I will absolve you.* And what is yet more strange, that the mayor was afterwatds turned out, and Dominick Fanning, a principal incendiary in this commotion, was made mayor in his room, and was, by letters from the nuncio, thanked for what he had done, and encouraged to go on, and the apostolic benediction was imparted to him for committing such an outrage upon the privileged person of an herald, as all other nations in the world would abhor.—*Ibid*, p. 167.

24. The congregation of Popish Clergy at Waterford published a declaration, to be transmitted with the following propositions at large, and in print, to the supreme council :—

1. That the Earl of Glamorgan's articles, grounded upon the King's authority, be printed, and be made as firm and as obliging as the present peace ; that the confederates do oblige themselves by union, oath, or otherwise, to insist upon the same articles, and them to maintain till confirmed (with the present peace) next parliament. And whereas it appears by his Majesty's letters taken at Naseby, that Ormond had power to repeal penal laws, and suspend Poyning's act ; the confederates expect the benefit thereof to be added to the articles of the peace, and that these letters be made public.

2. That the Generals of Ulster and Leinster be made Generals of the horse, and Major-Generals of the field, and all other Catholic officers (including, perhaps, Catholic Barrack-Masters in a time of peace) be continued, if not advanced.

3. That no garrison be added, nor tax be imposed upon them till parliament, without the consent of some or one of the commissioners in the interval to see equality.

4. That the seventh article of the peace be changed, as touching universities, and that the institution and discipline of them be " Catholic."

5. That in all places to be recovered from the Parliament, Roman Catholics to be restored to estates, privileges, &c.

and that the free exercise of their religion be secured to them, and all other "Catholics" that shall please to dwell there.

And if the Supreme Council do not approve of those propositions, then let them do one of these things, viz. retain their civil and military power within their own quarters, *independent* as heretofore, until his Holiness's and his Majesty's pleasure be known, and in the mean time both parties pursue the common enemy; or else let them refer it to a General Assembly, to be immediately called.—*Ibid,* p. 168.

As soon as the Lord Lieutenant returned to Dublin, the best endeavours were used to put the place in a posture of defence; the townsmen were formed into companies, and to give encouragement to the people, the Marchioness of Ormond, and other ladies of the first quality in the city, carried baskets of earth for repairing the fortifications. But if the place had been ever so tenable against an attack, it could not hold out for want of provisions. The soldiers were in want of all things necessary for defence; nor was there more than fourteen barrels of powder in the magazine; and yet as their distresses, so their danger was increasing every hour.

It has been already mentioned, that Owen Roe, when he found himself disappointed in his design of cutting off the Marquis of Ormond's retreat to Dublin, marched his army into the Queen's County, and committed great acts of cruelty there, putting all who resisted him to the sword. The Nuncio and Preston having joined him at Athy, the former as Generalissimo, led the two armies towards Dublin. The Marquis, in this extremity, consulted with Lord Castlehaven, who had stuck firmly to him ever since the peace; and who devised, in order to prevent them coming too near, to destroy the quarters; his forces not being sufficient to oppose them in the field. Lord Ormond himself was of the same opinion, and, therefore, orders were sent immediately to all people, within eight miles of the town, to bring in whatever they had; and whatever could not be brought in within three days, particularly forage, several parties were sent to burn and destroy, with all the mills. The army, however, marched, notwithstanding; Preston and O'Neill fixing their head-quarters within six miles of Dublin, and three from one another; and the Nuncio and his Council remaining at Sigginstown, about six miles further.

In a situation of so much distress as this, what had the Lord Lieutenant to do: without men, without money, without provisions, and without hopes of either, but to seek the readiest help that he could obtain? No choice was left to him

in this extremity, but to put himself into the hands of the Irish, or the English and Scots under the Parliament. He had just had too recent a proof of the treachery *(semper eadem)* and breach of faith of the former, to think of placing any confidence in them; and to prevent their shaking off the government of the crown of England, and extirpating the Protestant religion, which had been the sole object of the war (the objects covered by the cloak of Catholic Emancipation in 1816), he was under the necessity of applying to the Parliament of England for relief. *See Warner's History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in Ireland,* vol. ii. p. 103.

The Irish rebels, with a perfidy unparalleled in the annals of mankind, had just extinguished the only hope that remained for the King they had repeatedly sworn allegiance to in Ireland, and they now compelled the heroic Marquis of Ormond, the best and greatest man their country had ever produced, to throw them and himself into the power of an inveterate and cruel enemy—they rejected their lawful Sovereign, and, like the frogs in the fable, soon found a scorpion. *Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.—See Sanderson's History of the Reign of King Charles,* p. 928.

Some of the Parliamentary ships being at this time riding in the bay of Dublin, the Marquis of Ormond desired them to transport some Commissioners which he was sending to England to treat about the surrender of Dublin and other garrisons under his command, which they readily undertook, and in the mean time, that he might preserve it from falling into the hands of the Irish Rebels, he asked them to furnish him with thirty barrels of powder. This request was also instantly complied with, and this application was sufficient of itself, if the zeal of the Irish Roman Catholics had not (as it uniformly does on all critical occasions), consumed every grain of sense among them, to convince them, that if they continued to push the Lord Lieutenant to extremities, he had a resource to deliver himself, and put Dublin and the other places he held, under a power both able and willing to take revenge on them for their treachery.

No. XXV.

"In consequence of studying history, the powers of the human mind become gradually enlarged, and while we are entertaining ourselves with a series of well-digested facts, we are, at the same time, led to search for that principle in the human heart which, in its operations, often produces effects, attended by consequences, that fill succeeding ages with admiration."

LORD LYTLETTON.

1646, *Aug.* 24.—At this time the Lord Lieutenant sent the

Earl of Castlehaven to the Nuncio, who was in Waterford, at the head of the "*National Congregation,*" to try if he could persuade that ecclesiastic to let the peace go on—but all Castlehaven could do was in vain, Renunccini declaring his resolution to oppose it to the utmost, with some expressions of blood not becoming a churchman.—*Earl of Castlehaven's Memoirs,* p. 96.

August 25.—The Earl of Glamorgan concluded his treaty with the Irish, signed, sealed, and delivered by him, in the presence of John Somerset, Jeffery Baron, and Bobert Barry. Among these shameful articles, was one by whieh the Rebels were secured in the possession of all and every one of the churches which they had seized since the commencement of the massacre on the 23d of October, 1641—and to gratify them still further, he granted to them all other churehes in Ireland, whieh were not then actually occupied by his Majesty's Protestant subjects;—the drift of the latter clause was to prevent the Protestants from re-edifying the numerous churches which these sanguinary bigots had burned or dilapidated.—*See Cox's Appendix,* p. 112.

At this time, although the congregation at Waterford had, under pain of excommunication, forbidden the Lords Mountgarret and Muskerry from going to Dublin to consult with the Lord Lieutenant on the execution of the peace, these noblemen went there, and in the name of the Supreme Council, invited Ormond to Kilkenny, as well to countenance the peace, as to stop Inchiquin's progress in Munster, who triumphed over all opposers, and put the country under contributions as far as the Blackwater. Hereupon, Ormond having first sent Daniel O'Neill with great offers to Owen Roe *(whom nothing could satisfy but the British estates in Ulster)*, prepared for his journey, and in the latter end of August he went to Kilkenny with about 200 horse, and 1200 foot, which small party was a guard more for state than security. His Excellency was received at Kilkenny with all imaginable triumph and respect, and intended, in conjunetion with the Irish, to march into Munster to force Inchiquin, and the Parliamentary forces there, to submit to the peace; but when he understood what the Romish Clergy had done, and were doing at Waterford, he sent some persons of quality there to persuade them to give up their ruinous project of interrupting the peace, whieh was likely to prove so advantageous to the King and the people, he offered his lady and children for hostages that they should not be disturbed in the possession of the churches they had then in their possession *(which was the secret article not mentioned in the public,*

and purposely so contrived by the Popish Bishop of Clogher, that on occasion, they might easier inflame the rabble, by shewing that there was no provision for religion in the printed articles), but all that Ormond and the Supreme Council could do was to no purpose, for the *Nuncio and Romish Clergy were resolved to frustrate the peace or perish*—and the melancholy results of their traiterous obstinacy were afterwards visible in the miseries inflicted on the people of Ireland, by Cromwell and his fanatical soldiery.

August 31.—A vessel arrived in the harbour of Montrose for the purpose of conveying the gallant Marquis of that name out of Scotland, according to the stipulations he had made, by his Majesty's orders, with the General Estates of Scotland; but the Marquis justly suspecting treachery, as the captain of his ship was a violent Covenanter, and the sailors of the same stamp, would not entrust himself to them, and retired to the small harbour of Stonehyve, where he took shipping for Norway on the 3d of September, leaving Scotland in the undisturbed possession of his Majesty's enemies.—*See Wishart's Life of Montrose*, p. 270.

About this time affairs in England exhibited a most gloomy appearance, which encouraged the insolence of the Romish ecclesiastics in Ireland, and hurried them on to their total ruin, together with that of the prime objects of their resortment, the episcopal Protestants of the island. Sanderson, in his Life of Charles I., breaks out into the following exclamations on the state of England at this time.

Oh the monstrous miseries of this unhappy kingdom now! Religion unsettled, the civil government loose, a foreign army, and another of our own, eating out the bowels of mercy without compassion, and the anger of God, sensible to us all by the confluence of continual foggy, rainy, cold, sickly, and unseasonable weather, against which we fast and pray, and sin the more; and, as if to appease God's anger for all the blood that has been spilt, we are ordering councils of war, courts of justice, to censure delinquents, persecuted from post to pillar, that they know not how to dispose of themselves from being made offenders.—*Sanderson*, p. 927.

September 10.—The Supreme Council at Kilkenny replied to the declarations and propositions of the congregation of Romish clergy in Waterford, in the following terms:

To the First,

That they would print and publish Glamorgan's articles, and insist on them as obligatory to the king, and get them con-

firmed in the next Parliament, and that no intervention should be given to them in the mean time.

That the repeal of the penal laws was purposely omitted in the peace, as being less than Glamorgan's concessions, and therefore might derogate from them; and the suspension of Poyning's Act was, by unanimous consent, omitted for saving of time.

To the Second,

That the generals of Ulster and Leinster should be sufficiently provided for.

To the Third,

That no constant garrisons should be put into corporations, &c. nor levies made but for public service, and proportionably to the rest of the country; and that some of the members of the corporation should be privy thereto.

To the Fourth,

That the Catholic institution and discipline of the Universities is implied; else how could they be for the use of Catholic youth?

To the Fifth,

That in all places recovered from the Parliament the Roman Catholics had been *restored to their estates,* privileges, &c. and if in any case this had not been done, care would be taken to do it, and that the clergy should have security to have the penal laws repealed in the next Parliament, and not to be molested in their religion or ecclesiastical possessions till then.

This answer so baffled the congregation, that all the reply they could make was, that the Lord Lieutenant was gone out of their quarters, and that the Supreme Council being part of the confederate body, could be no security to the rest for what they promised, and that the peace being once rejected, could not be re-assumed or revived, but by a General Assembly.—*Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 168.

September 14.—This day the Earl of Essex died at his house in the Strand. He was born in London June 1592. His mother was the widow of Sir Philip Sidney. From his infancy he was said to have been inclined to (a double-refined) reformation in the church, which disposition he inherited from his father, who was the less inclined to Dr. Whitgift, his tutor, because he was a bishop. We are told that Walter, the grandfather of this Earl, desired his son, then ten years old, to be mindful of the six and thirtieth year of his age, beyond which neither he, nor few of his forefathers, lived. In him ended the name and honour of that house, having no issue from either of two wives, from both of whom he had separated.—*Sand.* 929.

The Nuncio, by the artifice and industry of the Popish Clergy of Ireland, was now made generalissimo of two armies, which being united, made up sixteen thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse, with which he marched towards Dublin, and was so confident of taking it by a general assault at his first approach, and expressed it with such arguments of probability, that it was generally believed in his camp, so that Colonel Fitzwilliams, pretending kindness to Ormond, did, by his letter, of the 22d of September, give him notice of the danger, and advised him to prevent it, by confirming Glamorgan's concessions, concluding thus, that, "then Preston would live and die for his Majesty."—*Hib. Ang.* ii. 171.

In the mean time the Marquis was so enraged at the inexcusable perfidy of the confederates, that he resolved to think no more of treating with them, but, on the contrary, prepared for the utmost resistance, in which resolutions he was very much confirmed by the opinion of Lord Digby, whom he had left resident at Kilkenny, and who, in his letter of the 24th of September, expressed himself thus: "*My Lord, there is no dealing with these people but by force; you see by this short letter how they forge large offers, and improve others, for their ends. Ibid.*

Here have we Catholic evidence of the manner in which the Irish Romanists used their king at this critical juncture; for no man was more attached to the Romish faith than Lord Digby.

September 26.—The Marquis of Ormond returned the following heroic answer to the letter written to him by Colonel Fitzwilliams.

Sir,

If I could have assured the clergy of my Lord Glamorgan's conditions, I had not retired hither; they are things I had nothing to do with, nor will have. If they be valid in themselves, they need no corroboration; if invalid, I have no power to give them strength. I cannot believe General Preston so regardless of his honour as to appear in a way of hostility before Dublin, which were, in the highest degree, to violate the loyalty he professeth, the many assurances given me by himself, and in his behalf by others, and above all, the honour of his profession. But if all that can be called *faith* between king and subject, and betwixt man and man, shall be so infamously laid aside, together with all hope of reconciliation, nature will teach us to make the best resistance we can, and God, the sure punisher of treachery and disloyalty, at

last will bless our endeavours with success, or our sufferings with patience and honour.

Your Servant,

ORMOND.

Hereupon resolutions were unanimously taken in council to address the parliament for succour, and the Lord-Lieutenant and Council wrote to the king, that the Irish having perfidiously violated the peace, had begun a new war to *wrest the kingdom from his Majesty, and transfer it to the King of Spain, or the Pope,* to avoid which they were obliged to apply themselves to the *Parliament.* And the same day they wrote to the Lord Mayor and City of London for assistance, and assured them that the city debts seized in the beginning of the war were but borrowed in extremity, that an exact account was kept of them, and that they would be justly repaid by the king in due time. Hereupon the captain of the Parliament ship that carried the commissioners over, furnished the Lord-Lieutenant with thirty barrels of gunpowder. This was all that could be done for the preservation of Dublin; but to invite the parliamentary forces in Ulster to its assistance, which was not neglected, and many of them were passionately inclined to the service, as knowing that the whole kingdom would suffer very much in the loss of that city, but the chief commanders and parliament commissioners would not consent, unless Drogheda should be put into their hands; to which Ormond replied that he was in treaty with the parliament, and therefore could not part with Drogheda till that should be finished, but he desired them to reinforce his garrisons, or divert *the common enemy by taking the field.---Ibid.* 172.

October 5.---The English House of Commons sent a letter of thanks to Captain Willoughby and the other two officers who had supplied the Marquis of Ormond with the gun-powder he required, expressing their hopes of his Excellency's submitting to their authority.---*Sanderson,* 964.

The Lord-Lieutenant having written to remonstrate with generals Preston and O'Neill on the violation of the peace between him and the confederates, received answers from them this day. General Preston, who, not many days before, with much solemnity, proclaimed the peace on his army, now avows it to be destructive to his religion and the liberty of the nation, and General Owen O'Neill, who had not proclaimed it, is less positive in his language, and alleges his reason for gathering and reinforcing his army, that he did it upon occasion of the confusion dispersedly raised in the kingdom and nation, being no way satisfied in point of religion, and that he had transferred

the forts and castles he had taken into the hands of men more faithful to his Majesty, than those from whom he had wrested them.---*Fragmentum Historicum, containing the transactions in Ireland from* 1642 *to* 1647, *by Richard Beling, Esq. Secretary to the Supreme Council of the confederate Catholics.* p. 387.

No. XXVI.

"*Et majores vestros, et posteros cogitate.*"---GALGACUS.

1646. *October* 5.---On this day the Nuncio published the following decree, which by frustrating the Marquis of Ormond's efforts to maintain the king's cause in Ireland, against the parliamentary rebels, may be considered a prime cause of the miseries which ensued to the members of the churches of England and Rome in this island, both of whom, but particularly the latter, soon afterwards felt the lash of a puritanical persecution.

By *John Baptist Rinuccini*, Archbishop and *Prince* of Firmo, and by the Ecclesiastical Congregations of both Clergys of the Kingdom of Ireland.

A Decree of Excommunication against such as adhere to the late peace, and do bear arms for the heretics of Ireland, and do aid or assist them.

Not without cause, saith the oracle of truth, doth the minister of God carry the sword, for he is to punish him that doth evil, and remunerate him that doth good. Hence it is, that we have, by our former decrees, declared to the world our sense and just indignation against the late peace concluded and published at Dublin; not only in its nature bringing prejudice and destruction of religion and kingdom, but also contrary to the oath of association, and withal against the contrivers and adherents to the said peace; in pursuance of which decrees, being forced to unsheath the spiritual sword, *we to whom God hath given power to bind and loose on earth, (Matt. xvi.* 18, 19; *John xx.* 20, 23,) asssembled together in the *Holy Ghost*, tracing herein, and imitating the examples of many venerable and holy prelates who have gone before us, and taking for our authority the sacred canons of holy church grounded on holy writ, "*ut tollantur e medio nostrorum qui hoc opus faceunt in nomine Domine nostri Jesu, deliver over such persons* to Satan; that is to say, *we* excommunicate, execrate, and anathematize all such as, after the publication of this our decree and notice, either publicly or privately given to them hereof, shall defend, adhere to, or approve the justice of the said peace, and chiefly those who bear arms, or make or join in war with, for, or in

behalf of the Puritans or other heretics of Dublin, Cork, Youghal, or other places within this kingdom, or shall either by themselves, or by their appointment, bring, send, or give any aid, succour, or relief, victuals, ammunition, or other provision to them; or by advice or otherwise advance the said peace, or the war made against us, those and every one of them, by this present decree, We do declare and pronounce EXCOMMUNICATED, *ipso facto ut non circumveniamini a Satanâ, non enim ignoramus cogitationes ejus.*

Dated at Kilkenny, in our palace of residence, the 5th day of October, 1646.

(Signed) JOHANNES BAPTISTA, Archiepis.

..... copus Fermanus Nuncius Apostolicus de mandate illustrissimi Domini Nuncii et congregationis ecclesiasticæ utriusque cleri regni Hiberniæ Nicholas Fernensis congregationes concellarius.

N. B. This document most characteristically concludes with the words "*non ignoramus cogitationes Satanæ,*" for a more diabolical project never entered into the brain of man than that which occasioned this hypocritical declaration.

October 10.—General Preston returned the following answer to the Lord-Lieutenant's expostulatory letter.

May it please your Excellency,

In answer to your's of the 8th of this instant, I return, that finding the peace that was concluded and published, *destructive to my religion*, and the liberty of the nation, to the maintenance of which, together with his Majesty's just prerogative, I had formerly sworn and associated myself, I called together my regiments, and issued new commissions for reinforcing of my army, my intention being therein no other than complying with my former resolution and engagement, which I desire may be accorded with assurance, whereby we may be the better enabled to comply with his Majesty, in serving him, which is the only ambition of,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most humble Servant,
T. PRESTON.

Kilka, Oct. 10, 1646.

October 13.—Lord Digby wrote to the Lord-Lieutenant from Grangemelan, in the following words, "All here of the Nuncio and O'Neill's parties is the height of insolency and villainies. O'Neill's and Preston's armies hate one another more than the English hates either of them. O'Neill has eight thousand foot, whereof five thousand are well armed, and

eight hundred horse, the worst in the world. He designs on Naas."—*Hib. Ang.* v. ii. p. 172.

October 19.—On this day General Preston made proposals to Lord Digby, who replied that if he would submit to the peace, the Lord-Lieutenant would break off the other treaty; at the same time Preston sent Sir James Dillon to offer the command of his army to Lord Clanrickard, offering to submit to the peace if the Catholics should be secured in their religion; but as Clanrickard would not meddle without Ormond's consent, so Ormond began to be shy of Preston, and not to regard what he said, because he had promised him not to shoot again at any English garrison, yet did he afterwards assault and take Castle Jordan, which breach of his private promise more sullied his reputation with Ormond than did his contravention of the general peace. Moreover, while these people pretended fairly, and talked of peace, they nevertheless marched on, and destroyed the English quarters; and therefore when the Lord Taaf, on the 23d of October, sent a healing message to the Lord-Lieutenant in behalf of Preston, and in order to receive the peace, he smartly answered "that now they had destroyed his quarters, and taken several of his Majesty's castles, and murdered his subjects without any cause of complaint, they begin to talk, and but to talk, of accommodation;" and when Preston replied, "that the peace was disadvantageous to the Catholics, and was therefore rejected," the Marquis answered, "that oaths were not necessary to bind one to his benefit, and therefore are useful only when they oblige to disadvantage, and that if they might for that reason be violated, all faith among men would be destroyed."—*Ibid.* p. 173.

October 26.—The three commissioners sent to the Parliament of England from Ormond, landed at Chester, being transported over by Captain Willoughby.—*Sanderson*, p. 965.

About this time the Irish rebels had taken Aeklew (probably Arkloe) Castle, belonging to the Protestants, who had refused to subscribe to the peace, with eighty soldiers, and one hundred arms therein, as also the fort of Maryborough, in the center of the province of Leinster, to quarter, with Sir William Gilbert, governor thereof, all his officers and soldiers, all the arms and ammunition, and about a thousand persons, men, women, and children, now at the mercy of the barbarous and insulting enemy.—*Ibid.*

October 29.—The Marquis of Ormond wrote to the officers of the Scottish regiments in Ulster, stating to them the imminent danger of the British and Protestants in Ireland, and most earnestly desiring assistance.—*Beling's Fragmentum Historicum*, p. 404.

About this time the Lord-Lieutenant sent orders to all people within eight miles of Dublin to bring in whatever provisions, &c. they had, giving them three or four days' time for it, and what was found abroad that day, provisions or forage, was to be destroyed, and the mills to be burned. This was done by the advice of the Earl of Castlehaven, and proved afterwards effectual in obliging the Nuncio's armies to fall back from the metropolis.—*See Lord Castlehaven's Memoirs*, page 160.

October 30.—General Preston wrote to the Lord-Lieutenant that he would send him propositions in two or three days.—*Hib. Ang.* v. ii. p. 173.

On the same day Preston and his officers enter into a written engagement with the Marquis of Clanrickard, to submit and conform themselves entirely and sincerely to the peace concluded and proclaimed by the Lord-Lieutenant, and to serve his Majesty against all his enemies or rebels, the Marquis of Clanrickard having previously engaged upon his honour to use all the power and interest he had in the king, queen, and prince, on behalf of the Roman Catholics, and to procure them such liberties and privileges for the free exercise of their religion, as they could reasonably expect, and moreover engaging that the Lord-Lieutenant would acquiesce with such directions as he should receive therein, without contradiction or endeavours to do ill offices to the Catholics.—*The Earl of Clarendon's Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland*, p. 41, *Dublin*, 1719.

Immediately after this the Marquis of Clanrickard was made, by the Lord-Lieutenant, general of the army, and was received as such by General Preston's army, being drawn in battalia, and general Preston received at the same time a commission from the Lord-Lieutenant to command as Serjeant-Major-General under the Marquis of Clanrickard—but the issue of all this was a letter from Preston to this effect, "*that his officers were not excommunication proof, and had fallen from him to the Nuncio's party.*" This new violation of faith contributed very much to incline the Marquis to treat with the parliamentary commissioners, who had sown such seeds of jealousy and discontent in Dublin, that the treachery and perfidious carriage of the Irish filled the inhabitants with the utmost alarm, and induced them to endeavour to force the Marquis to an accommodation with the Parliament, by refusing to contribute farther to the support of his army.—*Lord Clarendon's Historical Review*, p. 43.

November 2.—Preston and Owen O'Neill sent the Lord-

Lieutenant the following propositions, requiring an answer to them by two o'clock in the afternoon of the ensuing Thursday at farthest—*be it war or peace.*

I.

That the exercise of the Romish religion be in Dublin, Tredagh, (Drogheda) and all the kingdom of Ireland, as free and as public as it is now in Paris, in France or Brussels, in the Low Countries.

II.

That the Council of State, called ordinarily the Council Table, be of members true and faithful to his Majesty, and such of which there may be no fear or suspicion of going to the Parliament party.

III.

That Dublin, Tredagh, Trim, Newry, Carlingford, and all garrisons within the Protestant quarters, be garrisoned by *confederate catholics*, to maintain and keep the said cities and places for the use of our Sovereign Lord King Charles and his lawful successors, for the defence of the Kingdom of Ireland.

IV.

That the present council of confederates shall swear truly and faithfully to keep and maintain, for the use of his Majesty and his lawful successors, and for the defence of the said kingdom of Ireland, the above cities of Dublin and Tredagh, and all other forts, places, and castles as above.

V.

That the said council and all general officers and soldiers whatsoever, do swear and protest to fight by sea and land against the Parliamentarians, and all the king's enemies. And that they will never come into any convention, agreement, or article, with the said Parliamentarians, or any the king's enemies, to the prejudice of his Majesty's rights, or of this kingdom of Ireland.

VI.

That according to our oath of association, we will, to the best of our power and cunning, defend the fundamental laws of this kingdom, the king's rights, and the lives and fortunes of the subjects.—*Hib. Ang.* v. ii. 173.

Although these propositions appeared to the Marquis of Ormond rather as evident tokens of the Nuncio and his party's confidence to find no difficulty in carrying the town, than as means proposed to avoid the spilling of blood, and that thereby it seemed to him they rather insulted over his necessitous condition, than that they affected the ways of peace, yet, without

taking notice of so magisterial a letter as that which accompanied these propositions, and without touching upon the latter, which he judged to be no way reasonable, he returned them an answer which puzzled them more than his resentment thereof in the most feeling expressions would have done.

For General Thomas Preston, and General Owen O'Neill.

After our hearty commendations, we received your letter of the second of this month, with propositions entitled thus:

Propositions, &c. &c. &c.

To which propositions you desire our answer at furthest by two of the clock in the afternoon of Thursday next; upon consideration whereof we find it necessary to understand from you, before we return you answer to the said propositions, who are of the council of the confederate Catholics from whom those propositions are offered to us, by what authority the said council is established, and what commission you have from them to offer the said propositions, in which particulars, when we shall be satisfied, we shall return an answer to the said propositions, and so we bid you farewell.

From his Majesty's Castle of Dublin, &c. &c.

Your loving Friend,

Ormond.

These questions were too knotty to be resolved on the sudden, and therefore, as is the custom in such cases, they were not answered. *Beling*, 412.

On the same day that these propositions were sent to the Lord-Lieutenant, Dr. Lewis Jones, Bishop of Killaloe, died in Dublin, in the 104th year of his age, and was buried in St. Werberg's church in that city. He was called the vivacious bishop of Killaloe, and is said to have married a young wife after he was three-score years of age, by which bed he had several children, of whom he lived to see three in considerable stations, viz. Sir Theophilus Jones, who was captain of an independent troop, and who had other employments; Colonel Michael Jones, afterwards made governor of Dublin upon the surrender of the Marquis of Ormond in 1647; and Henry Jones, who was advanced to the See of Clogher in his father's life-time, and afterwards to the bishopric of Meath. The services of the latter of these eminent men were so remarkable, that the following brief memoir of him may not be unacceptable in this place.

His first preferment was the deanery of Kilmore, where he was in great danger of losing his life in the beginning of the rebellion in 1641, but was preserved by a gentleman named Philip Mac Mulmore O'Reilly (see Nalson's Collections, vol.

ii. p. 535) who had protected several of the Protestants of that neighbourhood, and therefore ought to be remembered. On the 29th of October that year, one of the O'Reillys, sheriff of the County of Cavan, with three thousand men, passing by the Castle of Ballynanagh, where Mr. Jones then lived, and which he maintained for six days, summoned the place, which not being tenable, he surrendered, and was with his family committed to the charge of the said Philip Mac Mulmore O'Reilly, and a garrison placed in his castle. He was soon after employed by the rebels of the County of Cavan to deliver a remonstrance to the Lords Justices, Bishop Bedell having refused that employment. He accepted the charge, not thinking it safe to refuse, and returned after ten days' stay in Dublin, having left his wife and children as hostages among the rebels. He was instrumental in the preserving of Drogheda, by giving timely notice to the Lords Justices of a design formed by the rebels against it, which obliged the government to strengthen the garrison. Upon his coming up to Dublin, after he had been discharged, he was employed by commission from the government to take the examinations of all the Protestants who had escaped the fury of the first insurrection, to enquire into their losses, and to examine witnesses towards the conviction of such who had been engaged in the rebellion, either by any hostile act of their own, or by corresponding with the rebels. The originals of these depositions are preserved in the manuscript room of the College of Dublin, and the publication of them is a great desideratum among the Protestants of Ireland, particularly as they directly controvert the allegations of many modern Popish writers, who in direct contradiction to all historical evidence, have more than once attempted to charge the beginning of the massacres of 1641 on the unfortunate Protestants of that day.

Dean Jones, after taking these depositions, was sent to London to solicit relief for the distressed Protestants of Ireland, either from the Parliament, or by contributions of charitable persons. It was upon his return, in the year 1645, that the king advanced him to the See of Clogher, on the recommendation of the Marquis of Ormond. He was blamed for having afterwards accepted of an employment under Oliver Cromwell; but the peculiar circumstances of the Protestants of Ireland left them no alternative between an English army of any description, and a Popish army raised for their extirpation. He was, however, an early supporter of the Restoration of King Charles II. which gave him interest enough to procure his promotion to the See of Meath on the death of

Bishop Lesley. During the time of the usurpation, namely, in 1651, he adorned the old library of the college of Dublin with a fair stair-case, windows, classes, seats, and other ornaments, and made additions to it to the value of about four hundred pounds, a considerable sum in those times. He died in Dublin on the 5th of January, 1681, and was buried in St. Andrew's Church the day following, his funeral sermon being preached by his successor, Dr. Anthony Dopping. Bishop Henry Jones was a prelate of considerable fame for his learning, hospitality, and a constant exercise of preaching.---*See Harris's Edition of Sir James Ware's Bishops; Bishop Jones's Account of the Rebels of Cavan, and Carte's History of the Duke of Ormond*, v. ii. p. 498.

No. XXVII.

"*Much of God's justice and man's folly will at length be discovered through all the filmes and pretensions of religion, in which politicians wrap up their designs; in vain do men hope to build their piety on the ruins of loyalty. Nor can those confederations or designs be durable when subjects make bankrupt of their allegiance, under pretences of setting up a quicker trade for religion.*"—Eikone Basilike, sec. 14, p. 108.

1646, *November* 2.—The Earl of Clanrickard having in vain exerted himself to bring a considerable party of the confederates over to the Lord-Lieutenant, wrote to him this day in despair of accomplishing his loyal purpose, stating that "the sword of excommunication had so cut his power and means, that he could bring with him but one troop of horse to Tererоghan." The presence of this worthy nobleman was, however, a great comfort to the Marquis of Ormond, and gave hopes also to General Preston, who believed that his exemplary loyalty would gain him confidence on one side, and his profession of the popular religion would give him credit with the other, which circumstances seemed to render him the fittest mediator to reconcile both parties.—*See Hib. Ang.* v. ii. p. 174.

During these negotiations the confederates were every day approaching towards Dublin, having agreed to commence the siege of that place on the 3d of November. They had by this time taken all the outposts of the city, except one, which was commanded by Major Piggot. This officer agreed to surrender upon articles, and sending out his brother to have them signed, the Irish run in at the gate, fell upon the garrison, which, with the commander, they put to the sword. The Major's wife and daughter were saved by the interference of an Irish gentle-

man; but they butchered a minister in whose hands they found a bible, desiring him to *go preach to the devil.*" About this time eleven hundred of the Irish had assembled, and were on their march towards Dublin, intending to maintain the peace which had been made with the Lord Lieutenant, when a friar came forward and stood at the head of them, declaring, that if they marched a foot farther, they should be all excommunicated, whereupon they all returned home.—*(Sanderson's Life of King Charles,* p. 965.*)*

4th.—The Marquis of Ormond wrote to Generals Preston and O'Neill, in reply to their propositions, stating it to be necessary to understand from them, before he should make any farther reply, who were of the council of the confederates from whom these propositions came—by what authority that said council was established, and what commission those officers had from them on this occasion.

These questions were too knotty to be resolved on a sudden, and therefore, as is the custom in such cases, they were not answered. In the mean time the Marquis observing the approach of a storm, endeavoured to obtain a supply of ammunition, and to sound the disposition of the Roman Catholic citizens, as he was in doubt how they would behave themselves, in case a general assault was given by so numerous a force, fighting under the title of so specious a cause, and under the authority of so extraordinary a minister of the See Apostolic. *(Richard Beeling's Fragmentum Historicum,* p. 413.

The Lord Lieutenant employed some of the Roman Catholic Priests on this occasion, through whom he proposed some queries, which were answered to his satisfaction, assuring him of the good affections of the people of that persuasion in Dublin.—*Ibid,* 417.

November 10th.—Mr. Bysse, the Recorder of Dublin, arrived in London, and reported that the enemy lay ten miles round Dublin, with accounts of their barbarous cruelties committed in their marches, upon the miserable Protestants, and particularly, their taking a castle on the way, and killing in it the Rev. Mr. Brereton, with sixty men to whom they had promised quarter. He also stated, that Dublin was furnished with a store of provisions sufficient to serve for five months. Soon after this communication, one thousand eight hundred and seventy horse and foot were shipped at Chester for Ireland. —*Sanderson,* 966.

At the same time Mr. Bysse reported that the two justices of the Irish government, Sir Adam Loftus, and Sir William Parsons were on their way to England.—*Ibid.*

November 12th.—Lord Digby wrote to the Lord Lieutenant, that Lord Clanrickard and he had finished their negotiation the day before, to which General Preston, and Sir Phelim O'Neal, and part of Owen Roe O'Neal's army, would submit. You may depend *(said Lord Digby in his letter)* on this engagement of Preston and his army, since it cannot be violated without such perfidy, as certainly the profession of soldiers and gentlemen hath never been guilty of.---*Hib. Ang.* ii. 174.

November 13th.---On this day the parliamentary commissioners, Sir Thomas Wharton, Sir Robert King, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir Robert Meredith, and Richard Solway, Esq. arrived in the Bay of Dublin. They sent immediately to the Lord Lieutenant, informing him of their arrival, stating, that they had matters of importance for the preservation of the Protestants of Ireland, to communicate to his excellency, and desired his safe conduct, which was accordingly sent to them.---*Ibid,* 177.

November 14th.---The parliamentary commissioners land, and deliver to the Lord Lieutenant a copy of their commission, and of the ordinance of parliament, and of their instructions, which were to this effect—"To assure the Marquis of Ormond, and the Earl of Roscommon, &c. that the parliament would take the Protestants of Ireland into their protection; and if the Marquis would surrender up the sword and garrisons in four days, that, then he should enjoy his estate, and have indemnity from debts contracted on the public account, and should be protected against all debts for a twelvemonth, and that he and his followers might have passes to go where they pleased; that he should have two thousand pounds per annum for five years and longer, if he could not receive so much out of his own estate; and that he might live in England if he would submit to all ordinances of parliament, and that for a twelvemonth he might live in England, and should not be pressed to any oath, he engaging his honour not to do any thing disserviceable to the parliament during that time."—*Ibid,* 178.

November, 17th.—Owen Roe O'Neal decamped from the rest of the Irish army, and marched into the Queen's County, where he ravaged over the country, and destroyed all that he could not keep.—*Ibid,* 182.

November, 18th.---After three days' close negotiation with the Parliamentary commissioners, the Marquis of Ormond on this day desired their answer to his propositions sent into England; but the commissioners answered, that they neither

had them, nor a copy of them, nor any instructions about them, and therefore they pressed for his excellency's answer to their proposals. The marquis replied that, if they would declare that they had no larger instructions than those they had shewn, he would give a positive answer.

The parliamentary commissioners, in reply to the Lord Lieutenant, desire to be excused from disclosing to him whether they had larger instructions than what they had shewn him or not; upon which he demanded whether they had his majesty's order for delivering up the sword and garrisons. They answered they had not. Then, said the Lord Lieuteeant, "since you bring no answer to my propositions, nor security to any Protestants whom you may condition with, nor can inform us what those ordinances of parliament are unto which we must submit, nor any ways secure such Papists as always adhered to the government, nor give any assurance to the officers, military and civil, for their continuance, nor take any notice of the Protestant clergy, nor bring his majesty's orders, it is not my duty to part with so great a trust in such a manner without the king's positive command."

To this the commissioners replied, that all Protestants not having been in the Irish rebellion, should be included in this treaty, and have the full benefit of the instructions, and that all ordinances of parliament should be construed, *such as those who had not offended the parliament had submitted to.* They also offered to enlarge Ormond's own sum, from five thousand pounds, to the sum he had demanded in his proposition, and to permit him to apply as he thought fit, a power possessed by them to grant pensions not exceeding two thousands pounds a year, till the persons receiving such pensions should receive so much out of their estates.

November 19th.---Ormond answered the commissioners, that, still the loyal Roman Catholics were not secured, nor the military or civil officers provided for, nor the clergy considered,---that "the Covenant" was enjoined by one of these ordinances of parliament, that the procuring his majesty's directions was the first article in his propositions, that it was a fundamental condition from which he could not recede, in regard of his oath when he took the sword, and the rather because, by surrendering the government, the Irish parliament would be dissolved, which he considered the greatest security of the Protestants.---*Hib. Ang.* ii. 179.

Here we find the Marquis of Ormond strenuously negociating for the protection of Clanrickard, and the loyal part of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, who, shortly afterwards,

by the treachery of their rebellious brethren, fell into the hands of an unrelenting fanatical enemy, from whom they suffered the cruellest persecution. And yet this same generous Ormond has been represented by many popish writers in as black colours as Oliver Cromwell has been; they unjustly charge him with persecuting those, among whom loyalty was ever a recommendation to his kindest favour.

After the reply which the commissioners received from the Lord Lieutenant on the 19th of this month, they decreed a conference with him, which was obtained, and the particulars committed to writing *(for which see Hibernia Anglicana,* ii. 180.) Still, however, no agreement was made, and the Lord Lieutenant, that the Protestants of Ireland might not be deprived of the supplies the commissioners had brought, and that neither side might be prejudiced until the king's pleasure might be known, and their instructions from the parliament enlarged---proposed, 1st. That the officers and soldiers might be landed, and put in one or more garrisons, and to receive orders from himself and the governor of the place, and submit to the martial law. 2. That three thousand pounds should be lent to him to support the army, two-thirds of it in money, and one-third in victuals. 3. That the commissioners should engage that the soldiers would remove at the end of six weeks, unless an agreement should be made in the mean time, and till then, do no prejudice to the government. 4. That his excellency would engage they should have free egress, &c. at six weeks' end.

But the commissioners thinking that the exigencies of the city and army, and the danger of losing both, would force the Lord Lieutenant to comply, refused these proposals, and repeated, that his lordship had offered to the parliament to put all his forces and garrisons under their sole command. This Ormond positively denied by his letter of the 22d of this month, and so this treaty broke off, and the commissioners carried their men and supplies coastways to the province of Ulster, leaving Dublin at the mercy of the Irish armies. The Lord Lieutenant's situation as this treaty drew near to a close, appears in a letter he wrote this week to Lord Digby, in which he thus expresses himself:---"It is an hard task I have to break with the parliament's commissioners, and to keep my reputation with my own party, to whom the commissioners offered security in their fortunes, supplies in their wants, and assistance against the Irish, that *have destroyed them in all the interests* that are dear to men, besides I must persuade my party to return to intolerable and inevitable wants, and to rely

once more upon the recently broken faith of the Irish."---*See Hib. Ang.* ii. 181.

In the same letter Ormond excepted against letting the Irish into garrisons, and against promising to obey the orders of Queen or Prince, and against the words *free exercise of religion*, which the Irish desired to have inserted in a treaty with him.---*Ibid.*

November 20.---Lord Digby returned plausible answers to the Lord-Lieutenant's letter, writing that General Preston was languishing for his Excellency's commission, and that he need do no more than write a kind letter to that officer. So at length was the Lord-Lieutenant induced to comply, and on the 25th of this month he wrote to Preston, and next day gave a commission to the Earl of Clanrickard to be Lieutenant-General of the army, and he was received as such by General neral Preston's army, drawn up in battalia, on the 27th of this month, upon which he and his officers drew up and signed an engagement, of which the following is a copy.

We, the generals, nobility, and officers of the confederate Catholic forces, do solemnly bind and engage ourselves, by the honour and reputation of gentlemen and soldiers, and by the sacred protestation upon the faith of Catholics, in the presence of Almighty God, both for ourselves, and as much as in us lies, for all persons that are or shall be under our command, that we will, from the date hereof forward, submit and conform ourselves entirely and sincerely, to the peace concluded and proclaimed by his Majesty's Lieutenant, with such additional concessions and securities as the Right Honourable Ulick, Lord Marquis of Clanrickard, hath undertaken to procure and secure to us, in such manner, and upon such terms, as is expressed in his Lordship's undertakings and protestation of the same date hereunto annexed, and signed by himself. And we, upon his Lordship's undertaking, engage ourselves by the bond of honour and conscience above said, to yield entire obedience to his Majesty's Lieutenant-General, and General Governor of this kingdom, and to all deriving authority from them by commission, to command us in our several degrees. And that according to such orders as we shall receive from them, faithfully serve his Majesty against all his enemies or rebels, as well within this kingdom as in any other part of his dominions, and against all persons that shall not join with us upon these terms, in submission to the peace of this kingdom, and to his Majesty's authority. And we do *further* engage ourselves, under the said *solemn bonds*, that we will never, either directly or indirectly, make use of any ad-

vantage or power wherewith we shall be trusted, to the obliging of his Majesty or his Ministers, by any kind of force, to grant unto us any thing beyond the said Marquis of Clanrickard's undertaking, but shall wholly rely upon his Majesty's own free goodness for what further graces and favours he shall be graciously pleased to confer upon his faithful Catholic subjects in this kingdom, according to their obedience and merit in his service. And we do *further protest* that we shall never esteem ourselves disobliged from this engagement by any authority or power whatsoever, provided on both parties, that this, engagement and undertaking be not understood to extend to debar, or hinder his Majesty's Catholic subjects of this kingdom from the benefit of any further graces and favours which his Majesty may be graciously pleased to concede to them upon the Queen's Majesty's mediation, or any other treaties abroad.

(Signed) &c. &c. &c.

The Nuncio and his minion, Owen O'Neill, were not content with the terms of this new reconciliation, and on the 20th of this month the Nuncio urged the Marquis of Clanrickard, that "the churches in Dublin might be included in his engagement;" but Clanrickard replied that it would be more plausible to refuse to obey the king until he became Catholic, than until, (being a Protestant) he refuse to part with his own churches. "Your grace" said he, "ought to content yourself with the glory of settling all the garrisons, and in a manner all the power of the kingdom in Catholic hands, and to have secured the Catholic religion with at least as great extent, and as great freedom and lustre under a king of a different faith, as that of his own profession."

It is not however to be doubted that the Nuncio did secretly promote this pacification, not with a design that it should stand, but in expectation of these three advantages :---1st. That being by sickness and want of forage necessitated to raise the siege of Dublin, this agreement would make their retreat safe, which else might be dangerous, Ormond's horse being much better than theirs. 2. The disappointment of the parliamentary commissioners, would make an everlasting feud between them and Ormond, and 3. Preston's forces being in the English garrisons, might find an opportunity to master some of them.---*Hib. Ang.* ii. 182, *and Appendix* xxxiii.

November 24th.---The council and congregation at Kilkenny, issued a declaration against the renewed peace, signed by the following persons :---

Johan Baptista Archiepiscopus Firmanus
Nuncius Apostolicus
Jo. Clonfert
Emer Clogherensis
Louthe
F. Ta Plunket.
Alexander Mac Donnel.
N. Plunket.
Robert Lynch, and
Pierce Butler.—*See Cox's Appendix*, xxxv.

To this declaration may be justly attributed the ruin of the King's cause in Ireland; the triumph of the parliamentary rebels, and all the bloodshed which ensued.

The treaty between the Lord-Lieutenant and General Preston was concluded at Sir Nicholas White's Castle of Leixlip, in the latter end of this month. Shortly afterwards General Preston desired the Lord-Lieutenant to march with as strong a body as he could draw out of his garrisons towards Kilkenny, where he promised to meet him with his army, that so being united, they might compel the rest to submit to the peace.---*Borlase*, p. 171.

By letters under his own hand, General Preston invited the Lord-Lieutenant to march with him to Kilkenny and Waterford, to reduce those cities to conformity, which he said would be effected by his Excellency's appearance only before these places; whereupon Ormond consented, but was by sickness detained for some days from the intended march.

December 1.---About this time the parliamentary commissioners who, with their army, had gone coastways to Belfast, upon Ormond's disagreement with them, began to shew some jealousy on the slowness with which the war was prosecuted between that nobleman and the Irish rebels, and began to suspect that neither party was in earnest. For between the first of October and this day, the following castles had been lost to the rebels, viz. Lese, Stradbally, Diseit, Grange-Mellon, Rebend, Athy, Greenhill, Castle Jordan, Edenderry, Marmegstown, Sir John Hayes's house, Honestown, (probably Heynstown) Naas, Castle-Warden, Monmonk, Leixlip, Lucan, Palmerstown, Tallon, (probably Tallow) Bullocis, and Bellamont. *See Sanderson*, p. 966.

December 2.---General Preston wrote from Naas, to which he had decamped contrary to the Lord-Lieutenant's expectation, informing him that "the necessities of his army forced him to withdraw thither, where he staid to expect his Lordship's commands. On the same day Ormond replied that he

would certainly meet him at Castledermot that day seven-night, with six hundred horse and six hundred musqueteers, and that he would cause commissions to be prepared with blanks for the names of Preston's officers, to whom he would give proof of his full confidence in them, and value of their merit and loyal affections, and for Preston himself, that he should have all the power with the Lord-Lieutenant that he could desire.

No. XXVIII.

"*Quos Jupiter vult perdere prius dementat.*"

1646. *December* 5.---Matters thus standing in a fair correspondence between the Lord-Lieutenant and General Preston, his Excellency, accompanied by the Marquis of Clanrickard, marched out of Dublin with a small party in the nature of guards, towards the place of rendezvous, expecting to meet General Preston there; but the scene was changed, and the case was altered, for the Council and Congregation at Kilkenny had so influenced Preston and his officers, as to prevail on them to apostatize from their solemn engagements, so lately entered into, and Preston was not ashamed to write this bold excuse to the Marquis of Clanrickard, that "his officers were not excommunication-proof." Thus were the king's cause, and the lives and properties of all the people of Ireland, delivered into the hands of the English rebels, and if the Irish "Catholics" suffered most severely in the issue, it must be allowed that they were the chief cause of the miseries which ensued. *See Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 182.

Upon this new violation of faith the Marquis of Ormond was compelled to return to Dublin, where the commissioners who had been lately there from the two houses of Parliament, had sown such seeds of jealousy and discontent, that the inhabitants refused to contribute further to the payment and support of his army, so that he was obliged, in cold, wet weather, to draw out his half-starved and half-naked troops into the enemy's quarters, where yet he would suffer no act of hostility to be committed, or any thing else to be taken, but victuals for the subsistence of his men.---*Borlase*, 172.

December 15.---The Council and Congregation of the Confederates, not taking any notice of any peace or agreement that had intervened, published the following declaration:

Whereas the cessation of arms between us and the adverse party is long since determined (terminated) and for that the enemy in Dublin is now advanced into the field, committing daily

acts of hostility (though they committed none, but paid for whatever they had) We therefore declare, order, and appoint, that all generals, captains, and other officers and soldiers whatsoever, of all and every the armies of the confederate Catholics of Ireland, and all and every party or parties of them, either now together in a body, or in their winter quarters, shall and may *kill* and endamage the most they or any of them may of the enemy aforesaid, and against them, or any of them, use and exercise all manner of acts of hostility. *Hibernia Anglicana*, vol. ii. p. 183.

December 19.---General Preston wrote to the Lord-Lieutenant from Waterford, endeavouring to excuse his apostacy, and laying the fault upon his officers; and yet on the 22d of the same month he published a declaration in print against the lately-renewed peace to this effect, "That since the engagement made by the Marquis of Clanrickard doth not yield sufficient security for the free exercise of religion, &c. as by the Congregation's annotations thereon doth appear, and since a resolution was taken not to receive any of his forces into the garrison of Dublin, according to agreement, unless these objections might be satisfied by the enlargement of further grants that might satisfy the council and congregation, he thought himself obliged by the oath of association to obey the council, congregation, and general assembly.---*Ibid.*

December 25.---Ormond and his small army kept a melancholy Christmas in Westmeath, and though he used no hostility, but paid for every thing he required, so that the country seemed pleased with them, yet the captain and lieutenant of his Excellency's guards, staying behind the rest, were murdered upon the highway by some of the Irish; and on Christmas day the Lord-Lieutenant wrote to Lord Digby, then preparing to go to France, as followeth:

"I shall beseech you to be careful of one thing, which is, to take order that the commands that shall be directed to me touching this people (if any be) thwart not the grounds I have laid to myself in point of religion, for in that, and in that only, I shall resort to the liberty left to a subject *to obey by suffering*, and particularly that *there be no concession to the Papists, to perpetuate churches or church livings to them, or to take ecclesiastical jurisdiction from us;* and as for other freedoms from penalties, for the quiet exercise of their religion, I am clear of opinion, it not only may, but ought to be given them, if his Majesty shall find cause to own them for any thing but rebels."---*Ibid*, p. 184.

December 31.---The Popish Bishop of Ferns issued the following order respecting the burial of Francis Talbot, who died a Protestant :

The body of *Francis Talbot*, who died an obstinate heretic, and finally therein impenitent, is to be buried *in pœnam hereseos nec non interrorum aliorum*, with only one candle at the grave, at nine of the clock by night, without a bell in the church or street, without priest, cross, book, or prayer ; the place of burial is to be in the alley of St. Mary's church-yard, near to the garden of the parsonage. All which concerning the said burial we have ordered to be done with the advice of men learned in divinity, and who shall exceed this manner of the said Francis's burial is to incur church censures ; no wax taper, or candle, or torch, is to be used.

NICHOLAUS, Episcopus Fernensis.

Given at the Fryers' Monastery, the last day of December, 1646.

Borlase's History of the execrable Irish Rebellion, page 171, London, 1680.

At this time the Pope's Nuncio, Rinuncini, had one printing press at Kilkenny, and another at Waterford. See the bloody Irish almanack, extracted from the almanack printed at Waterford in 1646, London, 1646, title-page and pages 8 and 11. *Columbanus ad Hibernos*, No. ii. p. 126, *Buckingham*, 1810

By propagating false notions of spiritual jurisdiction amongst the people from the pulpit and from the press, our ultramontane Bishops and Nuncios suffered no promotion to occur in the Irish church but such as might contribute to support foreign influence, and availing themselves of our national aversion to England, drove us eagerly to adopt such doctrines as tended to separate both countries ; they obstructed every effort to reconcile both, and to establish on a permanent foundation of mutual benevolence and forbearance in religious concerns, the tranquillity and the prosperity of our country.---*Ibid*, page 127.

The readers will recollect, that these are the observations of a Romish priest of the present day, who tells us that he has been persecuted by the titular Archbishop of Dublin for the liberality of his sentiments. About the beginning of the year 1647, Archbishop Usher was chosen preacher of the Society of Lincoln's Inn, which with difficulty he was prevailed on to accept. He had handsome lodgings ready furnished, assigned to him ; as also divers rooms for his library, which was about this time brought up from Chester. Here he constantly preached among them all the Term time, for almost eight

years; until at last his eyes and teeth failed him, so that he could not be well heard in so large a congregation; and about a year and a half before his death, he quitted the place, not being able to be serviceable in it longer. About the time of his appointment to be preacher at Lincoln's Inn, he published his "*Deatriba de Romanæ Ecclesiæ, symbolo Apostolico vetere et aliis fidei formulis,* wherein he gives a learned account of what is commonly called the Apostle's Creed, and shews the various copies which were used in the Roman church, with other forms of confession of faith, proposed to the catechumeni, and younger people in the eastern and western churches, together with several other monuments of antiquity relating to the same, which he dedicated to Gerrard Vossius. *Ware's Bishops, Harris's Edition,* p. 112, Dublin, 1739.

The Lord Lieutenant, at his winter quarters in Westmeath, was not in a condition to make head against O'Neill, who continually alarmed him by some of his parties, and all that he could do, was to raise a thousand pounds from the gentlemen of the county, and to subsist his forces for a few weeks in a country not so much wasted as that of Dublin. *Warner's History of the Rebellion and civil Wars of Ireland,* vol. ii. p. 111.

1647, *January* 5.---The king wrote the following letter from Newcastle to the Marquis of Ormond:

ORMOND,

The large dispatch from you and Digby of the second and third of December, with the full account of your London treaty, I have received by several messengers; thereby finding with great contentment, that I am no ways deceived in my confidence of you. For I really and heartily approve of all that you have done hitherto, and in particular concerning Colonel Preston; but for further directions I can only say, that upon no terms you must submit to the CWIK, (this cypher appears to be that of the English parliament) and that you endeavour what you can to repiece your breach with the Irish, in case you can do it with honour and a good conscience, both which are so rightly understood by you, that I will neither trouble myself nor you with any more particulars. I command you to follow such orders as the queen and my son shall send you.

Your most assured, real, faithful, constant Friend,

CHARLES R.

Carte's Appendix to the Life of Ormond.

His Majesty meant, by the foregoing letter, to prevent a submission of his friends and forces in Ireland to the Parlia-

ment of England, the Marquis of Ormond was obliged to act a part opposite to it. When that nobleman returned from the county of Westmeath with his army to Dublin, the inhabitants were, some of them, so discontented at refusing succours sent from England, others were so exasperated at the repeated treachery of the Irish, and all of them so impoverished by the decay of traffic, that they refused to contribute any longer to the maintenance of his forces. He was obliged, therefore, to draw them forth again in the midst of a cold and wet winter, half-starved and half-naked as they were, to subsist in the enemy's quarters, where he suffered no act of hostility to be committed, nor any thing to be taken but provisions. In this uneasy situation he continued to expect the result of the General Assembly called to meet in the beginning of January. For he supposed it impossible to be so constituted, but that it would abhor the violation of the former treaty, and the unwarrantable presumption of the clergy at Waterford. In short, he expected that it would vindicate the faith of their nation and religion from the reproaches it lay under, and from the extravagant jurisdiction which the nuncio had assumed to himself over the kingdom.—*Warner*, v. ii. p. 113.

In the month of January the General Assembly met, and became more violent than ever before. They insisted on nothing less than the restoration of all churches and church lands in every part of the kingdom to the "Catholics;" and the repeal of the common law, so far as it gave the crown any ecclesiastical power whatever; and the nuncio, in a speech delivered on the 20th, insisted on an oath for that purpose, assuring them of great supplies from the Pope, and calling upon them, in the name of the Holy See, to trust to providence for the security of the event. Du Moulin, the French resident, presented a memorial against their proceedings, approving of the peace with Ormond, and most earnestly pressing them, in his master's name, to confirm it. In vain! After a session of two months, they rejected the peace, entered a solemn protest against it, as invalid to all intents and purposes, and confirmed this decision by declarations and acts which passed three days after the arrival of Lord Taafe and Colonel Barry, whom Ormond sent with a letter to their chairman, Mr. Plunket, dated January 25th, representing the *indelible infamy* which they would contract by violating the public faith.—*Memoirs of the Nuncio Rinuccini*, fol. 1497 and 1522; *Carte*, p. 597, and *Columbanus ad Hibernos*, No. II. p. 248.

Here was a full period to all hopes from the Irish. Ormond, surrounded by a party exasperated at the repeated perfidy of

this odious race, provoked at the distresses to which they had been reduced in the royal service, and unable any longer to supply the demands of a famished army, found himself, after a long series of toilsome efforts for the interests of his sovereign, deceived, destitute, and abandoned. He could no longer support the king's cause, or protect his Protestant subjects. He therefore determined, as his last desperate resource, to deposit the rights of the crown with the English Parliament. Those who still adhered to Irish government, however zealously affected to the king, however adverse to the proceedings of his opponents, yet could not deny the necessity of this resolution. The privy council concurred in it, and it was approved by a Parliament held in Dublin.—*Leland's History of Ireland,* vol. iii. p. 316, and *Carte's Ormond,* vol. i. p. 600.

And now, after bringing forward this body of evidence in favour of Ormond, I may be allowed to pause, and to contemplate the difficulties in which this great man was so dangerously involved. I can easily fancy him walking in pensive silence within the battlements of Dublin castle; passing restless days and sleepless nights; pondering on his situation, and that of his wife and children; surrounded by enemies; confined within the narrow precincts of a species of state prison, and without any other means of escape than by adopting, in a choice of evils, one of those alternatives, *whether he should surrender Dublin to the Nuncio or to the Parliament.* To the *Nuncio,* who had determined to confer the crown of Ireland on a foreign power, and to establish an episcopal tribunal of inquisitorial, uncontrouled, and excommunicating power on the necks of his countrymen, or to a *Puritanical Parliament,* which had determined to abolish episcopacy, to introduce the liturgy of the kirk, to level the nobility, and to extinguish the Irish nation.—*Columbanus ad Hibernos,* No. II. p. 249, Buckingham, 1810.

The confederates, who had ever professed loyalty to the king, were not entirely insensible to the odium of forcing his lieutenant into a submission to his enemies; and at least thought it necessary to affect a solicitude for preventing it, by renewing their overtures for an accommodation. But as the Nuncio still influenced their councils, the terms offered by the agents were insolent and extravagant. They served, however, to give the marquis some respite and suspension of hostilities, until his treaty with the Parliament should be concluded. Lord Inchiquin now regarded him as a friend, sent him some supplies, and consulted him on his operations against the Irish in Munster. This lord was at the head of five thousand

foot and fifteen hundred horse, and was reinforced from England. He took several places from the Irish, and threatened Waterford with a siege. Preston was recalled from his petty exhibitions in Leinster to oppose the progress of Lord Inchiquin, for O'Neil would obey no orders, not even those of the Nuncio, though that ecclesiastic's rapacious followers called themselves the Pope's army. This refractory leader had lately been made general of Connaught; he was in possession of some counties of Leinster, and in all the Irish quarters, through the northern province, absolute commander. His affectation of independence, his subtile, dark, and enterprising temper; the insolence of his followers, who could not conceal the pride and prejudices of their ancient descent, and claimed the whole island as the property of the old Irish, filled the confederates with fears and discontents. Those of Leinster, and all the "Catholics" of the English race dreaded extirpation from these savages. So that the body of Irish insurgents, who had given such consequence and such dignity to their original conspiracy; who had extorted the most abject condescensions from the king, and prescribed law to his lieutenant, was now on the point of breaking out into virulent factions, and declaring desperate war against each other.—*Leland*, vol. iii. p. 317; and *Carte's Ormond*, vol. i. p. 601.

In a short time after the conclusion of his negotiations with the Irish, the Marquis of Ormond having sent an offer to the Parliamentary Commissioners to deliver up the sword and garrisons under his command, on the conditions they had before settled, the Irish Parliament met, and the two houses joined in an address of thanks to him for "his pious care and providence in preserving them at the hazard of his life, and the expence of his fortune; and when he could no longer resist a bloody and perfidious enemy, for transferring them into other hands that could preserve them." To perpetuate their testimony of his merit and their own gratitude to posterity, this address was ordered to be entered in the journals, and to be presented by the speakers of both houses. The marquis received this honorable testimony of the wisdom and integrity of his administration with his usual modesty, and in return assured them that *he had never received any other command from the king, but such as bespoke him to be a pious, wise, and Protestant Prince.*—*Warner*, vol. ii. p. 115.

No. XXIX.

"*As for the late King, though he gave the most glorious evidence that ever man did, of his being a Protestant, yet by the*

more than ordinary influence the Queen was thought to have over him, and it so happening that the greatest part of his anger was directed against the Puritans, there was such an advantage given to men disposed to suspect, that they were ready to interpret it as a leaning towards Popery, without which handle it was morally impossible that the ill-affected part of the nation could ever have seduced the rest into rebellion."—Marquis of Halifax's Miscellanies, p. 125, Third Edition, London, 1717.

January 28. The Lord Lisle, designed Lieutenant-General of Ireland, took his leave of the Parliament this day, to go to Ireland, but ere they could hope to hear of his arrival there, he wrote that he was willing to return, and so he came home again on the first of April. *Sanderson*, p. 967.

At this time, the Parliament voted the sending more forces into Ireland, and with all vigour to carry on a defensive war in that kingdom with seven regiments of foot, consisting of eight thousand four hundred, besides officers; with three thousand horse, and one thousand two hundred dragoons. All these were to be taken out of General Fairfax's army, which was the occasion of much distemper between the armies and the Parliament. *Ibid.*

About this time, Sir Adam Loftus, Sir John Temple, Sir Hardress Waller, and Mr. Annesley, being in England as Commissioners, made the following report to Parliament of the state of Ireland:

"That all the Province of Leinster opposed the Parliament, and also Connaught, except Sligo, and five or six castles, wherein the Parliament had six hundred horse, and fourteen hundred foot; but that in Munster the Parliament had Cork, Kinsale, Youghall, and Bandon, and in them four thousand foot, and three hundred horse, and that all Ulster was theirs, except Charlemont, Dungannon, and Mountjoy, which the Irish had, and Newry and Green Castle, which Ormond had; and that in that province the Parliament had eight thousand foot in seventeen regiments, whereof three thousand five hundred were Scots, and about five thousand old British; with eight hundred and fifty horse in seventeen troops; and that the Irish were well supplied with horse, arms, ammunition, and men, having twenty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse in arms." *Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 190.

Towards the end of the year 1646, the Parliamentary forces, whilst Owen Roe was at the siege of Dublin, sent out seven hundred horse, with some dragoons, from Lisnegarvy (now called Lisburn) and they ravaged over the counties of Cavan,

Moneghan, Louth, and Westmeath, and destroyed Owen Roe's quarters, and burned many of his villages, and an abundance of corn, and demolished Carrickmacross. After a fortnight's stay abroad, they brought home as many cattle, and as much other plunder, as they could drive or carry. In the mean time, the Lagan and Enniskillen forces being joined, met Owen Roe near Clounish, (now Clones) in the county of Monaghan, and gave him a defeat. *Ibid*, p. 190.

By the Lagan forces here mentioned, is meant a body of men originally raised in a tract of country still called by that name in the county of Donegal, on one of the shores of Lough Swilly; they consisted of three regiments. See an account of their refusal to hazard themselves by going to the relief of Sir Ralph Gore, when he was besieged at Magherabeg, in 1641, and reduced to great extremities. *Ware's Bishops*, p. 189.

30. The king was delivered to the Parliamentary commissioners at Newcastle, and on the same day, the Scotch army began to march towards Scotland. *Rapin*, xii. 338.

Feb. 2. The General Assembly of Confederated "Catholics" published a declaration against the peace concluded with the Lord-Lieutenant. *Cox's Appendix*, 134.

Feb. 5. The Lord-Lieutenant and Council being reduced to so great straits, that they had but seventeen barrels of powder left, and no magazines either of stores or victuals, nor any money either to buy more, or to pay the army, did agree to resign the kingdom of Ireland to the Parliament: and so on this day they made an act of council, reciting their sad condition, and empowering the Lord-Lieutenant to renew the treaty with the Parliament, for the surrender of Dublin, and quitting the government. *Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 186.

Feb. 6. The Lord-Lieutenant wrote to Warton and Salway, two of the Parliamentary commissioners, that he was now satisfied in the point he scrupled at, viz. the king's orders, and therefore was willing to surrender the government on the terms formerly proposed, and desired that succours might be sent immediately. *Ibid.*

Feb. 16. The king arrived at Holmby. *Rapin*, xii. 338.

March 3. The English Parliament issued an order, that if the Marquis of Ormond would give one of his sons hostage for the performance, together with the Earl of Roscommon, Colonel Chichester, and Sir James Ware, that then Coote's Regiment of horse, and Munroe's and Fenwick's regiments of foot, at that time in Ulster, should march to his assistance.

March 16. The Lord-Lieutenant sent as hostages to the

Parliament, the Earl of Roscommon, Colonel Chichester, Sir James Ware, and Sir Richard Butler, his own son, afterwards Earl of Arran. They were sent to Chester, and the three promised regiments were in return received into Ormond's garrisons. At the same time Lord Inchiquin sent his Excellency twenty barrels of powder, and half a ton of match. *Hib. Ang.* v. ii. p. 187.

March 17. The Earl of Roscommon, Colonel Arthur Chichester, and Sir James Ware, were sent to the committee at Derby House, to be hostages for the performance of the agreement with the Parliament, and to solicit that such Papists as had always adhered to the king, and Papists that got out of the rebels' quarters as soon as they could, and Papists remaining in the rebels' quarters, that had shewn constant good affections, should be indemnified. To this and other requests, the Parliament replied by the committee, that they were hostages, not commissioners. *Ibid*, p. 188.

On the same day the Parliament of Ireland made a public declaration, acknowledging their hearty thankfulness to the Marquis of Ormond for his singular goodness to the Protestant party in Ireland, and to those who had to that time faithfully and constantly adhered to them. *Ibid.*

The Lord Lieutenant made the following reply to the address he received from both houses of the Irish Parliament, and it is a document worthy of preservation, as it vindicates the character of his royal master and himself from some scandalous aspersions afterwards cast upon them.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

What you have now read and delivered hath much surprised me, and contains matter of higher obligation laid upon me by you than thus suddenly to be answered. Yet I may not suffer you to depart hence, without saying somewhat to you. And first I assure you, that this acknowledgement of yours is unto me a jewel of very great value, which I shall lay up amongst my choicest treasures, it being not only a full confutation of those calumnies that have been cast upon my actions during the time I have had the honour to serve his Majesty here, but likewise an antidote against the virulency and poison of those tongues and pens that, I am well assured, will be busily set on work to traduce and blast the integrity of my present proceedings for your preservation. And now, my Lords and Gentlemen, since this may, perhaps, be the last time that I shall have the honour to speak to you from this place, and since, next to the words of a dying man, those of one ready to banish himself from his country for the good of it, challenges credit, give me

leave, before God and you, here to protest, that in all the time I had the honour to serve the king my master, I never received any command from him, but such as spake him a wise, pious, Protestant prince, zealous of the religion he professeth, the welfare of his subjects, and industrious to promote and settle peace and tranquillity in all his kingdoms, and I shall beseech you to look no otherwise upon me, than upon a ready instrument set on work by the king's wisdom and goodness for your preservation, wherein if I have discharged myself to his approbation and yours', it will be the greatest satisfaction and comfort I take with me wherever it shall please God to direct my steps. And now that I may dismiss you, I beseech God long, long to preserve my gracious master, and to restore peace and rest to this afflicted church and kingdom. *Borlase on the dismal effects of the Irish Insurrection,* p. 183.

March 23. The Parliament having prohibited the observance of the feast of the church called Easter, the king replied to their order by observing that the feast of Easter was instituted by the same authority which changed the Jewish sabbath into the Lord's day, or Sunday, for the scripture doth not mention this change, so that the Parliament might as well return to the Sabbath Saturday, as refuse the church authority which instituted both. *Sanderson,* p. 981.

March 30. Colonel Castle's regiment arrived to the assistance of the Marquis of Ormond, being one of those sent by the Parliament. In the mean time the confederates wrote to invite Lord Dunsany and Sir Nicholas White to a conjunction with them in an attack upon the castle of Carlow, of which Ormond immediately sent notice both to Lord Lisle in Munster, and to General Munro in Ulster, in hopes they would make some excursions to save the place by diversion, which they could not.

At this time one Winter Grant, a Papist, and a subtle man, was sent over to Ireland, by the Queen, to hasten a peace, if possible; in which, however, he was to be directed by the Lord-Lieutenant. He brought with him fourteen blanks, to be filled up as the Marquis should please, whose opinion he was to ask whether the Prince should come to Ireland or not. *Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 194.

April 15. Winter Grant applied to the confederates to agree to a cessation, which they refused. *Ibid.*

April 18. The castle of Carlow surrendered to the confederated Irish. *Ibid.*

April 30. Colonel Hungerford's regiment arrived in Dublin. *Ibid.* p. 193.

May 10. The confederates at Kilkenny wrote to Winter Grant, that they insisted on the propositions of the congregation at Waterford, but were willing to make good the propositions made by Dr. Fennel, and would readily assist in preserving Dublin for the King against the Parliament.

May 13. The Supreme Council, though they a little before had refused a cessation proposed by the Marquis of Ormond, being now alarmed at the progress Lord Inchiquin had made in Munster, to clear themselves to the Queen of the odium of driving the Marquis to submit to the English Parliament, employed Winter Grant to negotiate an accommodation with him. This Grant was a Popish priest in disguise---one of the Queen's chaplains. His real name was Leyburn. See *Warner*, ii. 116.

On this day Winter Grant, in a letter to the Lord Lieutenant, pressed a conclusion of peace with the Irish confederates, and offered that their armies should drive back the Parliamentarians. *Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 194.

May 15. The Lord-Lieutenant replied to Mr. Grant, that the two first of Dr. Fennel's propositions were fit between neighbouring princes in a league offensive and defensive, but not between subjects and their king; that there was no possibility of a peace whilst they insisted on the propositions of the congregation of Waterford, and that these feigned overtures were for vile ends, to calumniate himself, and his Majesty's Council, if not accepted, and to deceive them if they should be accepted; that these perfidious confederates might have it to say that peace was refused them, they sent one Dr. Fennel with the above-mentioned proposals on the last day of February, in this year, which were unanimously rejected by the Lord-Lieutenant and Council with scorn.

I.

That each party should continue independent.

II.

That they should join in a war against the common enemy, meaning the English Protestants that adhered to the Parliament, and that neither party should make peace or cessation, or use traffic or commerce with them without the other's consent.

III.

That Dublin and other garrisons might be secured by their (the confederates') soldiers, against the common enemy.

IV.

That all Papists in English quarters should have free exercise of their religion; that is, as they afterwards explained it,

the churches and church livings, and exemption from the jurisdiction of the Protestant clergy in all places, except Dublin, where the greater number were "Catholics."

V.

That nobody should be permitted to live within the English quarters, but such as would swear to this accommodation; and,

VI.

That if both armies should join in any expedition, they were to be commanded by their respective commanders. *Ibid.* p. 186.

And now, observed Sir Richard Cox, in his Hibernia Anglicana, so often quoted in these Annals, what could be more amazing than to see a people, and especially the nobility and gentry of a whole kingdom, many of which had good breeding and good fortunes, give up the conduct of their reason, as well as their consciences, to the wild ambition and covetousness of their clergy? Men who ventured nothing by their preposterous attempts to set up their religion, for, in all events, they were to find welcome abroad, and to be reverenced even for being vanquished. (Sir Richard might have added, they had no hostages to the state in wives or children, so urged on the civil war without fear of leaving widows or orphans after them.) But for those gentlemen who had no certainty of subsistence elsewhere, and who had families to protect and provide for, how imprudent was it towards their lawful and indulgent king, whose pardon they so much needed, to require from him such conditions in matters of religion, as by the advantage it gave to his other enemies, in whose hands he was, must take from him more than their assistance could afford, and by this foolish stratagem, weaken and diminish that power by which only they could be saved! Nevertheless, they did in this manner tread upon the peace, not only in a heat, but in cold blood, and thereby rendered all future expectations vain, and, as will appear in the sequel, their own condition irreparable.

June 7. The Parliamentary commissioners landed in Ireland, and brought with them fourteen hundred foot and six hundred horse. They immediately proceeded to treat with the Lord-Lieutenant.

June 9. The Parliament of Ireland ordered a committee to congratulate the Parliamentary commissioners, and to express their thankfulness for their care, in sending supplies and relief into Ireland. *Commons' Journals*, vol. ii. fol. 576.

June 18. Articles were agreed on for the surrender of Dublin, and the government of Ireland, to the Parliament, by the

Marquis of Ormond of the one part, and Arthur Annesley, Sir Robert King, Knight, Sir Robert Meredyth, Knight, Colonel John More, and Colonel Michael Jones, Commissioners for the Parliament of England, on the other. For these articles, see the *Appendix to Sir Richard Cox's Hib. Ang.* No. xxxviii. p. 137.

June 19. The foregoing articles were signed.

June 20. The Parliamentary commissioners issued a proclamation forbidding the soldiers to exact contributions and free quarters, a practice they had for some time indulged themselves in with great insolence, and before the Lord-Lieutenant left Ireland, they had become so mutinous, that Sir Robert King and Mr. Annesley privately quitted the kingdom for fear of violence. *Borlase*, 184.

June 24. The Parliamentary commissioners published an order, requiring all ministers of congregations, and others officiating in the several churches and chapels at Dublin, to observe the Directory, and for the discontinuance of the liturgy and common prayer, although the Act of Uniformity was still in force in Ireland, and not so much as suspended by any order of either or both Houses of Parliament. Accordingly, the established clergy ceased to associate, and the liturgy was left off in all the churches of the city, except that of Trinity College, where Anthony Martin, Bishop of Meath, and Provost of that College, continued to use it. *Carte's Ormond*, i. fol. 805.

This prelate had the courage also to preach against the heresies of the times, with an apostolic liberty, in a crowded audience. *Ware's Bishops*, 158.

Another instance of this steady adherence to duty, in a time of persecution, was found in Dr. Edward Synge, who had a benefice in the barony of Innishowen, and county of Donegal, where from this year he constantly resided during the remainder of the usurpation, and continued to use the common prayer in all the public offices of his ministry, notwithstanding the severe injunctions of the commissioners of the English Parliament against it. Several complaints were made of his contempt of the order of the government, but by the interest which his persuasive letters upon that occasion had procured him with Dr. Gorge, then Auditor-General under the usurpers, the intended prosecutions against him were stopped, and he was permitted to use the common prayer ever afterwards, which he constantly did, not only in his own, but in the neighbouring parishes, until the restoration, when he was promoted to the See of Limerick.

The original name of this prelate's family is said to have been Millington, which, on account of an hereditary skill in music, and sweetness of voice, was changed into Synge. His descendants remain in Ireland still, and one of them died a short time ago, possessed of some valuable ecclesiastical preferments. See *Ware's Bishops*, p. 570.

No. XXX.

"*If any professors of religion rebel against the King, this is a scandal to religion; the church of England doth teach the contrary. But when men shall not only practise, but teach rebellion, this amounts to a very high crime indeed.*" Archbishop Usher's Sermon at Newport, in the Isle of Wight.

1647. *July* 9. Upon the Marquis of Ormond's surrender of the government, orders came out of England for altering of ecclesiastical affairs; viz. an order for the abolishing of the common prayer, which was in Dublin used till this change, notwithstanding it was by the then Parliament prohibited in England. Secondly, an order for laying aside the episcopacy and its jurisdiction; and also another for prohibiting all our orthodox clergymen from preaching, unless they would take the covenant, which being denied by these most reverend and revered clergymen, they were silenced, viz. Lancelot, Archbishop of Dublin; John Maxwell, Archbishop of Tuam; Anthony Morton, Bishop of Meath; William Goulbourne, Bishop of Kildare; Robert Maxwell, Bishop of Kilmore; George Andrew, Bishop of Ferns and Leighton; Robert Sibthorpe, Bishop of Limerick; Edward Parry, Bishop of Killaloe; William Baily, Bishop of Clonfort; Doctor Ambrose Aungier; Doctor James Sybalds, of St. Werburg's; Doctor Ware, Archdeacon of Meath; Rev. Robert Parry, of St. Audoen's; Rev. John Parker, of St. Michan's; Rev. Mr. Dixon, of St. Catherine's; Rev. Mr. Matthewson, of St. Kevin's; Rev. Mr. Boswell, of St. John's; Rev. William Tilsworth, of St. Michael's; and the Rev. Thomas Steele, afterwards Provost of Trinity College, with many others not here named.

Upon the prohibition of these godly divines from preaching, Presbytery sprang up amain, but bore little sway before Independency came in for a share. *Ware's Hunting of the Romish Fox*, p. 225. Dublin, 1683.

This severe order produced an excellent petition or declaration from the Episcopal clergy, to be found at large in Borlase's Appendix, p. 94.

Among those who signed this vigorous remonstrance of the clergy of Dublin, on the 9th of July, 1647, was Doctor Henry Hall, afterwards Bishop of Kilalla and Achonry, at that time chanter of Christ Church. *Ware's Bishops*, 653.

Doctor James Margetson, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh, was also among those who signed this remonstrance. He was afterwards taken by the Parliamentary party, thrown into Manchester gaol, and hurried from prison to prison, until at last he was set at liberty in exchange for three or four officers. *Ibid*, 127.

The year before the king's death, a select number of English jesuits were sent from their whole party in England, first to Paris, to consult with the faculty of Sorbonne, then altogether jesuited; to whom they put this question in writing, "that seeing the state of England was in a likely posture to change government, *whether it was lawful for the Catholics to work that change for the advancing and securing their cause in England, by making away with the king, whom there was no hope of turning from heresy?* This was answered in the affirmative, and afterwards the same persons went to Rome, where the same question being propounded and debated, it was concluded by the Pope and his council, that it was both lawful and expedient for the Catholics to promote that alteration of the state. What followed that consultation and sentence, all the world knoweth, and time, the bringer forth of truth, will let us know. But when the horrible parricide committed on the king's sacred person, was so universally cried down as the greatest villainy that had been committed in many ages, the Pope commanded all the Papers about that question to be gathered and burned, in obedience to which order a Roman Catholic at Paris was demanded a copy, which he had of those papers; the gentleman, who had time to consider and detest the wickedness of that project, refused to give it, and shewed them to a Protestant friend of his, and related to him the whole carriage of this negotiation with great abhorrency of the practices of the jesuits. This intelligence shall be justified whensoever authority will require it. *Peter du Moulin's answer to a jesuitical libel, entitled Philanax Anglicus, p. 59; London, printed by J. Redmayne, at the Ship in St. Paul's Church Yard.* 1664.

July, 9th. On this day, Dr. Edward Synge, who had some of the ecclesiastical preferments of St. Patrick's Cathedral, was one of the Petitioners to the Paliamentary commissioners praying in vain for liberty to use the common prayers in their respective churches, and remonstrating against the directory introduced

by order in the room of the liturgy. The petition was drawn up with great force, perspicuity, and eloquence. Dr. Synge had some preferments in the barony of Innisowen and county of Donegal, where, from the year 1647, he constantly resided during the remainder of the Usurpation, and continued to use the common prayer in all the public offices of his ministry, notwithstanding the severe injunctions of the commissioners of the English Parliament against it. Several complaints were made of his contempt of the order of government, but by the interest which his persuasive letters upon that occasion had procured him with Dr. Gorge, then auditor-general under the usurpers, the intended persecutions against him were stopped, and he was permitted to use the common prayer ever afterwards, which he constantly did, not only in his own, but also in the neighbouring parishes, until the restoration. Anthony Wood styles him Synge, alias Millington, which, upon enquiry, has been found to be the name of the family, but that it was changed into Synge, on account of a sweetness of voice, and skill in vocal music, which some of the Millingtons were possessed of, and the same talent, it is said, continues in the family to this day. *Harris's enlarged edition of Sir James Ware's Works*, vol. i. p. 570; *Dublin*, 1739: *and Athen. Oxon*, vol. ii. p. 998.

June 20. The Parliamentary commissioners, by proclamation, strictly prohibited the exactions and free quartering of the army, upon which their soldiers grew mutinous. The Popish confederates continued to insult the necessities of their imprisoned king; and General Preston, whose army was ten thousand strong, laid siege to the town of Trim, in which lay a regiment of foot, commanded by Colonel Fenwick.

To relieve Trim by a diversion, Colonel Michael Jones, who had been newly appointed Governor of Dublin, marched out of that city on the 17th of July, with a thousand foot and four hundred horse. He burned Castlemartin, and took good prey from Castlebawne, but the Irish fell upon his rear, near St. Johnston, and killed Captain Meredith, a gentlemen of clear valour and great hopes, with several others, and would have destroyed them all, if this retreat had not been managed with excellent conduct and extraordinary courage. *Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 195.

June 25. The Marquis of Ormond this day delivered up the regalia to the Parliamentary commissioners, and in a few days after sailed for England with his family, leaving the traitorous Irish confederates to feel the melancholy consequence which accrued to them from their execrable conduct towards their lawful sovereign. *Ibid.* 185.

On the Marquis's arrival in England, he was looked upon with a very jealous eye, and was forbidden to come within twenty-five miles of London; and the committee at Derby-House resolved to remind him by letter of the article in his agreement on the delivery of Dublin, by which he engaged, on his honour, not to act any thing to the prejudice of the Parliament for a year; but before the messenger arrived at the Marquis's abode, near Bristol, that loyal nobleman, knowing the king was a close prisoner at Carisbrook Castle, and that it would be to little purpose for him to contest his articles with the Parliament, privately shipped himself away for France, after six months' stay in England. *Borlase*, 187.

The following extract of a letter from Dr. Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, to Archbishop Usher, dated on the 20th of July, 1654, throws so much light upon the wicked transactions of the two years preceding the savage murder of King Charles the First, that

"It plainly appears, that in the year 1646, by order from Rome, above an hundred of the Romish clergy were sent into England, consisting of English, Scotch, and Irish, who had been educated in France, Italy, Germany, and Spain, part of these within the several schools there appointed for their instruction. In each of these Romish nurseries these scholars were taught several handicraft trades and callings, as their ingenuities were most bending, besides their orders or functions of that church. They have many yet at Paris, afiting to be sent over, who twice in the week oppose one another; one pretending Presbytery, another Independency; some Anabaptism and other contrary tenets, dangerous and prejudicial to the Church of England, and to all the reformed churches here abroad. But these latter are wisely preparing to prevent these designs, which I heartily wish were considered in England among the wise there. When the Romish orders do thus argue pro and con, there is appointed one of the learned of those convents to take notes and to judge. And as he finds their fancies, whether for Presbytery, Independency, Anabaptism, Atheism, or for any new tenets, so accordingly they be to act, and to exercise their wits. Upon their permission, when they be sent abroad, they enter their names in the convent registry; also their licenses. If a Franciscan—if a Dominican, or Jesuit, or any other order, having several names there entered in their license. In case of a discovery in one place, then to fly to another, and there change their names or habit.

"For an assurance of their constancy to their several orders,

they are to give monthly intelligence to their fraternities of all affairs, wherever they be dispersed; so that the English abroad know news better than ye at home. When they return to England, they are taught their lesson to say, if any inquire from whence they come, that they were poor christians, fled formerly beyond sea for their religion's sake, and are now returned with glad news to enjoy liberty of conscience.

"The hundred men that went over in 1646, were most of them soldiers in the Parliament's army, and were daily to correspond with these Romanists in our late king's army, that were at Oxford, and pretended to fight for his sacred Majesty, for at that time there were some Roman Catholics who did not know the design contriving against our church and state of England. But the year following, (1647) many of these Romish orders, who came over the year before, were in consultation together, knowing each other. And those of the king's party, asking some why they took with the Parliament's side, and asking others whether they were bewitched to turn *Puritans*, not knowing the design. But at last, secret bulls and licenses being produced by those of the Parliament's side, it was declared between them that there was no better design to confound the Church of England than by pretending liberty of conscience. It was argued, then, that England would be a second Holland—a commonwealth, and if so, what would become of the king? It was answered, Would to God it were come to that point. It was again replied, Yourselves have preached so much against Rome and his Holiness the Pope, that Rome and her Romanists will be little the better for that change. But it was answered, You shall have mass sufficient for an hundred thousand men in a short time, and the governors never the wiser. Then some of the mercifullest of the Romanists said, This cannot be done unless the king die; upon which argument the Romish orders thus licensed, and in the Parliament army, wrote to their several convents, but especially to the Sorbonists, whether it might be scrupled to make away with our late godly king, and his Majesty his son, our king and master, who, blessed be God! hath escaped these Romish snares laid for him. It was returned from the Sorbonists, *That it was lawful for Roman Catholics to work changes in governments for the mother church's advancement, and chiefly in an heretical kingdom, and so lawfully to make away with the king.*

"Thus much to my knowledge have I seen and heard since my leaving your Lordship, which I thought very requisite to inform your Grace, for I would hardly have credited these

things, had not mine eyes seen sure evidence of the same. Let these things sleep within your gracious Lordship's breast, and not awake but upon sure grounds; for this age can trust no man, there being so great fallacy amongst men. So the LORD preserve your Lordship in health for the nation's good, and the benefit of your friends, which shall be the prayers of your humble servant,

"T. DEVENSIS."

Dr. Parr's Life and Correspondence of Archbishop Usher, p. 613.

Bishop Bramhall wrote this letter from Brussels, where he resided from his leaving England, after the fatal battle of Marston Moor, until the year 1648. He resided with Sir Henry de Vic, the King's resident, where he preached every Lord's day, administered the sacrament, and confirmed those who desired it. Here he also assisted the English merchants at Antwerp, in a dispute they had rashly engaged in with some jesuits, and wrote for their use a piece upon this occasion, which is now lost. *Ware's Bishops*, 122.

August 1. Colonel Jones, disdaining the baffles he had received from the Irish, resolved to regain his reputation, and retrieve the glory of his nation, or die; and accordingly on this day he drew out two regiments of horse, and three thousand eight hundred foot, half-starved soldiers that were ready to mutiny for want; he had also some artillery, and what else he thought requisite to relieve Trim. But General Preston having notice of his march, raised the siege, and designed to get between the English and Dublin, and so to have surprised that city, whilst the other relieved Trim; but Jones being reinforced by Sir Henry Tichborne from Drogheda, and Colonel Moore from Dundalk, Colonel Conway, and some Scots, and others from Newry, Carlingford, &c. amounting in all to seven hundred horse and twelve hundred foot, overtook him at Dungan Hill, where it came to a fair battle on the 8th of August, and Jones, by plain valour and downright blows, obtained the greatest and most entire victory that had been gained during the war; for there were slain on the place 5470 men, besides many that were gleaned up afterwards, amounting in all to six thousand, and there were five colonels, and four lieutenant-colonels, six majors, thirty-two captains, twenty-three lieutenants, twenty-seven ensigns, two cornets, twenty-two serjeants, two quarter-masters, two gunners, the clerk of the store, thirteen troopers, and two hundred and twenty-eight common soldiers, taken prisoners. The cannon and carriages,

and sixty-four fair oxen for the train, were also taken ; and, which is most strange, there were not above *twenty Englishmen* slain in this fierce encounter, which happened on that very day twelvemonth on which the Nuncio and Popish clergy at Waterford had broken the peace of 1646, and therefore Mr. Beling, a Romish writer, the Secretary to the General Assembly of confederated Papists at Kilkenny, reckoned this defeat as *a judgment on the Irish for their perfidious breach of that peace.* When their loyal Protestant brethren spoke words of peace to them, they made themselves ready for war, and war they had, embittered by a series of suffering unparalleled, perhaps, in the annals of any country, for the battle of Dungan Hill was but a prelude to the miseries inflicted on them by the fanatical armies of the rebellious Parliament, teaching them in turn to feel the last of a most cruel and unchristian persecution. *See Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 195.

The reason of the great slaughter at the battle of Dungan Hill, was, that the Irish foot, according to their custom, when terrified, fled to a bog, which the English surrounded, and so had the opportunity of butchering them all at their leisure. The prowess of Major James Clotworthy on this occasion is recorded by Sir Richard Cox, who tells us that this officer, after killing an artilleryman in the act of pointing a piece of cannon, fought so desperately, that his horse received seventeen shots, and was killed, and the rider received two shots in his armour. This was the determined and cruel body of men, to whom the Nuncio and his Popish adherents compelled the gallant and generous Ormond to surrender the sword of state, and against whom their historians are so loud in exclaiming for not sacrificing himself and the Protestants of Ireland, in protection of their bitter and ungrateful enemies. *See Hib. Ang.* v. ii. p. 195.

The effect of this victory would not have ended thus, but that pay and provision for the army were so scant, that necessity enforced them to return to Dublin, after which the enemy collected some men, and in their retreat burned Naas, Jigginstown, Harristown, Castlewarding, and Mayglare. At Jigginstown are yet to be seen the extensive ruins of a palace, built by the great Earl of Strafford, in the plenitude of his power, when he expected that his Royal Master would condescend to visit Ireland. On the return of the Parliamentary army to Dublin, they received the welcome news that a supply of fifteen hundred pounds had arrived from England for them, which, though incompetent to their necessities, satisfied them that

there was some care taken for their relief. Upon the certainty of this great victory in England, considerable supplies were hastened, and a present of a thousand pounds sent to Colonel Jones for his good services. A little after this Lord Inchiquin took Caher castle, the town and castle of Cashel, and eleven other castles in the county of Tipperary. *Borlase*, 187.

The rock of Cashel, on which the Archiepiscopal Cathedral stands, was taken by storm with great slaughter of the enemy, whereof above twenty were Romish priests or friars. From thence Lord Inchiquin went to Carrick, where he was civilly treated by Lady Thurles, and he put the whole country under contribution, and would have besieged Clonmell, if the usual want of provisions had not hindered his design. *Hib. Ang.* v. ii. p. 197.

It was thought prodigiously strange, and almost incredible, that the Nuncio Rinunccini, the Popish clergy, and the old Irish, did rather rejoice than grieve at the dreadful misfortune of Preston's army at Dungan Hill. That army consisted of old English of the pale, whose Popery did not protect them from the hatred of the aboriginal savages, and their more savage clergy, who were, as Sir Richard Cox alleged, glad to be rid of them by this defeat, which devolved the supreme command of the armies of three of the provinces upon their darling, Owen Roe.

But the Munster Irish, as might be expected, soon felt the sad consequences of a battle, at the result of which they rejoiced with almost equal folly and villainy; for, on the 28th of September, Lord Inchiquin received a reinforcement of some thousands of men, under the command of Colonels Gray, Needham, and Temple, &c. which, but for the victory at Dungan Hill, he could not have expected, and with this force added to his own, he took the field, commanding an army of four thousand foot and twelve hundred horse. *Ibid.*

About the beginning of October, Colonel Jones took the field again, and having joined with the Ulster forces under the command of Colonel Monk, they marched out near two thousand horse, and six thousand foot, taking in Portleister, Athboy, and several of the Irish rebels' castles and garrisons, and so having got great prey of cattle and other pillage, they returned to Dublin, and Colonel Monk went back into Ulster with that party he carried hence. *Borlase*, 187.

November 13. Lord Inchiquin met the Irish army under Lord Taafe, consisting of 7464 foot, and 1076 horse, besides officers, and gave them a total defeat at Knockinoss; there

were four thousand Irish slain upon the place. Six thousand stand of arms, thirty-eight pair of colours, the general's tent and cabinet, and all their baggage and ammunition were taken. *Hib. Ang.* v. ii. p. 197.

At the battle of Knockinoss, (or, as Borlase calls it, Knockness) Sir Alexander Mac Donnel, alias Colonel Kilkettock, the rebels' Lieutenant-General, and his Lieutenant-Colonel, were killed. The English army lost Sir William Bridges, Colonel of horse, Colonel Gray, Major Brown, and Sir Robert Travers, the Judge Advocate. The Irish rebels' force on that day exceeded that of the English by 3340 men. Upon the arrival of this news the English House of Commons voted ten thousand pounds for the use of the province of Munster, and a present of one thousand pounds, with a letter of thanks, to Lord Inchiquin. *Borlase*, 187.

About this time, Sir Charles Coote gave the Popish rebels a great defeat in the province of Connaught, and killed a thousand of them. *Whitelock's Memoirs*, p. 254.

The loss of the "*Catholic*" army in Munster, about three months after the defeat at Dungan Hill, did so mortify the confederates and their representatives in the General Assembly, which was then sitting at Kilkenny, that they grew very desirous of a peace, if they knew where or from whom to obtain it; for the king was then prisoner in the Isle of Wight, and there was no access to him, and therefore it was resolved to send ambassadors to the Queen and Prince, then in France, to propose conditions to them, whereof one was to be *that they should send a Roman Catholic Lord-Lieutenant to Ireland*, and that if the Queen and Prince declined the affair, that then *they should seek the protection of some other Prince*; and it was also resolved to send to the Pope to inform his Holiness of the miserable state of the nation.

Accordingly the Marquis of Antrim, the Viscount Muskerry, and Jeoffry Browne, were sent to France, and besides their errand to the Queen and Prince, they had instructions in reference to the Court of France, a copy of which are to be found in the appendix to Sir Richard Cox's Hibernia Anglicana, No. 40. The Romish Bishop of Ferns, and Nicholas Plunket, were also dispatched to Rome with instructions to make application to the Pope to become *Protector of Ireland*, in case a settlement could not be had, or considerable aids be procured to preserve the nation without a Protector. There was also an ambassador sent to Spain with like instructions as to France, "*Mutatis mutandis*," that no stone might remain unturned,

that might grind the poor Protestants of Ireland. *Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 198.

After Preston was beaten at Lendsysknock by Colonel Jones, O'Neill being come then to Abbeyboyle with a good army, to take his rounds by Sligo, some of the Supreme Council came to him from Kilkenny to dissuade him from his present design, and prevail on him to return to Leinster to relieve them. After some difficulty they succeeded, and O'Neill marched back to Kilbeggan, where a serious mutiny embarrassed him. The mutinous officers, Colonel Alexander M'Donnel, Rory Maguire, Hugh Roy O'Donnel, and others, holding their cabal meetings in Kelbeggan Church. The general was obliged to bring artillery against them, when, by the mediation of the Bishop of Clogher (*Even McMahon afterwards hanged in Derry*) and General Tarrel, the mutiny was quelled for the time, and they all marched forwards to Castle Jordan, where O'Neill quartered till November, when he and the Leinster officers joined composed most of the horse, as Sir Walter Dungan, Lewis Moore, Finglas, Barnwall, &c. with some Connaught captains of the Rourkes and Reynolds's, with some Kellys, in the whole amounting to twelve thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, with whom they marched to burn the English quarters near Dublin by order of the Supreme Council.

During the whole of this march parties were employed to burn and spoil, who brought in great booties. The winter following, this army was quartered dispersedly over the kingdom, with daily expectation of being disarmed by the Supreme Council. *Mc Tully O'Neill's Journal of the Transactions of Owen O'Neill and his Party, from* 1641 *to* 1650, *in the Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, p. 509, Dublin, 1772.

November 24. Colonel Jones marched with Borlase's and Willoughby's regiments into the county of Wicklow, to settle them in the towns of Wicklow and Newcastle; but in his absence Colonel Owen Roe burned the country from Castleknock to Drogheda, and so near to Dublin, that two hundred fires were discovered from St. Anne's steeple in that city. *Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 196.

In this year was published a most treasonable and scandalous book, entitled, "*Disputatio Apologetica de Jure Regni Hibernæ, pro Catholicis Hibernis adversis Hæreticos Anglos*, written by one Cnogher Mahony, a native of Muskerry, in the county of Cork, and a jesuit disguised under the name of Cornelius de Sancto Patricio, (See the second volume of these Annals, p. 140, &c.) The main design of this book was to

prove that the Kings of England never had a right to Ireland, and the author advises the Irish to kill all that adhere to the crown of England, though Papists, and to choose a native king (*" Fligete vobis regem vernaculum,"*) and avers, that if the king had originally a right, yet being an heretic, he ought to be deprived. Though this book was burned by order of the Supreme Council, for form's sake, yet it was suffered to be privately dispersed, and was never condemned by the Popish clergy in Ireland to this day, although it was proposed by Peter Walsh, in the famous Congregation at Dublin in the year 1666, that it should be so. *Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 198.

The Scots were called upon, at this time, to recall their forces out of Ulster, in Ireland, there being no further need of them, the Parliament of England resolving to prosecute that war with the forces of England only, for Colonel Jones was successful, and had taken, from the second of October to the nineteenth, Castle Richard, Port Castle, Athboy, Crucesfort, the Nobber, Ballyloe, Cabragh, Castleware, Danmock, Carrot, Matrose, Castledown, and Castleamoin. Inchiquin, too, had his share of success in the province of Munster, on the thirteenth of November, near Megallo and Clancard, and killed two thousand five hundred upon the plain, divers being wounded and taken prisoners, so that the enemy's loss was reckoned four thousand. But at the close of these events, the English cry out for recruit of men, relief of provisions, and were oftimes ready to starve; but the kingdom of England was not better at leisure to help them, being in much distemper at home. And the advantage that each party in Ireland had of the other, was to burn, kill, and devastate the whole nation, so that it appears a very deluge of destruction to the next year's actions there. *Sanderson's Reign of King Charles,* p. 1051.

The Irish being left very naked and weak, by the aforesaid loss of their two armies, did now project, if possible, either to make a cessation with Inchiquin or the Scots, and it succeeded beyond their expectation, not only because the Nuncio gave his express consent to it, but because Inchiquin began to be jealous that the Parliament, or rather the prevailing independent faction, aimed at turning the government into a republic, wherein the nobility would lose their privileges and their peerage. And this notion was so well improved by the loyal industry of Dean Boyle, (afterwards Primate) that it produced a remonstrance from Inchiquin, and prepared him to declare for the king upon the first opportunity. *Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 198.

No. XXXI.

"*Qui non vetat peccare cum possit, jubet.*" (Prov.)

1648. *January.*—In this month, Lord Inchiquin and his officers sent a remonstrance to the English Parliament concluding thus. "Our enemies have only left us this expedient to testify our mindfulness of duty by, which is to give humble intimation to that honourable house, that we are involved in so great and extreme exigencies of distress, and universal want, with the pressure of three joint armies upon our weak and naked forces, that there remain no human means discernible amongst us to subsist by any longer in this service, unless it shall stand with the pleasure and piety of those, in whose service we have exhausted both our blood and our livelihood, to send us some seasonable and considerable supplies, or that we should be enforced to entertain such terms as the rebels will give us, which of all things we abominate, as knowing our necessities will render them such as must be both obstructive and abominable, and, therefore, shall resolve on making that the last expedient, to preserve our own and many thousand poor Protestant's lives, or that it shall please the Honourable Houses to send shipping to fetch us off."—*Sir Richard Cox's Appendix to his Hibernia Anglicana*, p. 141.

In January, 1648, the general assembly took a solemn oath to conclude no peace, nor act any general thing tending to the nation, without the major vote of the assembly and supreme council. *Owen O'Neill's Journal in Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica.* P. 518.

It was the latter end of March, when the embassy from the Irish confederates arrived at St. Germain's, and besides the public instructions, Lord Muskerry and Mr. Brown had some private directions, signed by Lord Taafe and General Preston, to assure the Queen and the Prince of their unalterable fidelity to the Crown, and of their power, if properly supported by royal authority, to destroy the party that endeavoured to introduce a foreign jurisdiction. *Warner*, ii. 136.

The advice given by the Marquis of Ormond, who had arrived at Paris a short time before, was to express in strong general terms to these agents, the King's gracious inclinations to the settlement of Ireland, on such conditions, civil and

religious, as should satisfy those who desired a peace, and the Marquis thought it expedient to let them know, that the King would not admit of the Pope's interposition in reconciling the difference between his Majesty and his subjects. But it is probable this last advice, which was so much to the King's honour to be taken, did not suit the Queen's bigotry, and her reverence for the Holy See, which had always been such a dead weight in his Majesty's counsels against his interest, for this advice was not pursued. *Ibid.*

April 14.—The English parliament voted Lord Inchiquin a rebel and a traitor. *Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 198.

May 7.—The Nuncio, observing that affairs ran at Kilkenny quite opposite to his expectation, sent privately to Owen O'Neill praying him to send a party of horse to meet and receive him at Ballynakelly a certain night, and that he would endeavour to make his escape from Kilkenny, which accordingly was done, and the Nuncio conveyed to a house prepared for him near Maryborough, where O'Neill then quartered, and where both of them stayed some time after. Rory Maguire, in the mean time, was sent to rendezvous what men he had at Birr, and to make up a body of them, and such as would join with them. Some horse and foot came in accordingly, and an express was sent to Phelim Mac Hugh O'Reilly to march with what men he had from the county of Cavan, who met the express by the way coming. No sooner were they joined, but news came that General Preston took the field, whereupon, O'Neill removed with his small army to Athlone, to secure his men, as well as that pass. In his march near Moate granoge, the first blood was spilled between him and Preston, by one Captain Davys, an officer of Castlehaven, taken prisoner before near Armagh, and released by O'Neill after Benburo fight. Preston and his army drew near Athlone and encamped within two miles of it, at a place called Toy. O'Neill within, and Preston without, spent a good deal of time in one anothers neighbourhood, without any other action than slight skirmishes ; till O'Neill, for want of provisions, was forced to quit the place, and march to Jamestown, leaving Theobald Magauly, with some officers and soldiers of his own army, to guard and defend the castle and pass. He took a round by Mohill, *(in the county of Leitrim)* to St. Johnstown, *(in the county of Longford,)* where news came to him that Clanrikard, Preston, and all those that joined with them, invested Athlone, with a very close siege on both sides of the river. Whereupon, he marched forwards towards Ardagh, and resolv-

ed to try his fortune in raising the siege, when intelligence came to him, that the Lord Dillon, Lord Taafe, Major Barnewall, and Colonel Purcell, were posted at Ballymore, *(in the county of Westmeath,)* with a considerable party of horse and foot, to intercept him. However, O'Neill kept on his march over the Inny water, a beautiful river which falls into the Shannon above Athlone, to encounter them at Ballymore. First, as they passed the river, which is fordable at Ballymahon, some diversion was offered by a party of the enemy. The next day proving very rainy, obliged him to keep his camp all that day at a convenient distance from Ballymore, without any alarms from the enemy. The next morning he appeared before it, and as soon as he was discovered the Lords ordered the foot to line the old walls and ditches on both sides of the street, and the horse to be drawn up in the centre within the town. O'Neill attacked and dislodged the foot, and routed both them and the horse together, without much dispute, or any great loss, as he abhorred the spilling of his countrymen's blood if he could help it. He lost only four men of his own, more of the enemy, and Lieutenant Barry taken prisoner. Two nights before this Athlone surrendered. *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, vol. ii. p. 511. Dublin, 1772.

May 16.—The Irish agents at Paris had an audience with the Queen, in which she desired to know whether they were ready to make their proposals about religion, and whether they had power to alter, or recede from the propositions they had given in, or could conclude upon them. The Marquis of Antrim answered, in the name of the rest, that they were not ready to propose any certainty about religion, being directed by their instructions to be guided in that particular by the Pope; but, that they expected to hear very speedily from their agents at Rome upon that point; and if her Majesty would be pleased to declare what she would grant in that particular, they were in hopes to make use of that concession in the King's service. As to the other propositions, they were ready to proceed upon them whenever they were required. In three days after, the Queen dismissed them with an answer in writing, signed on the top by herself, and at the bottom by the Prince of Wales. In this paper, after REMINDING THEM VERY GENTLY OF THEIR INFIDELITY IN BREAKING THE LATE PEACE, to which if they had submitted according to their duty, it would have put them by that time in a happy state, there was an assurance of great readiness to give them all the satisfaction in the power of the Queen and the Prince, (*themselves both*

Papists,) consistent with the honour and interest of his Majesty;—a true protestant, at that time reduced to a low ebb from the result of his connection with this popish Princess, and an awful warning to all Protestants, of every rank and degree, against intermarrying with Papists. See *Warner*, vol. ii. p. 138.

O'Neill, to secure Athy, and other towns in Leinster, in his hands, marched forthwith from Ballymore to Maryborough, his army beginning to increase daily, having at this time about two thousand six hundred men, he marched to Athy; next day he stormed Ballylichan and Hovenden's castle, and gave merciful quarters. Within a few days after his army was mustered, and found to be three thousand strong, horse and foot. Next day they marched to Ballyragget, Mountgarret's house; the second day to Deninbridge, within three miles of Kilkenny, where Rory Maguire was commanded, with two troops of horse, to Dunmore. In his way a squadron of horse accosted him, which engaged and forced him to retire back to the camp. The next day we crossed the river into my Lord Mountgarret's deer park, where we were supplied with store of venison and good ale found in the park lodge; we staid here but five days, in which time, abundance of preys and all sorts of provisions came in from Ossory. Preston and Inchiquin appearing daily, with great bodies of horse, on rising grounds westward of us, we marched before their faces till we came to Gortahee Tocher, and so to Burrisewly, (Burrisoleigh). By this time Inchiquin was appointed, with five thousand horse and foot, to attend our motions, and wait an opportunity to beat up our quarters, which he never dared or offered to attempt in our whole march. An express met our general here, from the O'Briens of Thomond, to invite him over the Shannon, which he seemed to accept, and in order to it marched to Killaloe, where some of those gentlemen met and conferred with him, laying before him some friendly projects, which he also seemed to approve, but told them within forty-eight hours longer he would resolve them further. In the mean time, he commanded Rory Maguire, with three or four hundred men, under pretence of bringing in preys, to march towards Banagher, in order to surprise it, having received an account from his spies of the present state of it, which Maguire accordingly gained before the next morning, with great expedition; a piece of service very acceptable, and of great consequence at that time; of which, no sooner O'Neill had notice, but he marched to Silvermines, in the county of Tipperary, and commanded Phelim Mc Tuoll O'Neill, with

a detachment, to storm Nenagh, if not surrendered upon summons, which they would not yield to, till it was taken by storm.

Colonel Henry Mac Tully O'Neill's Journal, in Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica, p. 514.

From Maryborough, the Nuncio, who was in danger of a surprise, retreated to Athlone, and afterwards to Galway, where the Mayor had attempted to proclaim the cessation, but was prevented by the mob. All the other great towns, however, in the Irish quarters, except Wexford, which was presently reduced, received it very readily. The Nuncio, seeing those censures now despised which had formerly carried all before them, endeavoured to make them more effectual by engaging the clergy to confirm them in a body. With this view he called a synod to meet at Galway in the middle of August, but the Supreme Council forbidding the clergy to repair thither, and ordering all civil and military officers to stop their passage, he could not get a sufficient number of them together. This step enraged him, and finding the inhabitants, for the most part, approving the cessation, he put an interdict on the churches and chapels there, causing the doors to be shut up; but the titular Archbishop of Tuam procured them to be opened by force, which created such a bustle, that one or two people were killed. The Marquis of Clanrickard, after some ineffectual remonstrances and admonitions, shut up the Nuncio in Galway, by besieging it till the inhabitants were forced to proclaim the cessation, to pay a considerable sum of money, and to remove the Nuncio and his adherents. *Warner's History of the Rebellion and Civil War in Ireland*, vol. ii. page 148.

From the silver mines, where they encamped one night, they marched to Nenagh, and so to Birr, where an express met the General from the governor at Athy, that he was closely besieged by Preston and one Mc Thomas; whereupon Phelim Mac Tuol was appointed out again with a detachment of 450 men to relieve Athy. He marched with such expedition, that he tired all his men, except four score, with whom he boldly ventured through Mac Thomas's brigade, and forced his way through an old abbey likewise possessed by the enemy, and in his way took Lieutenant Colonel Sandford and other officers prisoners; but the Lieutenant Colonel afterwards made his escape, and relieved the town, which lay in a gasping condition. The enemy went off. O'Neill himself, with his whole army, appeared next day, where he continued but one

day longer, when an express came that Nenagh was regained by Inchiquin, and Banagher blocked up, whereupon he countermarched with all expedition, till he came to Ballaghmore, now called Owen Roe's Pass, and blocked up Inchiquin and his army. Here happened no action, except slight skirmishes, during a whole fortnight's space, both armies lay so near one another, till Clanrickard and Taafe, with all their power, came from Connaught to join Inchiquin, and jointly to fall on O'Neill, who, to know their strength, alarmed their advanced guards, which occasioned the enemy's whole army to appear under arms within a musquet shot of O'Neill, who ordered his army likewise out. Both armies being thus drawn at that distance, on both sides of a mill race, one Purdon, with four hundred horse, fell on the rear of O'Neill's camp, and entered boldly on the General's own quarters, and possessed himself of the artillery, which he kept but a short time, being beaten off by one troop of horse, and an hundred foot, left to secure the quarters and guns. Purden retired to Birr, from whence he came, and left only nine of his men dead behind him. Both the armies withdrew this day without much action, except random shots, which slightly wounded, of our side, Con Baccagh O'Neill, and Major Dougherty; and Arthur Mc Hugh Roy O'Neill was taken prisoner. *Colonel Henry Mac Tully O'Neill's Journal*, p. 516.

Colonel Jones, finding the distractions amongst the Irish rebels to grow very high, and that the old English, under the Marquis of Clanrickard, had taken the castle of Athlone and other places, from Owen Roe, and that Athy was besieged by Colonel Preston, and Owen Roe came up to relieve it, and burned and spoiled the country thereabouts, thought it high time to be stirring out amongst them, and therefore sent out some of his forces, which took in the garrisons of Nobber and Ballihoe, which had formerly been surprised by the rebels, but yet not having received his provisions from England, he durst not himself stir forth, till he had sufficiently secured Dublin, which, in the first place, he began more strongly to fortify, that it might receive no prejudice in his absence. *Borlase*, 195.

September 29. The Marquis of Ormond landed in Cork as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and was received there with great acclamations of joy. *Carte's Ormond*, ii. 42.

September 30. The General Assembly at Kilkenny fixed a public brand on the two principal opposers of the late peace, the Nuncio Rinuccini and General Owen O'Neill, by pro-

claiming the latter a rebel and a traitor, and drawing up a charge against the former, representing "the manifold oppressions, transcendant crimes, and capital offences which he had been continually, for three years past, acting within the kingdom of Ireland, to the unspeakable detriment of their religion, the ruin of the nation, and the dishonour of the see of Rome." This heavy accusation met with no opposition, even from such ecclesiastics as were present at the assembly, and the nuncio complained of this in a letter to Cardinal Panzirotto, stating that there were eight bishops present in that assembly when this charge was made against him. *Ibid. and Nuncio's Memoirs, and Curry's Review of the Civil Wars in Ireland.*

October 1. O'Neill's army growing scarce of provisions, Bangor being given up, and the inhabitants quitting the country, decamped, and marched by night towards Ballyboyarkall, being assured that Inchiquin, with his main body, would fall upon them the next day, and Purden in the rear with his party, which they attempted to do in two hours after the march was begun, by visiting the empty camp. From Ballyboy we marched to Tullamore, where we encamped that night. Inchiquin, missing of his aim, marched to Kilkenny, Clanrickard back to Connaught, O'Neill straight to Lissnemain, near Belturbet, where he remained all the winter and spring. *Colonel O'Neill's Journal in Desiderata Curiosa Hibernia*, p. 517.

October 6. The Marquis of Ormond having landed at Cork about the end of September, published on this day a declaration, enumerating the several reasons by which he had been induced, for the preservation of the Protestant religion, and the English interest, to leave the city of Dublin, and his Majesty's other garrisons in Ireland, in the hands of those entrusted by his Majesty's two Houses of Parliament. *Borlase*, p. 199.

Two days before he issued this declaration, the Marquis of Ormond wrote to the Assembly of the confederate "Catholics" at Kilkenny, stating that upon the humble petition they had sent to the queen and prince, (then at Paris) he was come with full power to conclude a peace with them, and to that purpose desired that as little time might be lost as possible, and that commissioners might be sent to him at his house at Carrick, whither he would go to expect them. *Ibid*, page 200.

October 10. The king wrote the following letter to the Lord-Lieutenant from Newport, in the Isle of Wight:

ORMOND,

Lest you might be misled by false rumours, I have thought fit by this to tell you my true condition. I am here in a treaty, but such a one as, if I yield not to all that is proposed to me, I must be a close prisoner, being still under restraint. Wherefore I must command you two things—first to obey all my wife's commands, then not to obey any public commands of mine, until I send you word that I am free from restraint. Lastly, be not startled at my great concessions concerning Ireland, for that they will come to nothing. This is all at this time from

Your most real, faithful, constant friend,

CHARLES R.

Though this letter may seem a contradiction to the proposition which the king had agreed to the day before, namely, to settle the prosecution of the war in Ireland on both houses of Parliament, yet it must be observed in his favour, that he had stipulated with the Parliament at the entering of this treaty, that nothing should be binding on him, or made use of to his prejudice, unless all was concluded; and it was easy enough for him to see by this time that nothing was less intended by the Parliament than a peace. Here was a fresh authority, however, for the Marquis of Ormond to obey the directions he should receive from the queen, which, upon his re-assuming his post of Lord-Lieutenant, and his power of making a treaty with the Irish being dissolved by the late peace, seemed to be necessary. The only possible means of extricating the king out of his present difficulties, and they seemed not to have been very probable, was uniting all Ireland under his obedience. *Warner*, vol. ii. p. 146.

October 19. The confederate Catholic commissioners came to the Marquis of Ormond at Carrick, where he continued about twenty days, which they spent principally in matters of religion, in treating whereof they were so bound and limited by their instructions, that they made but little progress. For the husbanding of time, which now began to be very precious, the prevailing party in England every day more discovering their bloody purposes towards the king, the Assembly thought fit to desire the Marquis to repair to his own castle at Kilkenny, which they offered to deliver into his hands, and that, for his honour and safety, he should bring his own guards, who should have the reception due to them. *Borlase*, p. 201.

November 15. On or about this day, the Marquis of Ormond accepted the invitation of the General Assembly, and went to Kilkenny, where he was met on his entry by the whole body of

the Assembly, and all the nobility, clergy, and gentry; and in the same town was received with all these requisite ceremonies by the mayor and aldermen, as such a corporation use to pay to the supreme authority of the kingdom. So that greater evidence could not be given of an entire union in the desire of the people of returning to the king's obedience, or of more affection and respect to the person of the Lord-Lieutenant, who, by his steady pursuing those professions he had always made, by his neglect and contempt of the Parliamentarians and their prodigious power, whilst he was in England, by his refusing all overtures made by them unto him for his own particular benefit, and by their declared, manifest hatred and malice towards him, was now superior to all those calumnies they had aspersed him with, and confessed to be worthy of a joint trust from the most different and divided interests and designs. *Ibid*, p. 202.

November 25. A copy of the Marquis of Ormond's letter to the supreme council at Kilkenny having been obtained by Colonel Jones, and sent over to the committee of Derby House, and being read in the House of Commons, it was voted to be sent down into the Isle of Wight, to the commissioners then treating there with the king, to know if he would avow it; and in case he did disavow it, that then he would declare against the Marquis; whereupon his Majesty signified, that in case other things were composed by the treaty, the concerns should be left wholly to the management of the Houses, and in the interim wrote a letter to the Marquis, ordering him to desist from his treaty with the confederate Roman Catholics of Ireland. *Ibid*, p. 210.

In this month Owen Roe O'Neill was so nettled by his losses and disgrace in his late flight from Lord Inchiquin's army, that he ravaged over the whole county of Roscommon, and took Jamestown, and so obstinately besieged Carrickdrumrusk, that Rory Maguire, the murderer of the Protestants of Clones, and most of his regiment, were there slain, and in revenge for it, the garrison, being all Papists, were put to the sword. Owen Roe was so weakened by this campaign, that he offered cessation to Colonel Jones, and to carry his army to Spain, if Jones would give him liberty to do so. In the mean time, the Marquis of Antrim had some Highlanders in the counties of Wicklow and Wexford, which, being joined with the Byrnes and Cavanaghs who were of the Nuncio faction, and rejected the peace, gave such disturbance to the supreme council, that they were fain to send Sir Edward Butler and Sir Thomas Esmonde to suppress them, which was at last effected, though

not without considerable slaughter on both sides. Jones, about the same time, took Ballysannon, Nabber, and Ballyho, and many of the Scots having gone to assist the Duke of Hamilton's invasion of England, Colonel Monk, by the means of Sir Pierce Cochran and Lieutenant-Colonel Cunningham, surprised Carrickfergus, and in it Monroe, whom he sent prisoner to London, and then had an easy conquest of Belfast and Colerain, and Sir Charles Coote had no very hard one of the fort of Culmore. For these good services the Parliament presented Colonel Monk with five hundred pounds, and made him governor of Carrickfergus. But in this month (November) the Irish ambassadors to the Pope returned to Ireland, and brought with them abundance of relics, but no money, as may be easily gathered from the following letter from Sir Richard Blake to Sir Roebuck Lynch, (in *Beling*, p. 196.)

Sir,

This day the Lord Bishop of Ferns and Mr. Plunket gave an account of their negotiation to the house; they made a full representation to his Holiness of the desperate condition of the kingdom; that, without present and good supplies, which they expected from his Holiness, there was no hope of the preservation of the Catholic religion or nation. That his Holiness was bound in justice to do it, his nuncio here having, in a general assembly of the confederates, undertaken that the sum promised to Sir Kenelm Digby for the wars of England, upon good conditions for Catholics, would be applied to the service of the Catholic confederates of Ireland; but after four months attendance their answer was, (there being no intelligence then of our distance or division with the Lord Nuncio or Owen O'Neill) that his Holiness hath sent, by the Dean of Firmo, a considerable help unto us, and that he had no account how that was disposed of; that the Turks were in Candia, and threatened Italy; that there was great scarcity of corn in Rome and the adjoining territories, and that a great sum of money must be issued to satisfy the commoners; that his predecessor, Pope Urban, had left the treasury empty, and the See deeply charged with debt; that the Cardinals and others, who had pious intentions to advance our holy cause, were poor, and hardly able to maintain their own ports, so that nothing could be expected from them. And for the conditions the agents expected from his Holiness, for religion, upon our treaty with the queen and prince, he said that *it was not proper for the See Apostolic to grant any articles to heretics*, though it be true that Catholic princes in Germany and other kingdoms do it. As for the nuncio's engagement that the Catholics of Ireland

should be supplied by his Holiness in the maintenance of the war, that he had no such commission, though it was true that his Holiness would give money for conditions of religion, but none upon the event of war. Our agents heard not of our disunion and ruptures in this kingdom, until after their taking leave of his Holiness, and then when the same was known and published in Rome, they heard from some eminent persons, that what his Holiness was resolved to give for our support, he knew not to what party he would send it, being flushed in blood one against the other.

I am, &c.

RICHARD BLAKE.

This letter merits remembrance, as a warning to the Irish Papists of what support they may expect, even from Rome, to their high pretensions in Ireland, divided and distracted as they have ever been, and torn at this moment into fierce factions of vetoists and anti-vetoists; shanavests, caravats, standard men, ribbonmen, *et hoc genus omne.* See *Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. page 202.

This account from Rome putting an end to all expectations of foreign succours, occasioned very serious reflections on their condition, and disposed every one to moderate their propositions for a peace so necessary for their preservation. *Warner*, vol. ii. p. 149.

December 19. After the Marquis of Ormond's arrival in Cork, he used his endeavours so successfully, in conjunction with Lord Inchiquin, that they quieted entirely the distractions of the army. What facilitated their work was the arrival of instructions and dispatches from the Prince of Wales, in which there was an assurance that the fleet was coming into those parts with supplies of ammunition and provision for the forces there. This, of itself, was sufficient to raise the spirits of the soldiery, but when it was added that the Duke of York would come with the fleet, and the Prince himself probably after, as soon as he had recovered strength enough from the small pox, there was no more fear of mutiny or disaffection among the forces. The coming of the Prince was, on many accounts, of so much advantage, that the Marquis of Ormond thought it his duty to press it at this time very warmly; but it did not take place. His excellency leaving the Munster army well pacified, returned, within the time he had appointed, to Kilkenny, but he was immediately taken so ill, that he could not give his answer till the nineteenth of December. In the interim he received an answer to the application he had made

to the king for a fresh authority, in the following letter, which is to be found in Carte's Collection :

ORMOND,

I hope before this, mine of this month will have come to your hands. I sent it by the way of France. This is not only to confirm the contents of that, but also to approve of certain commands to you : likewise to command you to prosecute certain instructions, until I shall, under my own hand, give you other commands. And though you will hear that this treaty is near, or at least most likely to be concluded, yet believe it not, but *pursue the way you are in with all possible vigour.* Deliver, also, that my command to all your friends, but not in a public way ; because otherwise it may be inconvenient to me, and particularly to Inchiquin. So, being confident of your punctual observance of these my directions, I rest your most real, faithful, constant friend,

CHARLES R.

December 21. This day, the king having been ordered to Windsor Castle, arrived with a guard at Winchester, where the honourable mayor and aldermen met him at the town's end, and, as in duty heretofore, presented him with a speech, and then with their mace. The governor of the guard told them that by the act of "*No Address to the King,*" they were all traitors, which not a little troubled the well-meaning mayor. *Sanderson's History of King Charles*, p. 1116.

December 22. The king arrived at Farnham, and after dinner at Bagshot, calling for his coach, he was told it was gone before ; (and indeed so designed.) Then being ready to mount an excellent horse, his Majesty was troubled, as the horse had been newly pricked with a nail, and was stark lame, which being perceived, a gentleman lent him a swift gelding. This was observed, the guards were commanded for flankers till the king came off the Downs, and so he came to Windsor on Saturday night, the twenty-third of December. Here they refused to afford his Majesty any ceremony of state upon the knee, and hardly the cap, his attendance was taken away, and he was clapped up close. *Ibid.*

Immediately on the king's arrival, William Prynne, of Lincoln's Inn, barrister, published his Charge, being the first man that did so ; whether to his eternal shame or not, we shall give you his title-page, wherein we find in this case, as very often in his other pamphlets, more matter in the title-page than in all that follows in the book besides.

Mr. Prynne's Charge against the King.

Shewing

That the king's design, purpose, resolution, his endeavours, practice and conversation, have always been engaged, biassed, tended to settle, establish, confirm *popery*, *tyranny*, *slavery* in, among, and over his dominions, subjects, people. In order to that design, end, purpose, he writ to the pope of Rome, stiling him his most holy Father, Catholique Majesty, thrice honoured Lord and Father, engaging himself to the said Pope, to endeavour to settle the popish religion only, in his dominions. And since his coming to the crown, hath extended extraordinary favours upon, protection of *notorious papists*, *priests*, *jesuits*, against all prosecution of laws, enacted against them; notwithstanding all his protestations to the contrary, hath raised up a most horrid, unnatural, and bloody war, arming his Roman Catholique subjects to massacre, plunder, torture, imprison, ruin, his loyal, faithful, pious, Protestant subjects; to burn, sack, spoil their cities, towns, villages, collected from the books.

Written by *William Prynne, of Lincoln's Inn, Esq.* being but a very small taste from the main ocean of that which he hath written concerning the King, and his ill behaviour since his coming to the crown, as also with references unto clear, satisfactory, convincing answers unto several objections concerning resisting, censuring, suspending, depriving Kings for their tyranny; yea, capitally proceeding against them, *by the said Author.*

To second Prynne there follow petitions pretended to be from the well affected of the county of Norfolk, from several garrisons and other such, praying for justice against the King. Prynne, an indefatigable author of most vast pieces in the Parliament's defence, had been turned out of the house, and was at this time a prisoner with the army; being now, with others, ill treated by their own stipendiaries, in the inscrutable judgment of *God*. *Sanderson*, p. 1118.

December 27. Some members out of honour and conscience forbearing, the rest of them receive the report of the *thirty-eight Committee men*, and their general charge against the King; which charge was, that "Charles Stuart had acted contrary to his trust, in departing from the Parliament, setting up his standard, making war against them, and thereby being the occasion of much bloodshed and misery to the people whom he was set over for good. That he gave commissions to Irish rebels, &c. and since was occasion of a second war, &c. besides what he had done contrary to the liberties of the subject, and tending

to the destruction of the fundamental laws and liberties of the kingdom."

The Queen at this time wrote from Paris to the King, her letter being conveyed to his Majesty by one Wheeler, a person employed by Major Boswell, in which she expressed her deep sense and sorrow for the King's sad condition, with whom bearing an equal share she wished to die for him; for whose interest she had and purposed to do her utmost in all possible ways and means to help him; not wishing to live without him. She also wrote a letter which was delivered by the French Ambassador, and directed to her trusty and well-beloved Thomas, Lord Fairfax, General, imploring his help and assistance, that she might have leave to come over to the King her husband, to see him before he should be proceeded against by any trial or charge, and to have a pass for her secure coming and returning; which letter the general sent to the house and they laid it aside. To confirm the present intended trial, the Commons house at this time declared, that by the fundamental laws of the realm it was treason in the King of England for the time to come, to levy war against the Parliament. *Sanderson*, 1118.

While the Marquis of Ormond was engaged in negotiating the peace at Kilkenny, a dangerous spirit of mutiny in the army of Lord Inchiquin, required his presence in Cork. These forces, confounded at the success of the independent party, and disappointed in their expectations of money, grew discontented and clamorous. Some of their officers thought it necessary to make their peace in time with the ruling power of England. Propositions were sent to Parliament, in which it was pretended that Inchiquin himself concurred; they complained of dangerous concessions meditated by Ormond in favour of the Irish; they talked of joining Jones in Dublin, or forcing their way to the quarters of Owen O'Neill. The treaty was thus necessarily suspended. But a messenger from the Prince of Wales landing at Cork with assurances of a speedy relief, and that the Duke of York was immediately to sail for Ireland, and be followed by the Prince himself, enabled Ormond and Inchquin to quiet the commotions; so the Marquis returned to Kilkenny and resumed his negotiations. *Carte's Ormond*, ii. 44.

1649. *January* 2. An ordinance for impeaching the King of high treason, and for trying him by Commissioners, was agreed on by the Commons, and carried up to the Lords this day for their concurrence, and upon its being rejected in the Upper house, the Commons passed three votes, arrogating to themselves

the whole legitimate power of the nation. They then proceeded to constitute their High Court of Justice, as they termed it; and all the King's friends, both at home and abroad, gave him over for lost, though they spared no possible means to save him. *Cromwell's Life*, page 106, London 1731.

The States General ordered their ambassador to represent to the Parliament, that the course they were going to take with the King would be a lasting *reproach to the protestant interest.* The Prince of Wales and Prince of Orange daily sent as agents the kindred and relations of Cromwell, Ireton, and other judges appointed to try his Majesty, with commissions to offer any thing, and to make any promises to save his life, or at least to put off the judgment, and the Prince of Wales wrote a very pathetic letter to Fairfax in his father's behalf. The Duke of Richmond, the Earls of Lindsey and Southampton, as is said, generously offered their own heads to save the King, and would have undertaken to suffer in his stead. Almost all the Presbyterian ministers in the city, and very many out of the country, and some even of the Independents, declared against the design in their sermons, in petitions, protestations, and public remonstrances. And the Scots at the same time sent commissioners in great haste to declare and protest against this unheard of attempt. *Ibid.*

The remonstrance of the army to the Parliament of England requiring that the King should be brought to justice, was about this time received by Lord Inchiquin at Cork, and sent by him to Kilkenny. Its effect in Ireland was sudden and powerful. All complaints in the protestant army were silenced; the confederates, stricken with a violent impression of the King's situation, and possibly of their own danger, at once acceded to the terms proposed by Ormond, the treaty was concluded, the peace proclaimed; and even the Romish clergy, however disappointed in their extravagant demands, expressed their satisfaction, and recommended the strict observance of this peace. *Carte's Ormond*, page 44.

No. XXXII.

"*I have observed that the devil of rebellion doth commonly turn himself into an angel of reformation; and the old serpent can pretend new lights. When some men's consciences accuse them of sedition and faction, they stop its mouth with the name and noise of* RELIGION *; when piety pleads for peace and patience, they cry out zeal.*"

King Charles I. to the Prince of Wales.

1649. *January* 17. On this day the whole of the General Assembly repaired to the Lord-lieutenant in his castle at Kilkenny, and there with all solemnity imaginable, presented him, by the hand of their Chairman or Speaker, the articles of peace as concluded and assented and submitted unto by the whole body of the Roman Catholics, which he received and solemnly confirmed on his Majesty's behalf; addressing the Assembly in an eloquent and manly speech, of which the following is a short extract: "You seem now to have a call from heaven to exercise your arms and uttermost fortitude in the noblest and justest cause the world hath seen; for let all the circumstances incident to a great and good cause be examined, and they will be found comprehended in that which you are now warrantably called to defend, *Religion;* not in the narrow and circumscribed definition of it, by this or that late found out name, but *Christian Religion* is our quarrel; which certainly is as much struck at by the blasphemous license of this age, I may say, more than ever it was by the rudest incursions of the most barbarous and avowed enemies of christianity: *(how similarly assailed in* 1820*!!!)* The venerable laws and the fundamental constitution of our ancestors are trodden under impious and, for the most part, mechanic feet. The sacred *person* of our King, the life of those laws, the head of those constitutions, is under an ignominious imprisonment, and his life threatened to be taken away by the sacrilegious hands of the basest of the people that owe him obedience. And, to endear the quarrel unto you, the fountain of all the benefits you have but now acknowledged, and which you may further hope for by this peace and your own merits, is in danger to be obstructed by the execrable murder of the worthiest Prince that ever ruled these islands. In short, hell itself can add nothing to the desperate mischiefs now openly projected. And now judge if a greater and more glorious field was ever set open to action," &c. &c. *See the Earl of Clarendon's Historical View of the affairs of Ireland,* page 72. Dublin, 1719.

January 18. Term is adjourned.—The scaffolds are preparing in Westminster-hall for the trial, and all other circumstances ordering as if no redemption were to be expected from the jaws of this death. The time and manner for the King's bringing from Windsor is kept private. But the barge and water preparations now making ready, make men think his Majesty shall come that way. Sir Robert Cotton's house is making ready to receive his Majesty, who must pay reverence to the Court, or have his hat plucked off to give them it, when he shall be brought up. The ministers of this city seem all

resolved to protest against the proceedings concerning the King, as unwarrantable by the word of GOD and the laws. The Scots speak aloud for their King. If foreign Ministers would come and do their parts, perhaps the weight of reason, against so unparalleled an action, would strike the deeper sense into the present actors. *Advertisements from London to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, forwarded through Caen, by Sir Edward Nicholas. Carte*, vol. ii. 203.

January 19. The Scottish Commissioners delivered some papers to the House of Commons, and a declaration from the Parliament of Scotland, wherein they express a dislike of the present proceedings against the King; declaring that the kingdom of Scotland had an undoubted interest in the person of the King, who was not delivered to the English Commissioners at Newcastle for the ruin of his person, but for the more speedy settlement of the peace of his kingdoms. But these proceedings, and others of a contrary nature, said at this time to have been adopted by the other faction in Scotland, made no impression on the actors of this tragedy in England, who, arming themselves with pretensions of GOD's providence, and impressions of *the Holy Spirit*, proclaimed that the time was come when the *saints of the land* "*should bind kings and their nobles with chains of iron;*" and one of these in the pulpit, with bended knees, tears, and hands lift up, in the name of the people, besought that the High Court would "*execute justice against Charles, and not suffer Benhadad their enemy to go away in safety.*" *Sanderson*, 1123.

January 20. The King was brought from St. James's through the park in a sedan to Whitehall, and thence by water, with guards, to Sir John Cotton's house at the back end of Westminster-hall. The King was then accused, and, with a countenance of majesty, and at some passages with a scornful smile, denied their authority to try him. Upon which, after several disrespectful interruptions of his Majesty's speech, the Court adjourned to the ensuing Monday.

January 22. Monday the Court met in the painted chamber, and the King adhering formally to his resolution to deny their jurisdiction and judicature, though his Majesty offered to submit his reasons for so doing in writing, they adjourn to the next day; and so from day to day till Saturday the 27th, when the President, in a scarlet robe, opened the Court, and sixty-eight of the Judges answered to their names. As the King came, the soldiers were directed to cry out for execution; and this bloody tribunal adjudged the King as a tyrant, a

traitor, a murderer, and a public enemy, to suffer death by severing his head from his body. *Ibid.* p. 1128.

After sentence, the king being hurried away, was mocked of the soldiers, they laying aside all reverence for sovereignty, acted triumph on the prisoner, crying out, "Justice, Justice." I abhor to say, that one of them defiled his venerable face, but he wiped it off with his handkerchief. They puffed tobacco fume towards him, which was particularly offensive to him, and cast their tobacco pipes at his feet. They bastinadoed such as saluted him; they intruded almost into his closet, hardly permitting him private devotion with his own chaplain, the Bishop of London, whilst he prayed and prepared for this bitter cup. But he, with majesty of mind, when they cried out for justice, said, "Poor souls, for a piece of money they would do so for their commanders." And at these rebels he said, "Christ suffered more for my sake." Such as dissembled irreverence, he with easy contempt eluded, by neglecting it. Yet in that little time that was left him, he betook himself to confession of his sins, receiving the Eucharist, reading the scriptures, godly conferences, doing all the duties of piety. And thus he holily seeks to overcome the terrors of death ere they assail him. *Ibid.*

On this night (27th of January) the king lodged at Whitehall, and the next day (Sunday, the 28th) the Bishop of London preached there before his Majesty in his chamber. And this Sunday the President and all members of the High Court of Justice fasted in the chapel of Whitehall, and had prayers read there for them. On this day means were found to deliver a letter to the king from his son the Prince of Wales, which he read and burned. *Ibid*, p. 1133.

January 29. The king was conveyed to St. James's, and the Dutch ambassador sued the House of Commons in his behalf. The king's children were on this day admitted to visit him for a short time. His Majesty first gave his blessing to the Lady Elizabeth, who receiving his commands to her brother, Prince James, the king said to her—"*Sweetheart, you'll forget this.*" "*No,*" said she, "*I shall never forget it while I live;*" and pouring forth abundance of tears, promised him to write down the particulars. Among the particulars she took down was the following: *He wishes me not to grieve and torment myself for him, for that would be a glorious death that he should die, it being for the laws and liberties of this land, and for maintaining the true Protestant religion. He bid me read Bishop Andrews' Sermons, Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, and Bishop Laud's book against Fisher, which would ground me against Popery. He*

told me he had forgiven all his enemies, and hoped God would forgive them also, and commanded us, and all the rest of my brothers and sisters, to forgive them. He bid me tell my mother that his thoughts had never strayed from her, and that his love should be the same to the last. Withal he commanded me and my brother to be obedient to her, and bid me send his blessing to the rest of my brothers and sisters, with commendation to all his friends." The king, at this affecting interview, took the infant Duke of Gloucester upon his knee, and said to him, "Now they will cut off thy father's head." Upon which the child looked very steadfastly on him. "Mark, child, what I say. They will cut off my head, and perhaps make thee a king. But mark what I say. You must not be a king so long as your brothers, Charles and James, do live; for they will cut off your brothers' heads when they can catch them, and cut off thy head too at last; therefore I charge you do not be made a king by them." At which the child, sighing, said, "*I will be torn in pieces first*;" which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the king rejoice exceedingly. *Ibid*, page 1134.

The fatal day appeared, Tuesday, the thirtieth of January. In the morning the king prayed and received the sacrament; at ten o'clock was called forth from St. James's palace, then his prison. How magnanimously he behaved on this awful day, need not be recorded here. With heroic composure he laid his head upon the block about the hour of two o'clock in the afternoon, after having declared that "*he died in the christian faith, according to the profession of the Church of England, as the same was left him by his father of most blessed memory.*" *Ibid.*

Not long after Archbishop Usher's return to London in this year, his Majesty was brought up thither as a prisoner by the army, in order to that wicked piece of pageantry which they called a trial. And now, too soon after came that fatal thirtieth of January, never to be mentioned or thought on by good men without grief and detestation; on which was perpetrated the most execrable villainy, under the pretence of justice, that ever was acted since the world began---*a king murdered by his own subjects, before his own palace, in the face of the sun.* For which the Lord Primate was so deeply sensible and afflicted, that he kept that day as a private fast so long as he lived; and would always bewail the scandal and reproach it cast, not only on our own nation, but religion itself, saying that *thereby a great advantage was given to Popery*, and that thenceforward the priests of the church of Rome would, with

greater success, advance their designs against the Church of England, and the Protestant religion in general. Nor will it be impertinent here to relate a passage that happened to the Lord Primate at the time of his Majesty's murder. The lady Peterborough's house, where my Lord then lived, being just over against Charing Cross, divers of the Countess's gentlemen and servants got upon the leads of the house, from whence they could plainly see what was acting before Whitehall. As soon as his Majesty came upon the scaffold, some of the household came and told my Lord Primate of it, and asked him if he would see the king once more before he was put to death. My Lord was at first unwilling, but was at last persuaded to go up, as well out of desire to see his Majesty once again, as also curiosity, since he could scarcely believe what they told him, unless he saw it. When he came upon the leads, the king was in his speech; the Lord Primate stood still, and said nothing, but sighed; and lifting up his hands, and eyes, full of tears, towards heaven, seemed to pray earnestly; but when his Majesty had done speaking, and had pulled off his cloak and doublet, and stood stripped in his waistcoat, and that the villains in vizards began to put up his hair, the good Bishop, no longer able to endure so dismal a sight, and being full of grief and horror for that most wicked act, now ready to be executed, grew pale, and began to faint, so that if he had not been observed by his own servant, and some others that stood near him, who thereupon supported him, he had swooned away. So they presently carried him down, and laid him on his bed, where he used those powerful weapons which God has left his people in such afflictions, viz. *prayers* and *tears*. Tears that so horrid a sin should be committed, and prayers that God would give his prince patience to undergo these cruel sufferings, and that he would not permit so great a wickedness to pass unpunished. *Dr. Parr's Life of Primate Usher*, p. 72.

When the Marquis of Montrose received the doleful news at Brussels of the king's being murdered by the English independents, good God! what horror seized him at the first, and as yet uncertain, reports of his death. But when the accounts of this barbarous parricide were confirmed, and there remained no more room to doubt the truth of it, his indignation was then heightened into fury, and his grief quite overwhelmed him, so that he fainted and fell down in the midst of his attendants, all the members of his body becoming stiff, as if he had been quite dead. At length, when he recovered, after many deep groans and sighs, he broke out into these words: We ought not any longer to live: we ought to die with our excel-

lent sovereign. God, who has the power of life and death, is my witness, that henceforth this life will be a grievous and uneasy burthen, in which I can enjoy no pleasure. On the remonstrance of his chaplain, Dr. Wishart, he became more tranquil, and his passions settled into one firm resolve to avenge the murder of the king, best expressed in the following epitaph, to which his faithful chaplain's Latin version is annexed.

> " Great, good, and just, could I but rate
> My griefs by thy too rigid fate,
> I'd weep the world in such a strain,
> As it should deluge once again.
> But since thy loud-tongued blood demands supplies,
> More from Briareus hands than Argus eyes,
> I'll sing thy obsequies with trumpet sounds,
> And write thy epitaph with blood and wounds."

> Carole, si possem lachrymis equare dolorem
> Ipse meum fatumque tuum, tua funera flerem
> Ut Tellus nitidis rursum stagnaret abundis
> Sanguis atille tuus, quum vocem ad sidera tollat
> Atque manus Briarei mage quam Argi lumina poscat
> Exsequias celebrabo tuas clangore turbarum
> Etumulo inscribam profuso sanguine carmen.

Bishop Wishart's Life of Montrose, pages 335 and 495, Edinburgh, 1819.

The news of this catastrophe was received by the Marquis of Ormond at Youghal, as he returned from visiting Prince Rupert, who, to the great consolation of the royalists, had arrived at Kinsale with the fleet so long expected. He instantly proclaimed the Prince of Wales King, and caused the like proclamation to be made in all places subject to his authority. Such was the detestation expressed by the Irish at the execution of Charles, that the Nuncio at once concluded that the whole party would submit to the Lord-Lieutenant. He had for some time continued in Ireland, notwithstanding his disgraces, in hopes that some favourable incident might draw the nation into his measures. His hopes were now desperate, and he resolved to retire from a country which he had so long distracted by his senseless ambition. *Leland*, vol. iii. p. 347.

February 15. In Ulster the Presbyterians, and especially the Scots, were fierce against the Parliament of England, insomuch that the Presbytery at Belfast did on this day publish a paper intitled, " A necessary Representation of the present

Evils and imminent Dangers to Religion, Laws, and Liberties, arising from the late and present practices of the *Sectarian Party* in England; together with an exhortation to duties relating to the Covenant." The design of this declaration was to exhort the people from associating with sectaries or malignants; which latter denomination they gave the King's party. *Hib. Ang. Car.* ii. p. 15.

February 23. The General Assembly of the Irish having ordered the Pope's Nuncio to withdraw out of the kingdom at his peril, and in their letter inclosing a schedule of grievances occasioned by him, *tanquam huic parricidis occasionam declesset*, whereof they intended to impeach him to the Pope; he finding he had been one unhappy cause of the King's murder, took ship on this day at Galway, and returned to Rome, where he was blamed by the Pope for acting so rashly; *temerarie gessisti*, were the words used to him. Nevertheless, the Irish could not be absolved from his unjust excommunication for making a truce with Inchiquin, until they had done penance "*in formâ ecclesiæ consuetâ.*" *Beling*, p. 173; *and Peter Walsh's Remonstrance*, p. 592.

Having sent directions to O'Neill to stand firm for the defence of the Pope's authority, on the twenty-second of February, the Nuncio Rinuncini, who had assumed to himself the supreme power in Ireland, went off in an obscure condition on board his frigate, after having held the Roman Catholics in bondage for three years, and being the cause of many thousands being slain in fighting his battles. This man had put the whole kingdom into a flame, and had been the principal cause of the ruin of the king's, and even the "Catholic" interest there by his violence and superstition; and now he was compelled to seek his safety by stealing out of the kingdom. All the satisfaction which the Papists received for these disorders, was the short reprimand from the Pope, "*You have behaved yourself rashly*;" and the nuncio's confinement to his Archbishopric for the rest of his life. *Warner*, vol. ii. page 162.

March 7. Sir Charles Coote and the Parliamentary army, at this time besieged in Londonderry, held a council of war in that city, when they replied to the Presbyterians' declaration from Belfast, stating,

I.

That if they decline the Parliament, they shut out all succours and supplies from England.

II.

They make a rent and division among themselves.

III.

And consequently must desert the kingdom or join the rebels.

IV.

That they must fight against an army that had been the instrument of the liberty of England and quiet of Scotland. *Hib. Ang.* p. 15.

March 9. The king, by his letter from the Hague, confirmed the late peace, and ordered a new Great Seal to be made and disposed of to whom the Lord-Lieutenant should think fit, and appointed the Lord Inchiquin to be Lord President of Munster, and the Marquis of Clanrickard to be Lord President of Connaught, if the Lord-Lieutenant find it convenient. *Ibid, Car. II.* 3.

But though the Nuncio was gone, yet he had left Owen Roe and his army behind him to support his faction, who, together with the Marquis of Antrim, did oppose the peace, "*because the six escheated counties in Ulster were not restored to the old Irish.*" And with these sided a multitude of friars, who railed against the late peace, and the scandalous expulsion of the Nuncio, and threatened inevitable damnation to all those that should take part with the Lord-Lieutenant; whereby the peace became of little use to the king, or advantage to his affairs, even whilst the Romish bishops and the secular clergy adhered to it, which was not long. *Ibid.*

After the conclusion of the peace, the Irish became very troublesome by their importunities for places of trust and honour. Sir Richard Blake, the very next week after the peace, wrote to Secretary Lane to mind the Lord-Lieutenant to make him a Baron, and others were as careful of their own advancement; but, above all others, the insolence of a son of Hugh O'Connor is remarkable, for he, on the 9th of March, wrote to the Lord-Lieutenant to give him a troop, and his brother a foot company, "*or else they would shift for themselves.*" To whom the Lord-Lieutenant made answer, that, "*Whatever he did with great rebels, he would not capitulate with small ones.*" *Ibid*, p. 206.

March 1. Lord Byron wrote the following letter from Caen to the Marquis of Ormond:

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCE,

Just as I am putting my foot in the stirrup to go to Paris, the post arrives, and in some letters from good hands, I meet with a particular of great concernment, which I thought it fit to advertise your Excellence of by this bearer, Major Jamot, who, though a Roman Catholic, yet herein so much detests their

ways, that truly I believe it will alter his opinion. The business is briefly this : Sir Kenelm Digby, with some other Romanists, accompanied with one Watson, an Independent, who hath brought them passes from Fairfax, is gone for England, to join the interests of all the English Papists with that bloody party that murdered the king, in the opposition and extirpation of monarchical government ; or if that government be thought fit, yet that it shall be by election, and not by succession, as formerly, provided a free exercise of the Romish religion be granted, and of all other religions, *except that which was established by law in the Church of England.* This devilish design, which most certainly is now setting on foot, I doubt not may have an ill influence upon Ireland, especially upon Owen O'Neill's party, if not prevented by your vigilance and prudence. Poyntz, my Lord of Worcester's devil, I hear, is a prime actor in it ; and it is much suspected that Walsingham, whom your Excellence knows for a pragmatical knave, and I believe comes over in the Darcy frigate, is employed by Sir Kenelm Digby, though pretending other business. Sir Edward Nicholas either hath, or will write to your Excellence, and Major Jamot is able to say something in it. I am the apter to believe it, because when I was in England, something to this purpose was propounded by the Independent party to the Recusants, &c. &c.

BYRON.

Sir Edward Nicholas wrote thus :

" By the inclosed extracts of letters I have lately received from Rouen, from several hands, whereof one is from Doctor Winstad, a very honest physician and a Roman Catholic, Your Excellency will see that the design of the Papists, whereof I have by my former given you intimation, goes on, and is like to prove no less destructive to monarchy and the Church of England, than the government now there prevalent, whereof I thought good to give your Excellency again this timely notice, as fully and particularly as I receive it, because I doubt if it go forward in England, it will have a very great influence on those of that religion in Ireland. I am jealous that Walsingham, who is lately gone hence from Ireland, is sent to acquaint the Catholics in that kingdom with the design, and to feel how they will like it; for he did here speak much against the Papists' endeavouring to join with the rebels in England, and seemed sorry that Sir Kenelm Digby had a hand in it, which is like other of his small policies. I hope your Excellency will cause an eye to be had on him and others, that no such projects may be set on foot in that kingdom, which may be, in this conjuncture, much more pernicious, in regard it may make all that take

part with Colonel Jones and Owen O'Neill unite. *Carte's Collection of original Letters and Papers, from* 1641 *to* 1660, page 218.

The plot, as I am told, about which Sir Kenelm Digby is employed as an agent to treat with those horrid rebels, the Independents of England, is for the subversion of successive hereditary monarchy there, and to make it elective, and to establish Popery there, and to give toleration to all manner of religions, except that of the Church of England. Here came with him one Watson, who is, and hath long been, scout master general to the rebel army under Fairfax, and was by profession formerly a goldsmith in Lincoln, from whence he was obliged to fly for cozening people by selling alchymy instead of silver. This fellow was sent to Paris by Sir Kenelm Digby, from whence he wrote letters to the General, and others in England, to hasten the sending away of that knight's passport with all speed. And that you may imagine what kind of rogue he is, I will only tell you this one thing of him, that he publicly disputes against *the Blessed Trinity*, and will acknowledge none, and this villain is the only comrade of Sir Kenelm Digby, and is used by him with the greatest respect that can be imagined. *Ibid*, p. 221.

March 2. The Nuncio Rinuncini landed at St. Vaast in Lower Normandy; he was coldly received by the Pope, and after being told that he had carried himself rashly in Ireland, instead of being honoured with a cardinal's hat, as he expected, he was banished to his bishoprick and principality of Fermo, which he found in a distracted condition, by just such another insurrection of the people against their viceroy, as he had himself raised and fomented against the king's lieutenant in Ireland. These disappointments of his own, and the distractions of his people, affected him so sensibly, that he soon after died of grief. *Curry's Review of the Civil Wars in Ireland*, page 343.

March 8. The queen mother, on this day, sent the Lord Byron to the king, to press him to go to Ireland, and to get the Scotch commissioners to consent thereunto. *Carte's Original Letters and Papers, from* 1641 *to* 1660.

When the news of that horrible execution came to Rouen, a Protestant gentleman of good credit was present in a great company of jesuited persons, where, after great expressions of joy, the gravest of the company, to whom all gave ear, spake much after this sort: "The King of England, at his marriage, promised us the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in England. (How false this allegation was, must be known to all

who know the true character of the murdered monarch.) He delayed to fulfil his promise, though we summoned him, from time to time, to perform it. We came so far as to tell him, that if he would not do it, we should be forced to take those courses which would bring him to his destruction. We have given him lawful warning, and when no warning would serve, we have kept our word to him, since he would not keep his word to us." *A Vindication of the Sincerity of the Protestant Religion in the point of Obedience to Sovereigns, opposed to the Doctrine of Rebellion authorized and practised by the Pope and the Jesuits, in Answer to a Jesuitical Libel entitled, "Philanax Angilicus," by Peter du Moulin, D. D. Canon of Christ Church, one of his Majesty's Chaplains.* London, 1664.

March 27. The Marquis of Ormond wrote to Lieutenant-General Jones, from Thurles, endeavouring to work him over to the king's party. *Borlase*, p. 209.

March 28. The English Parliament voted that Oliver Cromwell should be General of all their forces then in Ireland, or that should be sent thither, and accordingly he prepared diligently for that expedition. *Hibernia Anglicana, Car. II.* page 3.

There were four other distinct interests and armies in Ireland besides that of the Parliament, at this time, viz. the King's, the Presbyterians', the Supreme Council's, and Owen Roe's. *Ibid.*

March 31. General Jones replied to the Lord-Lieutenant's letter of the 27th of this month, charging the fatal and inhuman act perpetrated on his late Majesty to his Excellency's arrival in Ireland during the treaty at Carisbrook, whereby the sincerity of that treaty was questioned; upon which no more letters passed between them. *Borlase*, p. 209.

April 12. The king wrote the following letter to the Marquis of Ormond from the Hague.

My Lord,

I am in some trouble that I have not heard from you since my Lord Byron came from Ireland. If I may believe the general reports of these parts, you proceed very prosperously. You must have a strict eye to watch that no agents come out of England to tamper with your Catholics; and methinks the odious proceedings of the rebels there should beget horror in all honest men, of what religion soever, against them. I am pressing the States here all I can for assistance of money and ships to transport me. I hope speedily to have a very good

answer, and then I shall lose no time in coming to you. &c. &c. &c.

Your most affectionate Friend,

CHARLES REX.

Carte's Collection, vol. i. p. 267.

On this day Lord Byron wrote again to the Marquis of Ormond from the Hague, concluding his letter in these words: "I shall conclude with an humble and earnest desire to your Excellence that you would take an especial care of your person, upon the safety whereof so much depends, and upon which, as we are assured here from very good hands in England, there are so bloody designs, and likewise upon my Lord Inchiquin. Abbot O'Reilly is now in England, contributing what he can to the hellish plot, so that your Excellence ought, if not for your own, yet for the king's sake, to be extreme careful and wary how you adventure yourself, or whom you admit near you. The king tells me he hath advertized your Excellence hereof by Colonel Legg; howsoever, I thought it not amiss to repeat it here, lest that should miscarry, there being no private person more concerned in your Excellence's safety than, &c. BYRON.

Ibid, p. 271.

April 22. Lord Hatton sent the following information to the Marquis of Ormond from Paris. "The lots are cast in London for nine regiments to go for Ireland, and four more are added to them, fifteen thousand men. They will be effective. They are not all pleased at the journey. I hear Hewson and Scroope murmur, knowing how ill their fellows fare that are gone over for Dublin, which is in great distress of all necessaries, and Londonderry is supposed rendered. *Ibid.*

May 8. Owen Roe entered into articles with Colonel Monk, not only for a cessation for three months, but for mutual assistance within that time, stipulating that Monk should furnish him with ammunition, which he did, and some of which was taken from Lieutenant-General Farrel by Lord Inchiquin. *Hib. Ang. Car. II.* iii. p. 5.

May 12. Owen Roe made a league on this day with Sir C. Coote, and, in consideration of two thousand pounds in money, two thousand cows, and some ammunition, undertook to oblige the Lord of Ardo and the Lagan forces to raise the siege of Derry, which he did on the 8th of August following. *Ibid.*

No. XXXIII.

" When the businesses of the late bad times are once ripe for an history, and time, the bringer of truth, hath discovered the mysteries of iniquity, and the depths of Satan, which have wrought so much crime and mischief, it will be found that the late rebellion was raised and fostered by the arts of the Church of Rome. That Jesuits professed themselves Independents, as not depending on the Church of England, and Fifth Monarchy Men, that they might pull down the English Monarchy, and that in the committees for the destruction of the king and the church they had their spies and agents." Peter du Moulin's Vindication of the Protestant Religion in the point of Obedience to Sovereigns. London, 1664.

1649. *May* 10. Sir Edward Nicholas wrote from Caen to the Marquis of Ormond, informing him that the king had not then received any answer from the States General respecting money, and that his Majesty could not move without it. It is very much and earnestly expected, said Sir Edward Nicholas in the letter, that your Excellency would forthwith send to the king an account of the state of his Majesty's affairs on that side of the channel since the horrid murder of our late dear master and sovereign of glorious memory ; and I humbly wish you would let his Majesty receive your opinion when it will be most seasonable for him to come thither, and in what manner ; for it is believed the king will therein be much governed by your advice. I am resolved to attend his Majesty as soon as he shall come into France, if he shall think fit to come at all into this kingdom. *Carte's Collection of original Letters and Papers, from* 1641 *to* 1660.

Roger Boyle, third son of the great Earl of Cork, and afterwards Earl of Orrery, who made so considerable a figure in the camp, the court, and the republic of letters, was born on the 26th of April, 1621, and was created Baron of Broghill at the age of five years. Soon after his marriage with Lady Margaret Howard, sister to the Earl of Suffolk, he landed with his lady in Ireland, arriving at Lismore on the very day on which the rebellion broke out. Under this terrible calamity Lord Broghill summoned in the Earl of Cork's English tenants, and made up a body of five hundred men, in which little army he had the command of a troop of horse. The rebellion soon afterwards becoming universal, and being attended with that bloody massacre of which our histories give a particular account,

the Lord Broghill and his brothers were ordered to join the Lord President St. Leger with the troops under their command, which they did accordingly, and had frequent opportunities of shewing that they wanted neither conduct nor courage. On the surrender of Dublin to the Parliamentary commissioners, Lord Broghill, with several others, zealous loyalists, acted under them for some time against the Irish rebels. But Lord Broghill was so shocked at the news of the king's death, that he immediately quitted the service of the Parliament, and looking upon Ireland, and the estate he held there, as utterly lost, he embarked for England, and retired to Marston, a seat which he had in Somersetshire, where he lived privately for some time. In this retirement, however, he could not forbear reflecting upon the miserable condition both of his country and the royal family, till at last he conceived it beneath his spirit and quality to see the public ruined, and his own private fortune enjoyed by the rebels. He resolved, therefore to attempt something, both for the sake of his country and himself, and accordingly, under pretence of going to the Spa for his health, he determined to cross the seas, and apply himself to King Charles the Second.

Having raised a considerable sum of money, he came up to London, where his secret being discovered by the Committee of the State, they resolved to proceed against him with the utmost severity. Oliver Cromwell was at that time a member of the committee, and general of the Parliamentary forces. He was no stranger to Lord Broghill's merit, and reflecting that this young nobleman might be of great use to him in reducing Ireland, he earnestly intreated the committee that he might have leave to talk with him, and endeavour to gain him before they proceeded to extremities ; which he accordingly did, and Lord Broghill was persuaded by Cromwell that he was at liberty, by all rules of honour, to serve against the Irish, whose rebellion and barbarity were equally detested by the royal party and the Parliament. Charmed with the frankness and generosity of the manner in which he had been treated on this occasion by Cromwell, Lord Broghill gave him his word and honour that *he would serve him* against the Irish rebels, upon which Cromwell once more assured him, that the conditions he had made with him should be punctually observed, and then ordered him to repair immediately to Bristol, to which place forces should be sent him, with a sufficient number of ships to transport them to Ireland. He added, that he himself would soon follow him, and was as good as his word in every particular. *Memoirs of the Lives and Characters of the Boyles*, p. 37 ; Dublin, 1754.

In the beginning of May, 1649, Owen Roe O'Neill summoned a provincial council to meet at Belturbet, where it was concluded, upon former invitation sent by Sir Charles Coote to treat with him for ammunition, and commissioners were appointed to meet him or his commissioners for that purpose at Newtown, where Colonel Richard Coote and Major Ormsby met, and agreed to give thirty barrels of powder, ball and match proportionably, and three hundred beeves, or four hundred pounds in money. O'Neill to march with his army to relieve Derry, and Secretary Glancy to remain at Sligo to receive the ammunition. This negotiation did not succeed, but a similar one was effected with General Monk; but Colonel Trevor intercepted the ammunition on its way to O'Neill, and preparing himself with five or six squadrons of horse, surprised the party in a plain road, routed them after a hot dispute, and took the ammunition. This accident no sooner happened, than Owen O'Neill marched to Clones, where an express came to him the next day, that Derry was again besieged by my Lord Montgomery and the Scotch, and that he would allow and ratify the former proposals, if he would go and raise the siege of Derry; which O'Neill was forced to accept at this time, and marched with his army, consisting of two thousand men, to Ballykelly, in the county of Derry. The Scotch, hearing of his approach, raised the siege, and posted away to their own country, beyond the Bann-Water. O'Neill encamped before Derry, on the Tyrone side of the river, where the President Coote came to compliment him, and perform his conditions, and afterwards invited him and his chief officers into the town, and treated them nobly. *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica,* vol. ii. p. 520.

When Owen Roe O'Neill came to the relief of the English rebels in Londonderry, they had been reduced to the extremity by the Lord Viscount Montgomery, of Ardo, and must, in a few days, have submitted to the king's authority, if they had not, in that manner, been relieved by the unfortunate Irish. *Earl of Clarendon's Historical View of Irish Affairs,* p. 85.

This was the juncture most favourable to the king's affairs, had he arrived in Ireland, as he promised. His Majesty's heavy baggage and inferior servants, and those of his ministers and officers who were to accompany him, were sent away in two ships, and actually arrived in Ireland. But the queen, who wanted to retain the same fatal influence in this reign which she had in the last, having pressed the king by many letters to go to her, it was resolved, against the opinion of the wisest part of his council, and very unhappily for Ireland, that

he should take France in his way; for had he arrived in Ireland before the unfortunate battle of Rathmines, he might have frustrated all the designs of Cromwell and the Parliament. The queen was exceedingly displeased that any resolution whatever should have been taken before she was consulted. She was angry, too, that the counsellors had been chosen without her direction, and looked upon all that had been done as done in order to exclude her from meddling in her son's affairs. The king, however, made no apology to her, as she expected, nor any profession of resigning himself up to her advice; on the contrary, he did as good as desire her not to trouble herself in his affairs. This, to a woman of high spirit, who had absolutely governed his father, and had a strong passion for power, was a mortification she could not digest. After some invaluable time wasted in Paris, the king embarked for the Isle of Jersey, where he waited for a seasonable opportunity to transport himself into Ireland, until that opportunity was irrevocably lost by the defeat of the Lord-Lieutenant by General Jones at Rathmines, and the subsequent arrival and successes of Oliver Cromwell. *See Warner*, vol. ii. p. 169.

Cromwell prepares for his journey to Ireland with an army of eight thousand foot and four thousand horse; in voting which no small disagreement arose between the contending parties of Independents and Presbyterians. He also borrowed an hundred and twenty thousand pounds from the City of London upon the credit of the ordinance, and dispatched Sir Theophilus Jones for Ireland with fifteen hundred quarters of corn and ten thousand pounds in money, all little enough to hearten the soldiers, who were at that time frequently deserting the Parliament, and flying to the Marquis of Ormond. *Borlase*, p. 210.

The Lord-Lieutenant having raised considerable supplies of money, provisions, and ammunition from Waterford, Kilkenny, and other considerable towns, and having appointed the Earl of Castlehaven Lieutenant-General of horse, and Lord Taafe Master of the Ordnance, appointed a general rendezvous for the whole army at Cloghgrennan, a house of his upon the river Barrow, near the castle of Catherlaugh, (Carlow) who, by the wisdom and temper of the principal officers, mingled well enough, and altogether, about the end of the month of May, made a body of three thousand seven hundred horse, and fourteen thousand foot, with a train of artillery consisting of four pieces of cannon. But their money was already so far spent, that they could not have advanced in their march towards Dublin, if the Marquis of Ormond had not, upon his own private

credit, borrowed eight hundred pounds from Sir James Preston, by means whereof he gave the soldiers four days' pay. *Ibid*, p. 212.

June 1. The Lord-Lieutenant and his army marched from Cloghgrennan, and the same evening appeared before Talbotstown, a strong garrison of the enemy's, which, together with Castle Talbot, about two miles distant from it, was within three days surrendered to the Marquis. He then marched to Kildare, which town was likewise surrendered to him, as were Castle Sallough and Castle Carby at Kildare. Here he was compelled to stay three or four days, both in want of provision and for a recruit of two thousand foot, which, by Lord Inchiquin's care and diligence, was then upon their march, and being joined by them, he was in hope, by a sudden and speedy motion, to have engaged Jones, who had marched at that time, (June 12) from Dublin as far as Johnstown, with his army, consisting of a thousand horse and three thousand foot. So he passed the Liffy, and Jones, upon intelligence of his motion, in great disorder raised his camp, and retired into Dublin. The Marquis then encamped his whole army at Naas, that he might maturely deliberate what was next to be undertaken, being now the middle of summer. *Ibid.*

June 7. Sir Edward Nicholas wrote from Rouen to inform the Marquis of Ormond that there was in that place a brood of Capuchin friars, with a provincial of their order, and a Bishop of Limerick preparing to go to Ireland, being authorized thereto by the Pope's especial mission, and that they intended to land in Limerick. *Carte's Original Papers*, vol. ii. p. 292.

June 22. On this day Cromwell had a pompous commission given to him, in Latin and English, to command all forces to be sent into Ireland, and to be Lord Governor both as to the civil and military affairs in that kingdom for three years, and Colonel Jones was made Lieutenant-General of the horse. From the very minute of his receiving this charge, Cromwell used an incredible expedition in the raising of money, providing of shipping, and drawing forces together for this enterprize. The soldiers marched with great speed to the rendezvous at Milford Haven, there to expect the new Lord-Deputy. *Cromwell's Life*, p. 128.

After Inchiquin had defeated the body of O'Neill's army, which had received ammunition from General Monk at Dundalk, he encamped before that town, and in two days compelled Monk, the Governor, to surrender the place, where was a good magazine of ammunition, clothes, and other necessaries

of war, most of the officers and soldiers engaging themselves with alacrity in his Majesty's service. Upon this success, (which took place before Ormond's march from Cloghgrennan) the garrisons of Newry, Narrow Water, Green Castle, and Carlingford, were easily subjected, and the Lord Inchiquin, in his return, being appointed to visit Trim, the only garrison left to the rebels in these parts, except Dublin, in two days after he had besieged it, made himself master of it, and so returned to the Lord-Lieutenant, with his party (not impaired by the service) in his camp at Tinglass. *Earl of Clarendon's View*, p. 84.

June 28. The Marquis of Ormond wrote to the king, acquainting him that the ground of his greatest confidence for future success, was their present cordial conjunction against the rebels, their former disaffection to each other appearing then only in an emulation rather of advantage than hindrance to his Majesty's service. *Carte's Original Papers*, vol. ii. page 387.

July 10. Cromwell having dispatched his business with the Parliament, left London on this day in great state, being drawn in a coach with six horses, and attended by many members of the Parliament and Council of State, with the chief officers of the army, his life-guard, consisting of eighty men, who had formerly been commanders, bravely mounted and accoutred, themselves and their servants. Thus he was conducted to Brentford, from which place he posted directly for Bristol, to take order for the train of artillery, and many other matters necessary for the hastening of his men on ship-board. From Bristol he took his way into Wales, having sent over three regiments into Ireland, viz. two of horse, under Colonels Reynolds and Venables, and one of foot, under the command of Colonel Monk. *Cromwell's Life*, p. 130.

July 24. All places of moment near Dublin being reduced, and the Lord Inchiquin having put competent garrisons into them, the Marquis of Ormond on this day took a view of his army, and found it to consist of no less than seven thousand foot, and about four thousand horse, which, though a good force, was not equal to the work of forming a regular siege of so large and populous a city as Dublin, and as unfit to storm it, therefore it was resolved still to continue the former design of strengthening it until the necessities within abated the obstinacy of that people; for the better doing of which the Lord Viscount Dillon, of Costello, was appointed to remain still on the north side of the town, with a body of two thousand foot and five hundred horse to block it up, having two or three small

places of strength to retire unto upon occasion; and the Lord-Lieutenant, the next day, marched with the remainder of the army over the Liffey to the south side, to a place called Rathmines, where he resolved to encamp, and from whence, by reason of the narrowness of the river, he might discourage an attempt of sending relief into the town by sea from England; and in truth if he had come time enough to have raised a work upon the point, some interruption might have been given to that enterprise. But it pleased God that the very same day, (July 25th) the Marquis marched thither, and in sight of his army, as it marched, a strong gale of wind from the east brought into Dublin Colonel Reynolds and Colonel Venables, with a good supply of horse and foot, money, and all other necessaries whereof the garrison stood in need, which marvellously exalted the spirits of all those who were devoted to the obedience of the rebels, and depressed the minds of those who watched all opportunities of doing service to the king. However, the Marquis pursued his resolution, and encamped that night at Rathmines, and the next day (26th) made himself strong there, till, upon information he might better conclude what was next to be done. *Earl of Clarendon's View*, p. 86.

The succours which arrived in Dublin at this time did not so much contribute to the preservation of that city as did a certain intelligence they brought with them that Cromwell and his army intended to land in Munster. Hereupon Lord Inchiquin, with a great party of the best horse, was detached to defend that province, whereby the army was weakened and exposed to the misfortune it afterwards met with. *Hib. Ang. Car. II.* p. 6.

It was now concluded that the army, being thus weakened by the quality as well as number of Lord Inchiquin's party, the Lord-Lieutenant should retire to Drumnah, being a quarter of greater strength than Rathmines was or could be made, and at such a distance as might as well block up the enemy as the other, and from whence an uninterrupted communication might be had with that party on the north side of the river. The officers of the army, however, succeeded in dissuading the Marquis from retiring to Drumnah, and they proposed to him the taking and fortifying of the castle of Baggotrath, from which they could hinder the rebels' horse from grazing in the meadows near the walls, which was the only place they possessed for that purpose: they also stated that this castle was already so strong, that in one night it might be sufficiently fortified. Accordingly, General Preston, Sir Arthur Aston, and Major General Purcell having viewed the place, assured

the Lord-Lieutenant that it might be possessed, and sufficiently fortified in one night. *Earl of Clarendon's View*, p. 88.

August 1. At midnight the Marquis of Ormond sent a strong party, under the command of Major-General Purcell, who had been most forward in advising the attack, to possess themselves of Baggotrath, with such materials as were necessary to fortify it, and in the mean time drew the whole army into battalia, commanding them to stand to their arms all night, and continued in the field, on horseback till morning, as he concluded the enemy would use their utmost endeavours to prevent the execution of a design which would bring such irreparable damage on them. *Ibid.*

August 22. As soon as it was day, the Lord-Lieutenant went to visit Baggotrath, which he found not in the fortified condition he expected. The officer excused himself by having been misguided in the night, so that it was very late before he arrived there, wherewith the Marquis being unsatisfied, displaced the officer who commanded the party, (Major-General Purcell—See Hibernia Anglica, Car. II. p. 6) and put another, of good name and reputation, into the charge, and appointed him to make his men work hard, since it appeared that in four or five hours it might be so well fortified that they need fear no attempt from the town, and that they might be sure to enjoy so much time, he commanded the army to remain in the same posture they had been in all night, and about nine o'clock, seeing no appearance of any sally from the town, he went to his tent to refresh himself with a little rest. *Ibid*, p. 89.

At nine o'clock in the morning, no signs of any sally appearing, the army, which had been all night in battalia, was permitted to rest themselves, and the Marquis retired to his tent for the same purpose, and so did most of the general officers, out of a vain confidence that the enemy would not sally so late in the day. But they found themselves grossly mistaken, and were quickly alarmed out of their sleep; for, about ten o'clock on the second day of August, a party issued out of Dublin, and meeting with better success than they could have the vanity to hope for, they were seconded by most part of the garrison, by single troops and companies one after another, and having slain and routed some few that opposed them, such a panic fear seized all the rest, that a more easy or more complete victory could hardly be gained. The Lord-Lieutenant in vain used his utmost endeavours to rally the horse, whereupon a considerable part of the foot, finding themselves deserted by the cavalry, did in a body surrender themselves; and though Lord Taafe escaped to the north side of the river, and impor-

tuned the Lord Dillon, &c. to attempt the recovery of the field with those two thousand five hundred fresh men under his command, yet so great was the consternation, that they could not be prevailed upon to try their fortune, nor hardly to provide for their own safety, without confusion ; though at length they did observe the Lord-Lieutenant's orders of going, half to Drogheda, and half to Trim, to secure those garrisons, whilst his Excellency went to Kilkenny to rally his shattered troops. In this battle four thousand men were killed, and two thousand five hundred and seventeen were taken prisoners, whereof several were officers of note, and all the artillery, and two hundred draft oxen, and indeed all the baggage of an exceeding rich camp became the reward and prize of the conqueror.

This is that fatal defeat at Rathmines, which the Irish say was so improvident and unfortunate, that nothing happened in Christendom more shameful. They did all that malice could suggest to place the fault of this misfortune on the Lord-Lieutenant, but without any manner of reason; for, besides the assurance we have from Peter Walsh, that Edmond Reilly, Titular Archbishop of Armagh, did betray this army, and that the Nuncio party at Rome rejoiced exceedingly at this defeat, this one observation will determine where the fault lay, viz. that Ormond was always victorious at the head of an English army, and the Irish always worsted, whoever was their general, except only at the battle of Benburb. *Sir Richard Cox's History of the Reign of King Charles II. in the Hibernia Anglicana*, p. 6.

The Irish had the impudence to charge the defeat at Rathmines solely upon the Marquis of Ormond, whereas so great a defeat could not happen had the officers and men of his army done their duty. In all human probability, the undertaking which led to it would have succeeded, and Dublin must have surrendered, if the party had got in due time to Baggotrath, and had had the whole night to work in. But when Reilly, the Titular Primate, was prosecuted four years after it, by the Republicans, for burning the castle of Wicklow, and murdering those who were in it, during the cessation, he had the impudence and the profligacy to plead the merit of ordering the guides to lead the detachment so much astray, as that it should not be able to reach the place of its destination time enough to do any good, and this plea of treachery to his country saved his life. *History of the Rebellion and Civil War in Ireland, by Ferdinando Warner, LL. D.* vol. ii. p. 179.

Of those who were slain on this day, more than half were put to the sword after they had laid down their arms upon a

promise of quarter, and some even after they were within the walls of the town. The defeat was a thorough one : all the plunder of a well-furnished camp, the artillery, tents, baggage, carriages; and Ludlow says four thousand pounds fell into the hands of the enemy. *Ibid.*

August 3. In his march to Finglass the next day, the Marquis of Ormond made a halt with the few horse he had rallied together, and joining a party with which he had before blocked up the fort of Ballyshannon, [Warner spells this word erroneously. Sir Richard Cox calls this place *Balisanon*, otherwise it might be mistaken for a town in the county of Donegal far from the place meant here. It may be right to observe here, that almost all the English writers of Irish history make most egregious and perplexing errors in spelling the names of towns and castles] summoned the governor of that place to surrender. The governor believing that the Marquis was returning from his success in the siege of Dublin, surrendered that important fort without hesitation. *Ibid.*

By the surrender of the strong castle of Balysanon, General Jones was stopped from prosecuting his victory, which else he would have done even to the walls of Kilkenny. Nevertheless that great captain resolved to push on his fortune, and, whilst the consternation lasted, to make the best use of it he could; and accordingly he advanced immediately to Tredah, (Drogheda) but the Lord Moore valiantly defended that place, and Ormond came to Trim with what forces he could rally. *Ibid.*

August 8. On this day, which was the very day that Owen Roe forced the Lord of Ardo to draw off from Londonderry, the Marquis of Ormond obliged Jones to raise the siege of Drogheda, and retire into Dublin. The Popish Bishop of Clogher was confederated with Owen Roe in the relief of the Parliamentary army in Derry, upon which occasion these commanders were jovially entertained at Sir Charles Coote's table in the quality of friends. *Ibid*, pp. 7 and 24.

After having continued encamped for eight or nine days before Derry, Owen Roe fell sick, his disease, according to report, being caused by a poisoned pair of russet leather boots sent to him as a present by a gentleman of the Plunkets from the county of Louth, who afterwards boasted that he had done the English a considerable service in dispatching O'Neill out of the world. If this infamous act was done, there is no evidence to trace the guilt of it further than this Plunket, who was himself an Irish Papist, and perhaps endeavoured, at this critical juncture, to recommend himself to the Parliamentary army by his treachery. In a few days O'Neill received the

account of Ormond's being routed by Jones at Rathmines, upon which he resolved to join Ormond, and adhere to the peace, which, influenced by the Nuncio, he had so long and so unfortunately rejected. If he and the titular Bishop of Clogher, instead of relieving the parliamentary rebels besieged in Derry at this time, had joined the Lord Montgomery in taking that city for the king, and if the Popish Primate, O'Reilly, had not betrayed the Marquis of Ormond's army at Rathmines, Cromwell would have found it extremely difficult to have established himself in Ireland, and the Irish Papists would have escaped the dreadful sufferings which now accrued to them from their own unparalleled villainy and folly. *See the Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, vol. ii. p. 521.

Commissioners were appointed by Owen Roe to go along with Daniel O'Neill to the Marquis of Ormond to ratify the peace with him. Having leave of Sir Charles Coote to depart, he began his march, he being carried in a horse litter himself till they came to Ballyhays, in the county of Cavan, where Colonel Trevor came to kiss his hands, and congratulate the late good understanding between Ormond and him. From hence O'Neill commanded his Lieutenant-General, Hugh O'Neill, to march with the army, and join my Lord Ormond. *Colonel O'Neill's Journal in the Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, p. 521.

When the news of Ormond's defeat at Rathmines arrived in Rome, it was received and proclaimed with much gladness and excess of joy, as favourable to the Nuncio's party in Ireland. *Peter Walsh's History of the Irish Remonstrance*, p. 583, *and Borlase's History of the Irish Insurrection*, p. 221.

When the siege of Drogheda was raised, and Jones returned to Dublin, the Marquis of Ormond entered the former place, and resolved to draw his army thither as soon as might be, hoping, in a short time, if no other misfortune intervened, to get a body of men together, able to restrain those of Dublin from making any great advantage of their late victory. *Borlase*, p. 222.

August 13. Oliver Cromwell being at Milfordhaven, received the full account of Ormond's defeat, when he rather expected to hear of the loss of Dublin, and was in great perplexity what to do. But the clouds being dispersed upon the news of the great success of the party he had sent before him, he deferred not to embark his whole army. On the thirteenth of August he set sail from Milfordhaven with thirty-two ships, wherein was the van of his army: Ireton soon following him with the main body in forty-two other vessels, and Hugh Peters, with twenty sail, bringing up the rear. *Cromwell's Life*, p. 133.

August 14. With a very prosperous wind Cromwell and his troops arrived in Dublin this day, where they were received with all demonstrations of joy, the great guns echoing forth their welcome, and the acclamations of the people resounding in every street. Being come into the street, where the concourse of people was very great, they flocking to see him, whom before they had heard so much of. At a convenient place he made a stand, and with his hat in his hand, made a speech to them, telling them that, as GOD had brought him hither in safety, so he doubted not but by his divine providence to restore them all to their just liberties and properties; and that all those whose hearts and affections were real, for carrying on of the great work against the barbarous and blood-thirsty Irish, and all their adherents and confederates, for the propagating of the gospel of CHRIST, the establishing of truth and peace, and restoring that bleeding nation to its former happiness and tranquillity, should find favour and protection from the Parliament of England, and from himself, and withal receive such rewards and gratuities as should be answerable to their merits. This speech was entertained with great applause by the people, who all cried out that "*they would live and die with him.*" *Ibid*, p. 134.

About this time Sir Edward Nicholas wrote to the Marquis of Ormond with some intelligence; and, among other things, mentioned his having heard from a Papist of quality, at St. Germain's, that the negotiations between Cromwell and the Papists had been broken off. *Carte's Original Letters*, vol. ii. p. 296.

Even Ever (or Heber) Mac Mahon, the titular bishop of Clogher, and fast friend of the Nuncio, had opened his eyes now (when too late) to see, what one would think, if *God had not sent them a strong delusion*, all the "Catholics" must have seen from the beginning, that there was no chance for the existence of their religion in Ireland, but in their conjunction with his Majesty's Lord-Lieutenant against the parliamentary forces. He therefore took off the nuncio's excommunication, and became zealous for the king's party. *See Warner's History*, vol. ii. p. 181.

No. XXXIV.

"*Had not the confederated* (Roman) *Catholics of Ireland been obstinately hardened in their infatuation, had they formed a real and a timely union under the Marquis of Ormond, they must soon*

have expelled every partizan of the English Parliament from their country. But a dreadful chastisement was reserved for their pride and bigotry." Leland's History of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 359.

1649. *August* 14. Oliver Cromwell, the Parliament's Lord-Lieutenant, landed at Dublin. He brought with him about nine thousand foot and four thousand horse, and all necessaries for his army, and had a good fleet constantly to attend him. *Sir Richard Cox's History of the Reign of Charles II.* p. 7.

To the misfortune at Rathmines, and the consequent renewal of the suspicions entertained by the Irish against the Marquis of Ormond, was soon added a general panic, occasioned by the unparalleled cruelties of Oliver Cromwell, who landed at Dublin on the 15th (14th) of this month, with eight thousand (nine thousand) foot and four thousand horse, two hundred thousand pounds in money, and all kinds of necessaries for war. *Curry's Review of the Civil Wars in Ireland*, p. 348, *an improved edition, Dublin*, 1810.

In August, 1649, when Oliver Cromwell came with his army into Ireland, he brought over with him one Netterville, a Romish priest, supposed to be a Jesuit, who, at his first coming to Dublin, obtained a billet to quarter upon Matthew Nulty, Merchant Taylor, living in Fishamble Street, near the conduit, whereon the pillory then stood, signed by Oliver's own hand. Nulty, wanting convenience in his dwelling house, furnished a room in an empty house of his next adjoining, for Mr. Netterville, where he had not lodged many days, when Nathaniel Foulks, Captain of the city militia, who lived at the Horse Shoe, in Castle Street, came to Nulty, and challenged him for entertaining a priest that daily said mass in his house. Nulty, being surprised at this news, declared it was more than he knew, and therefore he speedily acquainted Netterville with what the captain said; whereto he replied, "I am so, and my Lord General knows it; and tell all the town of it, and that I am here, and will say mass every day." This Netterville was Oliver Cromwell's great companion, and dined frequently with him; he was of the family of the Lord Netterville, a great scholar, and delighted much in music.

Afterwards (in the year 1651) the said Matthew Nulty being to go to London to buy goods, a gentlewoman then lying in Castle Street, desired him to carry a letter and a ten shilling piece of gold, to an uncle of hers, whom she called Captain Carr, living at the Spanish ambassador's house by London Wall. Nulty arriving safe at London, went several times to

the ambassador's to enquire for the said Captain Carr, but could not hear of him, till haply meeting with a servant that observed the said Nulty's urgent inquisition, who said, "*It may be it is for father Carr,*" and therefore conducted him to his lodging.

Father Carr being made acquainted, desired to see the letter, which he received, and after perusal thereof he came to the said Nulty, dressed in a black taffety suit, and a cloak, with a beaver hat, and a silver hilted sword. After some salutations, Mr. Nulty proffered him the ten shilling piece of gold that his niece had sent him, which he then refused, but desired Mr. Nulty to dine with him the next day, being Friday, in Old Fish Street, at a tavern ; to which the said Nulty replied, "If I come, may I not bring a friend or two along with me?" To which he answered, "Do, and welcome." And accordingly, the next day they met at the place appointed, where was this pretended captain with two others, one of which was a priest called by the name of Father Connor, belonging to the said ambassador. They received Nulty and his two friends civilly, and gave them a fish dinner, and a couple of capons. At dinner this pretended captain offered Mr. Nulty of the same, but he and his friends continued eating of fish, as the greater rarity. The captain perceiving of them to fall upon the fish, and refuse the capons, supposed him and his friends to be Romanists, as they conceived by the following discourse.

Pray, Mr. Nulty, have you any *Quakers* in Ireland? He said yes, supposing he meant quacks, which signify such sorts of taylors that go from house to house to get work at under rates. "I mean not them," said Captain Carr, "but *Quakers*, a new society of religion." To which Nulty answered in the negative. "Then," said the captain, "they are now in Bristol, and will be in Dublin in a short time, before you are there, and will be in London in fourteen days, and you shall see *women preach* through the streets, with high-crowned hats, and long-sided waistcoats, saying, 'Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.' We have headed them ; we have sent the most learned men we have in Rome to head these people, and their commission is to cry down the Pope and his religion, with all the church of England, and to give toleration to all other sectaries whatsoever."

Nulty then asking him what advantage this could be to the Pope, he answered, "Yes, a great advantage, for our work is to lessen the interest of the church of England as much as in us lies: drawing them from the church of England, *they will be a staggering sort of people*, and be apt to lay hold of any

new opinion. We have headed the Presbyterian church, and all sectaries; if there be a church, it must be the church of Rome or the church of England; and when they find themselves without a foundation of religion, they will fall back again to the See of Rome, and not to the Church of England." All this is of the said Matthew Nulty's own dictating, as he is ready to depose if occasion requires, as witness his hand this 21st of May, 1683.

MATTHEW NULTY.

Witnesses present,
WILLIAM HOOTON, WILLIAM BIRKBECK,
SIMON YEOMANS, PIERCE WELSH.

Ware's Hunting of the Romish Fox, p. 241, *London*, 1683.

Having settled the civil and military affairs at Dublin, and mustered and rested his army, Cromwell committed that city to the government of Sir Theophilus Jones, and on Friday, the thirtieth of August, marched out of it with ten thousand men, and on Monday, the second of September, he came before Drogheda. *Sir Richard Cox, Charles II.* p. 8.

Tredagh (Drogheda) was a town well fortified, with a garrison in it of two thousand five hundred men, and three hundred horse, the flower of the royal army, but unfortunately under the command of Sir Arthur Ashton, whose bravery and experience as a soldier did not counterbalance the ill effects likely to result from his being a Papist, at a time when the sectarian party were so ready to take advantage of every opportunity of persuading the Protestants of Ireland that Ormond and the king's party were favourers of Popery. *See Cromwell's Life*, p. 134.

This town being very considerable, and esteemed pretty strong, was the chief care of the Marquis of Ormond, who omitted nothing that was possible to fit it for a siege. The garrison he put into it was part of his own regiment, under the command of Sir Edmond Verny, four hundred, Colonel Birn's regiment four hundred, Colonel Warren's nine hundred, Colonel Wall's eight hundred, Lord Westmeath's two hundred, Sir James Dillon's two hundred, and horse two hundred, amounting in all to 2900 foot, and two hundred horse, besides five hundred foot that he sent in under Lieutenant Colonel Griffin Cavenagh, together with five hundred pounds in money, whilst Cromwell lay before the town; and over these he placed a governor beyond exception, Sir Arthur Ashton, formerly governor of Reading, and afterwards of Oxford, a soldier of great reputation and experience. *Cox's Reign of Charles II.* p. 8.

September 8. On this day, being Sunday, the Popish soldiers in Drogheda were so unjust and so insolent to their Protestant companions, even in the midst of their adversity, that they thrust the Protestants out of St. Peter's church in that town, and publicly celebrated mass there, though they had monasteries, and other convenient places besides, for that purpose. *Ibid, in Hib. Ang.*

September 9. On this day, Cromwell, who besieged Drogheda but on one side, and without the formality of regular approaches, began his battery, which soon levelled the steeple of a church, on the south side of the town, and a tower that stood near it. *Ibid, and Cromwell's Life*, p. 134.

September 10. The next day, the battery continuing, the corner tower between the east and south walls, was demolished, and two breaches made, which some regiments of foot immediately entered; but they were not made low enough for the horse to go in with them. Here the utmost bravery was shewn on both sides, the breaches being not more courageously assaulted than valiantly defended. The enemy within so furiously charged those who first entered, that they drove them back again as fast as they came in. Cromwell, who was all this time standing at the battery, observing this, drew out a reserve of Colonel Ewer's foot, and in person bravely entered with them into the town. This example of their general inspired the soldiers with such fresh courage, that none were able to stand before them; and having now gained the town, they made a terrible slaughter, putting all they met with, that were in arms, to the sword, Cromwell having expressly commanded not to spare any one that should be found in arms, the design of which was to discourage other places from making opposition, to which purpose Cromwell wrote to the Parliament that he believed this severity would save much effusion of blood. Ashton's men did not fall unrevenged, for they fought bravely, and desperately disputed every corner of the streets, making the conquerors win what they had by inches. The streets at last proving too hot, they fled to the churches and steeples, and other places of shelter. About an hundred were got into St. Peter's church steeple, resolving there to sell their lives as dearly as possible, but they were all quickly blown up with gunpowder, only one man escaping, who leaped from the tower. The wind befriending him, he received no further hurt by the fall than the breaking of his leg, which Cromwell's men seeing, they took him up and gave him quarter. In other places, when they refused to yield upon summons, strong guards were immediately put upon them to starve them out,

which soon produced that effect. All the officers were presently knocked on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers killed, and the rest thrust on shipboard for Barbadoes. The governor, Sir Arthur Ashton, here likewise met his fate, being put to the sword among the rest. And thus was this strong place taken and sacked in less than a week's time, which the rebellious Irish were three whole years in taking. *Cromwell's Life*, p. 190.

Cromwell, they say, made his soldiers believe that the Irish ought to be dealt with as the Canaanites in Joshua's time. *Dr. Anderson's Royal Genealogies*, p. 786.

The brave governor of Drogheda, Sir Arthur Ashton, Sir Edward Verney, the Colonels Warren, Fleming, and Byrne, were killed in cold blood, and indeed all the officers, except some few of the least consideration, that escaped by a miracle. *Carte's Ormond*, vol. ii. fol. 81.

The Marquis of Ormond, in a letter to Lord Byron, on this occasion, said that Cromwell exceeded even himself, for any thing he had ever heard of, in breach of faith and bloody inhumanity at Drogheda, and that the cruelties exercised there for five days after the town was taken, would make as many several pictures of inhumanity as are to be found in the Book of Martyrs, or the relation of Amboyna. *Carte's Original Papers*, vol. ii. p. 84.

Though Cromwell's officers and soldiers had promised quarter at the siege of Drogheda to all who would lay down their arms, yet he himself ordered that no quarter should be given, and none was given accordingly. The slaughter continued all that day and the next, and the governor and four colonels were killed in cold blood, "which extraordinary severity," says Ludlow, with a coolness not becoming a man, "*I presume was used to discourage others from making opposition.*" But are men to divest themselves of humanity, and to turn themselves into devils, because policy may suggest that they will succeed better as devils than as men? Such is the spirit of religion, when it is deprived of truth and reason, and turned into zealous fury and enthusiasm. *Warner's History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 182.

The dismal destruction of Drogheda rendered Cromwell's name formidable to all other places round about. Few of them had so much resolution as to expect a summons to surrender; and particularly the garrisons of Trim and Dundalk, fearing the like usage, abandoned them to the conqueror. In this last place their haste was so great, that they left their great guns behind them on the platforms. *Cromwell's Life*, p. 137.

This was, indeed, a much greater blow than that at Rathmines, and totally destroyed and massacred a body of near three thousand men, with which, in respect to the experience and courage of the officers, and goodness of the common men, the Marquis would have been glad to have found himself engaged in the field with the enemy, though upon some disadvantages. And he had not now left with him above seven hundred horse, and fifteen hundred foot, whereof some were of suspected faith, and many of them new-raised men; and though the Lord Inchiquin was ready to march towards him with a good party of horse and foot, and the Lord Viscount of Ardo with the like of Scots, yet he had neither money to give them one day's pay, nor provision to keep them together for twenty-four hours. The only resource was to put them into garrisons, but he had not credit or power enough with the chief cities and corporate towns to force or persuade them to receive them. Wexford, Waterford, Limerick, and Galway, the most considerable ports of the kingdom, declared they would admit of no soldiers, nor indeed did they further obey any other orders which were sent them than they thought fit themselves. If this fatal distemper had not been discovered to be amongst them, it is not believed that Cromwell, what success soever he had met with, would have engaged his army, which, with being long at sea, change of air, and long duty, was much weakened, and had contracted great sicknesses in the sieges after the beginning of October; yet being encouraged, and indeed drawn on, by the knowledge of this humour and obstinacy of the Irish against all remedies that could preserve them, he withdrew his forces from Tredagh (Drogheda,) having taken in first Trim, Dundalk, Carlingford, Newry, and other small garrisons thereabouts, he returned to Dublin. Before his return, he sent Colonel Venables down with some forces, to oppose Monro, who had a good force with him, and to relieve Londonderry. In his march Venables was set upon in his quarters by Colonel Trevor, who had five or six hundred horse with him, and gave him a desperate attack; but morning appearing, he was beaten out by Captain Meredith and his troop, who was appointed by Colonel Venables to charge him. This was upon his march towards Belfast, which was surrendered unto him upon conditions from the Scots. And while he was here, he sent out a party under Lieutenant-Colonel Conally, who was encountered, as he marched to Antrim, by George Monro, and a good strength of horse, and routed. Conally was there slain by Colonel John Hamilton. Such are the dispensations of the Almighty, that he did not live to receive the fruit of so great service as he had done to the kingdom, by

discovering the plot of the rebellion and massacre in 1641. *Borlase*, 225; (who neglected to add, that Owen O'Conally died a rebel himself in the service of the murderers of his king.)

September 27. Cromwell marched from Dublin, but before he marched, or presently after, he cashiered the seven old regiments which Jones had continued at Dublin. *Ibid*, page 225.

In his march towards Wexford, a place called Killinkerrick, about fourteen miles from Dublin, being deserted by the enemy, he put a party of his men into it. *Cromwell's Life*, p. 137.

In his march he took several castles, as Arklow, Little Limerick, Iniscorphan, alias Enniscorven, (Enniscorthy) Ferns Castle, and the fort of Wexford. Near Enniscorthy there was a monastery of Franciscans, which, upon the approach of the army, quitted the place, leaving their provisions, which were very considerable. *Borlase*, 225.

On the first of October Cromwell, with his army, came before Wexford, and sent a summons to the Governor, Colonel David Synnot, requiring a speedy surrender. His answer was somewhat dubious, which caused many papers to pass between them. The governor did this for the purpose of protracting time, until the Earl of Castlehaven had thrown a party of five hundred men into the town, to reinforce the garrison; and having received these recruits, he resolved to defend the place as long as he could, and seemed to defy all attempts that might be made against him. Upon this Cromwell applied himself in good earnest to the work, and bent his greatest force against the castle, knowing that upon gaining of that, the town should soon follow. He caused a battery to be erected against it, whereby a small breach being made, commissioners were sent from the enemy to treat about a surrender. In the mean time, the guns continued firing, no cessation having been agreed upon; whereby the breach in the castle being made wider, the guard that was appointed to defend it, quitted the post, whereupon some of Cromwell's soldiers entered the castle, and set up their colours at the top of it. The enemy observing this, quitted their stations in all parts, so that the others, getting over the walls, possessed themselves of the town, without any great opposition, and set open the gates for the horse to enter, though they could do but little service, all the streets being barred with cables. The town being thus entered, none were suffered to live that were found in arms, and so they cut their way through the streets, till they came to the market place, where

the enemy fought desperately for some time, but were at last quite broken, and all who were found in arms were put to the sword. Ludlow says that the foot pressed the enemy so close, that, crowding to escape over the water, they so overloaded the boats, that many of them were drowned. Great riches were taken in this town, it being esteemed by the enemy a place of strength ; and some ships were seized in the harbour, which had much interrupted the commerce of that coast. Cromwell appointed commissioners to take care of the goods that were found in the town belonging to the enemy, that they might be improved to the best advantage for the public. The reduction of this place was of very considerable advantage to the conquerors, being a port town, and very convenient for receiving troops from England. The severity which was used here had the same effect with that used before at Drogheda, the terror spreading into all towns and ports along the coast, as far as Dublin, spared the general the trouble of summoning them. *Cromwell's Life*, p. 139.

Cromwell having repeated the same cruelties at Wexford which he had practised at Drogheda, the general terror increased to such a degree, that towns fifty miles from him declared against the Marquis of Ormond, which provoked his Excellency to say, that the Roman Catholics, who stood so rigidly with the king upon religion, and that as they called the splendour of it, were with difficulty withheld from sending commissioners to intreat him to make stables and hospitals of their churches. *Carte's Original Papers*, vol. ii.

But if indeed these people were at first so terrified at this monster's unparalleled cruelties, they soon resumed sufficient courage to reject several more advantageous conditions from his favourite and confidant, Ireton, than the Marquis of Ormond could ever be prevailed upon, by the most urgent necessity of his Majesty's affairs, to allow them. (What a dreadful use they made of the urgent necessity of his Majesty's affairs, is recorded to their shame.) For when that regicide, in his march to Munster, sent proposals to the citizens of Limerick, offering them the free exercise of their religion, (Cromwell would not have ratified any such stipulation) enjoyment of their estates, churches, and church livings, a free trade, and no garrisons to be pressed upon them, provided they would only give a free passage to his forces into the county of Clare, these citizens absolutely refused the overture. *Curry's Review of the Civil Wars of Ireland*, p. 351.

But Oliver Cromwell, besides his execrable policy of facilitating the conquest of Ireland by the fame of his cruelties, had

taken care, before he left Dublin, to publish a proclamation, forbidding his soldiers, on pain of death, to hurt any of the inhabitants, or take any thing from them without paying for it in ready money. This was so strictly executed, that even on his march from Dublin to Drogheda, where he was guilty of that horrid butchery and breach of faith before mentioned, he ordered two of his private soldiers to be put to death in the face of the whole army, for stealing two hens from an Irish woman, which were not worth sixpence.

Upon this strict observance of the proclamation, together with positive assurances given by his officers, that they were for the liberties of the commons, that every one should enjoy the freedom of his religion, and that those who served the market at the camp should pay no contribution, all the country people flocked to them with all kind of provisions ; and due payments being made for the same, his army was much better supplied than even that of the Irish ever had been. *Carte's Ormond*, ii. 90 ; *and Curry's Review*, 352.

Before the arrival of Cromwell at Wexford, the citizens (among whom the enemy had some secret partizans,) had neglected all means of defence, and obstinately refused to admit any troops into it. In their terror at his approach, which was artfully inflamed by those who held intelligence with Cromwell, they first proposed to open their gates to the enemy. At the urgent instances of Ormond, they at length deigned to accept of succours, yet with a fanaticism not peculiar to Popery, they continued in their extremity *to reject the assistance of heretics*, and demanded a garrison composed entirely of *the faithful*. But all the provisions made for the defence of Wexford could not secure it from secret treachery. One Stafford, Governor of the castle, had been suspected by Ormond, *but as he had the merit of being a* "*Catholic*," the commissioners of trust would not consent to remove him. No sooner had Cromwell's batteries began to play, than this man admitted his soldiers into the castle upon conditions. The citizens were suddenly confounded at the sight of his colours waving on the battlements, and their own cannon pointed against the town. *Carte's Ormond*, 98 ; *and Leland*, iii. 365.

During the siege of Wexford, the Marquis of Ormond, in addition to a regiment of foot, before sent into the town, under the command of the Earl of Castlehaven, threw in a reinforcement under Sir Edward Butler—a thousand men, *all Papists*, for the townsmen would admit no other. Nevertheless, it so happened that within two hours after these last recruits were come in, and whilst more were wafting over the ferry,

Captain James Stafford, a Papist, surrendered the Castle of Wexford to Cromwell upon articles ; whereupon the guns thereof were immediately turned upon the town, at which both soldiers and inhabitants were so frightened, that they quitted the walls, and endeavoured to escape over the river. But the Cromwellists, perceiving their cowardice, presently clapped scaling ladders to the walls, and took the town by storm, putting all they found in arms to the sword, to the number of two thousand men. Sir Edmond Butler himself was shot in the head, as he was swimming over the river. *Hib. Ang. Car. II.* p. 9.

From this torrent of success and corruption nobody will wonder that Cromwell's rebels marched then without controul, and took Ross and some other places without opposition ; yet the Marquis of Ormond, out of a deep sense of the stupidity, waywardness, and ingratitude of that people, for whose protection and defence he had embarked himself, his fortune, and his honour, and whose jealousies and obstinacy made the work of their preservation more difficult and improbable than the powers of the enemy could do, desired nothing so much as an opportunity to fight the rebels, and either to give some check to their swollen fortune, or to perish in the action ; and to that purpose drew all his friends to him, and sent for all the forces he could draw together from the province of Munster. *Lord Clarendon's Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland*, p. 96.

The winter now coming on, and it being a very wet season, Cromwell's troops suffered very much from the weather, and the flux, then raging amongst them. Many thought these reasons should have obliged him for the present to stop his conquests, but he was of another mind, and more in the right than they. The difficulties the Marquis of Ormond met with in bringing a new army into the field, after his late defeat, the ancient disagreement again breaking out between the Popish confederates and him, on account of that disaster, the secret intelligence held by Cromwell in the province of Munster, and the weighty affairs that called him back over the sea, seemed to him more powerful motives for continuing the war, than the winter was to interrupt its progress. *Cromwell's Life*, p. 139.

October 8. On this day Bishop Bramhall wrote a letter to the Lord-Lieutenant from Limerick, mentioning, among other things, that the Earl of Roscommon being dead there, the Bishop and Protestant clergy who had attended his Lordship, were obliged to be very private in their devotions, and that he doubted whether they would be permitted to use funeral rites. *Hib. Ang. Car. II.* p. 8.

At Limerick the Earl of Roscommon died by a fall down a pair of stairs, and lived only so long as to declare his faith as professed by the church of Ireland, and this at the instance of Dr. John Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, which gave such offence to the Romanists, who would have reported he died a Papist, that they threatened the Bishop's death if he did not suddenly depart the town. After this he retired to Portumna, in the county of Galway, where he and those who went with him enjoyed more freedom and the church service, under the protection of the Marquis of Clanrickard. *Ware's Bishops*, 122.

The Marquis of Ormond, having notice that Lieutenant-General Jones lay about Iniscorfy, (Enniscorthy) to intercept him in his return, marched round through the mountains of Wicklow, and came to Leighlin Bridge, where Lieutenant-Colonel Butler brought him the news of the loss of Wexford. Hereupon his Excellency, leaving the horse to refresh themselves in the counties of Carlow and Kilkenny, ordered the foot to march to the banks of the river over against Ross, and went himself with his life guard to Duncannon, where he left them under Colonel Edward Wogan, whom he made co-ordinate with the former governor Roche, believing that Cromwell's next attempt would be upon one of these two places. *Hib. Ang. Car. II.* p. 10.

After the surrender of Wexford, Cromwell marched with his army towards Ross, a strong town upon the river Barrow. The Lord Taafe was governor of this place, who had a strong garrison with him, and the better to secure it, Ormond, Castlehaven, and the Lord of Ardo, in their own persons, caused fifteen hundred men more to be boated over to reinforce it, Cromwell's army all the while looking on without being able to hinder them. Howbeit he summoned the town, and no answer was returned till the great guns began to play, when the governor, being apprehensive of the same usage that other garrisons had before met with, agreed that the town should be delivered up, and they within should be allowed to march away with bag and baggage to Kilkenny, which fifteen hundred of them accordingly did ; but six hundred of them, being English, revolted to Cromwell.

In the mean time Kinsale, Cork, Youghall, Bandon Bridge, and other garrisons, voluntarily declared for the conqueror, which garrisons proved of great use to the reducement of Munster, and consequently of all Ireland. Sir Charles Coote and Colonel Venables were very successful in the north, and the Lord Broghill and Colonel Hewson did good service in other places. *Cromwell's Life*, p. 140.

On Cromwell's approach to Ross, Major General Taafe, before he would take charge of the town, desired an order from the Marquis of Ormond to surrender the place, whenever he and his officers should judge it could be no longer defended. This was granted to him; and, although he was a Papist, and a principal man among the confederates, yet did the Popish clergy afterwards make this one of their complaints, that Ormond gave the governor of Ross orders to surrender the town. It is certain that he could not have made much less resistance, if he had such orders; for as soon as the great guns began to play, the governor began to capitulate, and having, among other things, desired liberty of conscience for such as should stay, Cromwell replied that he meddled with no man's conscience; but if by liberty of conscience he meant a liberty to exercise the mass, he judged it best to use plain dealing, and to let him know, that where the Parliament of England had power, that would not be allowed. *Hibernia Anglicana, Car. II.* p. 10.

Upon this prodigious success, without fighting, Cromwell sent a strong force to Duncannon, to attempt that place, but being well provided, it made a vigorous defence, so that it was thought fit to raise the siege and return to Ross, where Cromwell was busy building a bridge of boats over the Barrow, with design to march into the county of Kilkenny, and he performed it to the admiration of the Irish, who never had heard of such a thing before; and soon after it was finished, Colonel Abbot was sent with a party of horse and dragoons to Enisteig, a small walled corporation, which was deserted by the Irish upon his approach to the gates; and the whole army marched thither leaving Cromwell sick at Ross: and finding that Ormond was retired to Kilkenny, they detached Colonel Reynolds with twelve troops of horse, and three of dragoons, to attack Carrick, which succeeded to their mind, for he divided his detachment into two parts, and whilst he amused the garrison with one party, the other entered at another gate, and took the town, and in it a hundred officers and soldiers; the rest made their escape over the river. *Ibid*, 11.

October 22. On this day Cromwell, upon notice of the taking of Carrick, marched thither, and passed over the river Suir to the siege of Waterford. *Ibid.*

October 24. The Marquis of Ormond having gone with Lieutenant-General Farrel and fifteen hundred Ulster men to put them into Waterford, the Lords Inchiquin and Taafe stormed the town of Carrick (on Suir.) This attempt miscarried for want of spades, pick-axes, and other materials, so that above

a thousand men were slain under the walls by Colonel Reynolds and the small party he had there in garrison, being but an hundred and fifty foot, six troops of horse, and a troop of dragoons. *Ibid.*

October 25. On this day, the Marquis of Ormond having succeeded in throwing relief into Waterford, Cromwell, who had taken the passage fort, finding that he had lost more men by sickness in this winter's siege than he could well spare, drew off his army towards Dungarvan. Cromwell lost a thousand men by sickness in this unsuccessful attempt to take Waterford. *Ibid*, 12.

About this time, Mr. Seymour arrived in Ireland, and brought with him the garter to the Marquis of Ormond, and by him the Marquis sent the following account of the state of Ireland to the king; viz. That the country could not be preserved without succour, that no people in the world were more easily drawn by rewards, or forced by fear, than the Irish. That he could not draw into the field more than five thousand foot and thirteen hundred horse, nor keep them long together for want of necessaries. That nevertheless there was no want of men, but of maintenance for them. That the plague was in Connaught. That the Irish and English in his army could not agree. That no trust could be kept in Owen Roe's army longer than their interest would oblige them. And therefore if his Majesty designed to come to Ireland, he ought to bring ammunition and money with him, and land them in Galway. *Ibid*, 12.

November 1. Doctor Launcellot Bulkeley, Archbishop of Dublin, being in the eighty-first year of his age, and spent with grief for the calamities of the times, this day took leave of the well-affected clergy in Dublin, and gave them a farewell sermon in St. Patrick's church. There were present the two Parrys, John and Benjamin, afterwards Bishops of Ossory, Thomas Seele, afterwards Provost of Trinity College, and Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, Mr. Boswell, Prebendary of St. John's, and William Pilsworth, who read the common prayer. For this action the then powers gave them a severe check, and confined not only the archbishop, but all who were present. This was the last time that the common prayer was publicly read until the restoration of King Charles the Second, unless we may except in the college chapel, of which Anthony Martin, Bishop of Meath, was Provost, and in a very few instances more. *Ware's Bishops.*

No. XXXV.

The Pope promised assistance for the affairs of Ireland, if the "Catholics" be once united among themselves. Lord Jermyn to the Marquis of Ormond, from Paris, October 19, 1649; Carte's Original Papers, vol. i. p. 330.

1649. *November* 6. On this day Owen Roe O'Neill having dispatched his Lieutenant-General with the army under his command to join the Marquis of Ormond, died in the castle of Cloughoughter, near Cavan, which had been the prison of Bishop Bedell in 1641. His death was ascribed to a poisoned pair of russet boots sent to him as a present by one of the Plunketts, of the county of Louth, who afterwards boasted that he had done the English a considerable service in dispatching O'Neill out of the world. The remains of O'Neill were interred in the old abbey of Cavan. *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica,* ii. 521.

November 18. Lieutenant-General Michael Jones died at Dungarvan, to which place he had gone with Cromwell and his army. In the mean time, the towns in the county of Cork being inhabited and garrisoned by Englishmen, could not endure the thoughts of joining with the Irish against their own countrymen; and by means of Lord Broghill, Colonel Courtenay, Sir Percy Smith, and Colonels Townsend, Jefford, and Warden, they revolted all at once to Cromwell. This revolution dissolved all confidence between the English and Irish, and proved highly advantageous to Cromwell, for otherwise he would have been forced to endure a long and tedious march to Dublin, or to have embarked his men on board the fleet that coasted all along as he marched to attend him; but by this revolt he got excellent winter quarters in Cork, Bandon, Kinsale, and Youghall, which last place was made his head-quarters. *Hib. Ang. Car. II.* p. 13.

November 24. Cromwell invested the city of Waterford, and though the inhabitants had used the Marquis of Ormond very ill in refusing the governor and troops he had sent them, his Excellency resolved to relieve it. *Warner.* ii. 193.

The Marquis of Ormond was resolved not to leave Waterford to the enemy, though the inhabitants of that city had so obstinately and disobediently refused to receive a garrison, which would have prevented their present pressure, whereas they were now closely besieged to their walls on all that side

of the town which lay to Munster, the other side being open, and to be relieved by the river Suir, which there severs Leinster from Munster, and washes the walls of the town on that side. The inhabitants, seeing destruction at their doors, abated so much of their former madness as to be willing to receive a supply of soldiers, yet under a condition that they might be all of the old Irish of Ulster, who, under the command of Owen Roe O'Neill, had opposed the king's authority, and were now, after his death, newly joined with the Marquis. In express terms they refused any of their neighbours and kindred, the confederate Irish Catholics of Munster and Leinster, to the great offence and scandal of that party of the nation, which had been as zealous for their religion as any. However, since there was no other way to suppress them, the Lord-Lieutenant was content to comply with their humour; and choosing a strong party of near fifteen hundred men, and putting them under the command of Lieutenant-General Farrel, who was most acceptable to them, his Excellency himself marched with them, and put them into the town, which he had no sooner done, than Cromwell found it convenient to raise his siege, and shortly after betook himself to his winter quarters. *Earl of Clarendon's Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland*, p. 103.

The Marquis of Ormond, having discovered the necessity of retaking Passage Fort, which else would be a continual nuisance to the city of Waterford, proposed to the citizens that he would transport his forces over the river to accomplish that undertaking, if the city would permit his army to quarter in huts under their walls, where they should be no ways burthensome, but should have pay and provisions from the country. But the citizens were so far from consenting to this, that it was moved by one in their council, that they should seize on Ormond's person, and fall on those that belonged to him as enemies. So that it was time for the Marquis to depart, and because the principal towns, like so many petty republics, stood stiffly upon their pretended privileges, that they paid no further obedience to the Lord-Lieutenant than they thought fit, and refused to receive his army into garrisons, he was forced to disperse his forces to provide for themselves as they could. Luke Taaffe went to Connaught, and Inchiquin into the county of Clare, and the Lord Dillon into Westmeath, only Major General Hugh O'Neal and sixteen hundred Ulster men were admitted into Clonmel, and the Lord-Lieutenant returned to Kilkenny. *Hib. Ang.* ii. 18.

The loss of Lieutenant-General Jones, who had died on the

18th of this month of a violent purple fever, struck a damp through all Cromwell's army. He was a man every way bold and daring, of wonderful courage and resolution, and yet he governed his valour with prudence, being not rash, but advised in all his attempts. The army had a great loss of him, and his death was soon followed by that of Colonel Wolfe and Scout-Master-General Roe. Many of the common soldiers had likewise their share in this mortality, but their numbers were recruited by continual supplies sent from England by the Parliament. *Cromwell's Life*, p. 142.

And now also the Irish, as well as the British soldiers, under the Marquis of Ormond, being allured by the successes, and wrought upon by the invitations of the commonwealth, as also deterred by the plague that raged amongst them, together with the want of pay and necessaries, ran by whole troops to Cromwell's camp, who made very great use of the Irish animosities, and of the jealousies between them and Ormond. *Ibid.*

Whilst the army continued in their winter quarters, the vigilant and active Cromwell would not sit still, but visited all the garrisons that were in his possession in Munster, and ordered all affairs both military and civil. When he came to Kinsale, the Mayor of the town, as was usual in other places, delivered to him the mace and keys, which he returned not to him again, but gave them to Colonel Stubber, the governor. This was the more taken notice of, because it had not been used by the Lord-Lieutenant ; but the reason of this proceeding was because the Mayor was an Irishman, and also a Papist, and so it was not thought proper to entrust such a man with the government of so important a place. *Ibid*, p. 143.

When Ormond was at this time dismissing his forces to seek shelter and subsistence wherever they were most likely to find them, he sent Daniel O'Neill (who, as a native of Ulster, and nephew of Owen, was acceptable to the northern Irish, and as a Protestant, unexceptionable to the Scots,) with two thousand men to assist the Lord of Ardo and Sir George Monroe in the recovery of those places lately lost in the counties of Down and Antrim. After a tedious march, he found those commanders routed by Sir Charles Coote, Carrickfergus surrendered, and the whole northern province in the hands of the Parliamentarians, except Charlemont and Enniskillen. *Leland*, iii. 370.

To what hath been already observed of that insolence and bigotry which appeared in several of the cities of Ireland, at this time, it seems scarcely necessary to add, that they were

under the dominion of the most turbulent and refractory of the Irish ecclesiastics. The consequence of such men revived with the public misfortunes. These, with an ignorant and vulgar malignity, they imputed to the misconduct of their governors, and laboured to infuse their illiberal prejudices into the minds of all those who listened to their insinuations. They were assisted by the Marquis of Antrim, who still aspired to the station of chief governor, and was indefatigable in his endeavours to render Ormond odious to the people, and obnoxious to the king. *Ibid*, 371.

December 3. Dungarvan was delivered up to Cromwell by Lord Broghill, which he entered with five thousand horse and foot. *Borlase*, 289.

December 24. The Marquis of Ormond, having retired to his castle at Kilkenny, wrote a letter from that place to the king, with an account of the true estate of his affairs in Ireland, by which his Majesty might see how much Cromwell's forces prevailed against his authority, which was equally contemned, deluded, or disregarded by his subjects, who made all the professions of obedience and duty to him a method these ill times had made his Majesty too well acquainted with. And from this time the Marquis never did, or could draw together into one body, a number of five hundred men, whatever endeavours he used to that purpose. *Ibid*, 232.

In a short time after the Marquis of Ormond had written to acquaint the king how his authority was despised by the great pretenders to loyalty in Ireland, his Majesty answered, that he wondered at the ingratitude of the Irish, in the apparent breach of their recognition of him in the beginning of the articles of peace, and their solemn protestations to himself, and ordered that if Ormond should find them incorrigible, he should timely advise the king, that he might use other means for his restitution, and that Ormond might withdraw as soon as he thought fit. *Hib. Ang.* ii. 14.

A little before the dispersion of the Marquis of Ormond's army, the Romish clergy met at Clonmacnoise, an ancient cathedral in the diocese of Meath, now called The Seven Churches, above twenty of the bishops being present. Many warm debates arose upon the Nuncio's interdict and excommunication, but at last they were compromised according to the expedient of the titular Bishop of Clogher. *Warner*, vol. ii. p. 199.

The Popish bishops assembled at Clonmacnoise on this occasion declared " how vain a thing it was to imagine that there would be any security for the exercise of their religion, [they

might have added, for the impunity of the persecutors who had murdered the Protestants, whose day of reckoning was now at hand] for enjoying of their fortunes, or for the preservation of their lives, by any treaty with, or promise from, the Parliament of England. That they abhorred all factious animosities and divisions which raged amongst themselves, to the hindrance of the public service, and therefore enjoined all their clergy, of what quality soever, and ecclesiastical persons, by preaching and all other means, to incline the people unto an union of affection, and to the laying aside of all jealousies of each other, and unanimously to concur in opposing the common enemy, and appointed the bishops and other persons to proceed with greater severity against those religious and spiritual persons who should underhand cherish and foment those jealousies and divisions." In a word, they said so much, and so well, that when the Lord-Lieutenant was informed of it, he conceived some hope that it might produce a very good effect. *Borlase*, p. 234.

The decrees of the Romish bishops at Clonmacnoise were published in England; but there were other proceedings in this congregation which lasted three weeks, by which it appeared that some of the members had not wholly laid aside their design of raising new troubles, and that the protestation against Lord Ormond was only deferred. *Warner*, vol. ii. p. 200.

In the mean time the Popish clergy and prelates met *propria manu* at Clonmacnoise, and though it was expected that by the means of the Marquis of Antrim, they would do something or other very disobliging and seditious, yet, on the contrary, they made most pathetical and pious exhortations to unity, and to lay aside national and other animosities; and declared it was in vain to expect any tolerable conditions for their religion and liberties and estates from Cromwell; in a word, they said so much, that the Lord-Lieutenant was almost deceived into fresh hopes of their loyalty and integrity. But an adder cannot be without a sting, nor a Popish ecclesiastical congregation meet in Ireland without doing something disobliging to the royal authority, whilst in Protestant hands, and even this meek and pious assembly could not dissolve until it had spit some of its venom into a schedule of grievances. *Hib. Ang. Car. II.* p. 14.

The king's affairs in Ireland were now reduced to a very miserable condition. The Lord-Lieutenant had done every thing in his power to prevent, and was ready to do every thing he could to remedy, this ill state of the kingdom. To that end he

made several proposals to the commissioners of trust, but some of those gentlemen held a close correspondence with the most ill-affected clergy, who cherished all the bad humours and jealousies of the people, and the others seemed willing to withdraw from a declining cause; so that he called upon them for an answer in vain. *Warner*, ii. 200.

In the mean time, Venables, who had been detached by Cromwell from Drogheda, after reducing Belfast and Carrickfergus, on the sixth of this month, being joined by Sir Charles Coote from Londonderry, beat Monroe and the Scots on the plains of Lisnegarvy, (now Lisburn) and so the Parliament became masters of most part of what the Presbyterians possessed in Ulster. *Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 15.

About this time, the Parliament being apprehensive of the designs that were carrying on against them in Scotland, in favour of the king, and thinking they might have occasion to make use of Cromwell for preventing the mischief that threatened them from thence, resolved that he should be sent for, ordering the Speaker to write a letter to him for that purpose. *Cromwell's Life*, p. 143.

The declarations of the Romish clergy at Clonmacnoise did not operate on the public disorders with any considerable effect. What the factious clergy could not venture to declare in full assembly was secretly whispered and propagated. A people irritated by the galling burden of contribution and assessment, provoked by disappointments, and weary of a declining cause, readily listened to those who taught them to ascribe the effects of their own perfidy and disobedience to the misconduct of the king's governor. Some of their clergy, more particularly devoted to the Nuncio and his principles, did not scruple to insinuate that if their countrymen must accept of an heretical administration, they might as well submit to Cromwell as to Ormond; and some were said to have even offered public prayers for the success of the republican general. *Beling Vin.* cap. 24; *and Leland*, iii. 372.

1650. *January* 30. The commissioners of trust, treating at this time with Ormond in Kilkenny, alarmed at the approach of Cromwell, after menacing clamours, and spreading slanders abroad, fled to Ennis, in the county of Clare, where they found it difficult to frame their intended remonstrance, being unable to find grievances to oppose it. *Ibid.*

In the mean time, Cromwell took advantage of the fair weather, and knowing that nothing could be so destructive to the Irish, who wanted all necessaries, as an early campaign, he marched out of his winter quarters in the latter end of Febru-

ary, with three thousand men, and even that small army was divided into two parties. With the one Cromwell marched to Kahir, which he took, as he also did Kelfinin, Gowlenbridge, (Gowranbridge) Tethard, Cashell, Cloghean, and Roghill, and sat down before Callan; and Ireton, with the other part, being reinforced by Reynolds and Zanchy, took Ardkinnon, Dundrum, Knocktopher, Ballynard, and other castles, and joined Cromwell at Callan, which last place, as also Graigne and Thomastown, were easily subdued by their united forces, so that they marched to Gowran to join Colonel Hewson, who, with a detachment from Dublin, had taken Ballisannon, Kildare, and Leighlin, and met them at Gowran, which was, after too long resistance, surrendered by Colonel Hammond upon hard conditions, so that he and most of the officers were shot. And then the army, being very considerable and numerous, especially in horse, besieged Kilkenny, from whence Lord Castlehaven and his forces were withdrawn by reason of the plague, and the general assembly had fled to Athlone, so that there were but six hundred foot and fifty horse, under Sir Walter Butler and Major Walsh, left in the city. Nevertheless they made a vigorous defence, and bravely repulsed the first assault, and afterwards surrendered upon very honourable conditions, on the twenty-eighth of March, 1650. *Hib. Ang. Car. II.* p. 16.

On the reduction of Gowran, Colonel Hammond, the governor, a Kentish man, and all the commissioned officers, but one, were shot, and the priest who was chaplain to the Popish soldiers, was hanged. *Cromwell's Life*, p. 145.

Thus was the city of Kilkenny, which had been *the nursery of the great rebellion*, and the residence of the supreme council, reduced to the Parliament's obedience in less than a week, and that chiefly by the vigilance, activity, and indefatigable industry of Cromwell, who would always bear a share in the hardships of his soldiers, and never would flinch from them at any time, when his personal valour was necessary, so that he frequently laid aside the dignity of a great commander, to act the part of a private soldier. *Ibid*, p. 148.

From Kilkenny Cromwell marched to besiege Clonmell, which he found well provided with all things necessary for its defence, so that it proved the hardest task he undertook in Ireland. Moreover, the titular bishop of Ross had gathered five thousand men together, and that army was daily increasing, with design to raise the siege. But it happened that Lord Broghill, being at Castlelyons, in the county of Cork, had secret intimations from his brother-in-law, General Barry, that

the Irish had cast off the king's authority, and had put all into the hands of the clergy, and that Ormond had discovered their design, and therefore gave liberty to the Protestants of his army to treat with Cromwell; and that the Irish designed to make Kerry and Connaught the seats of the war, and that two thousand men would suddenly be in arms under the command of the Titular Bishop of Ross, who always had given his advice to the Irish, to kill the English, alleging that "*the cockatrice should be destroyed in the egg.*" Hereupon Lord Broghill posted to Cromwell, and having obtained two thousand horse and dragoons, and sixteen hundred foot, he marched with incredible celerity to Kilcria, and thence to Carrickadroghid, which he found garrisoned with the Popish bishop's soldiers. However, he left his foot there, and marched with the horse to Macroom. Upon his approach the Irish set fire to the castle, and retired to the rest of their army, which, to the number of five thousand, were in the park; but the Lord Broghill lost no time, but fell upon them briskly, whilst they were amazed at an assault they little expected. In fine, he totally routed the army, and took the titular bishop prisoner, to whom he proferred his life, if he would cause Carrigadroghid to surrender; and the bishop promised fair, but when he came to the castle, instead of ordering the castle to surrender, he advised them to hold it out to the last, whereupon he was immediately hanged, and soon afterwards Carrigadroghid was taken by a very slight stratagem, for the English got two or three teams of oxen, and made them draw some great pieces of timber towards the castle, which the Irish thinking to be cannon, presently began to parley, and upon articles gave up the place. *Hib. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 16.

April 1. On this day the Lord-Lieutenant sent a general's commission to Ever Mac Mahon, the titular Bishop of Clogher, whom the Ulster army, according to a power obtained by their capitulation, had elected to the supreme command of their army. *Ibid*, p. 20.

On the same day the authorized Paper of grievances, indited by the titular Bishops at Clonmacnoise, and signed by their secretary, the Bishop of Clonfert, was given to the Lord-Lieutenant, whereupon he summoned a general assembly to meet at Loughrea on the twenty-fifth of this month. *Ibid.*

April 30. The general assembly met at Loughrea, consisting of most of the titular bishops, and of the principal nobility and gentry. Here they again assured the Lord-Lieutenant that they would endeavour to preserve the people in their inclinations to the royal service, and they sent John de Burgho, their

archbishop of Tuam, and Sir Lucas Dillon, to prevail on the citizens of Limerick to receive a garrison, but arguments, intreaties, and expostulations were unable to counteract the distrust and jealousy of Ormond and his troops. They were equally resolved against admitting Cromwell's troops into that city, though he offered them the free exercise of their religion, the enjoyment of their estates, churches, and church livings, even for a passage through their city into Clare. The offer of the free exercise of the Popish religion was probably not made, for about this time Cromwell took occasion to make a public declaration, that, although he did not wish to meddle with any man's religion, itwas but fair to tell the people of Ireland of the Romish persuasion, that if by liberty of conscience they meant the exercise of what they called their mass, this could not be allowed wherever the English parliament had power to prevent it. *See O'Connor's History of the Irish Catholics*, p. 76, Dublin, July, 1813.

About the middle of this month Sir Charles Coote, being in the Logan, a tract of country on the side of Lough Levilly, in the county of Donegal, sent to Colonel Venables, then at Clandeboy, to meet him at the rendezvous near Charlemont; but the titular Bishop of Clogher, having about the same time surprised Toome, an important pass over the Bann, and passed over some horse and foot into the county of Antrim, Venables was countermanded, and was ordered to retake the castle of Toome, and Coote, at the same time, marched into the barony of Loughinsholin, to countenance that attempt, and to keep three Irish regiments of foot, and five troops of horse that were in that barony, so employed, that they might not disturb Venables. And it succeeded according to expectation. for Venables had Toome surrendered to him; and Coote got good store of prey, and returned to Dungannon, but for want of provisions he was forced to march to Omagh, and the Irish army came to Charlemont, so that they were in the middle between Coote and Venables. Hereupon Coote, after several ineffectual experiments to get the bishop from his ground, or to join with Venables, was necessitated to pass the river of Lough Foyle, near Lifford, so that the Bishop ravaged over the whole country, and though he was manfully repulsed at Limavady, (now Newtown Limavady) by Major Dudley Phillips, yet he took Dungiven by storm after a gallant defence made by Lieutenant Colonel Beresford. Ballycastle was afterwards pitifully surrendered to him. He was, however, sometimes disturbed by Major King, who had three troops of horse and three hundred foot at Enniskillen, but that was not so considerable as to hin-

der the bishop's resolution of passing over Claddy ford, within three miles of Strabane, which he performed with great dexterity and courage. *See Hib. Ang. Car. II.* 24.

In the mean time, Cromwell, whose business now required despatch, having summoned the governor of Clonmel to surrender, and receiving no satisfactory answer, ordered the great guns to be planted, which did such execution, that a breach was very soon opened, which the besiegers, upon a signal given, courageously entered, and met with as gallant resistance from the besieged, notwithstanding which the former made good their ground, and maintained a fight for four hours together with doubtful success, there being a great slaughter upon both sides. But at last the enemy was forced to quit the place, and betake themselves to flight; and though they were much favoured by some hills near the town, yet could they not escape the fury of the victorious soldiers, who killed many of them in the pursuit. An eminent commander in the army, who was himself in this fight, gave this account of it. "That they found in Clonmell the stoutest enemy that was ever met by the army in Ireland, and it was his opinion, and that of many more, that there was never seen so hot a storm, of so long continuance, and so gallantly defended, either in England or Ireland. *Cromwell's Life*, p. 152.

April 29. Colonel Oliver Synot, agent of the Duke of Lorrain, landed in Ireland, and made a great noise of his master's affection to the king and his zeal for the "Catholic" religion. He pretended that he had brought money with him, and that he would lend ten thousand pounds for his Majesty's service, on the mortgage of any town or fort that was considerable. Whereupon the Lord-Lieutenant appointed the Lords Taafe and Athenry, and Jeoffry Browne, to treat with him; but at length it was found to be a juggle on Synot's side, and that he either had no money, or no intention to part with it. The secret of this affair is, that the Duke of Lorrain was engaged in a negotiation at Rome to legitimate some children that he had by Madame de Causeeroix in the life-time of his first wife, Nichol de Lorrain, and the easier to accomplish his design, he dissembled such an extraordinary zeal for religion, as would transport his arms into Ireland, to the relief of the "Catholics" there; but when he had effected his business at Rome, his devotion to the Irish service abated; so that being separately and at several times solicited by the king, and by the agents of the confederates, to the first he answered that "the king had nothing left in Ireland, and therefore it was in vain to treat." And to the others he answered that he could not treat with them

any farther without the approbation of their king. And so, with his usual dexterity, he extricated himself out of this affair. *Hib. Ang. Car. II.* 25.

May 2. The Popish bishops, in reply to some smart observations made by the Lord-Lieutenant upon the address sent by them to his Excellency, on the thirtieth of the preceding month, made answer in a very dutiful manner, with many fair promises, and actually sent their Archbishop of Tuam and Sir Lucas Dillon, with pressing letters to Limerick to receive a garrison, and obey his Excellency's orders. Whereupon Ormond was once again cajoled by their fair pretences, and he dismissed the frigate he had provided for his transportation, and resolved to stay in Ireland. *Ibid*, p. 20.

May 9. The Marquis of Antrim, by his priest Kelly, had been intriguing with Cromwell since his first landing, and on this day his officious desires to serve his party prevailed with him to importune a conference with Commissary-General Reynolds, and the Protestant Bishop of Clogher, (Dr. Henry Jones, brother of General Michael Jones, and Sir Theophilus Jones) and afterwards with the same bishop and Colonel Owen, the design of which was to asperse the memory of King Charles the First, and consequently to justify and encourage his enemies. The particulars of these conferences are to be found in the appendix to Cox's Hibernica Anglicana, No. XLVIII.

It was a remarkable feature of these miserable times, that, while Ever Mac Mahon, the Popish Bishop of Clogher, was commander-in-chief of the forces fighting for the king, under the Lord-Lieutenant's commission in Ulster, that the above-mentioned Protestant bishop of the same see was acting as scout-master-general to the regicide Cromwell, and plotting with the rebel Marquis of Antrim, to blacken the memory of Charles the First. Why a prelate, who had held a post so ill becoming one of his function, and had, with his two brothers so notoriously joined with the king's enemies, was restored to the temporalities of the see he had so much disgraced, is another paradox. Certain it is, however, that he escaped with the slight mark of displeasure which he received on the consecration of the twelve bishops on the 27th of January, 1660, which circumstance is thus slightly glanced at by Borlase. (*Reduc.* p. 283.) On this occasion some bishops, who, in the late wars, moved extrinsical to their functions, were not admitted to lay on their hands, lest a question might be raised to the legitimacy of their ordination. Perhaps this prelate had made his peace with the king, by his early appearance in favor

of the restoration, which gave him interest enough to procure his promotion to the see of Meath on the death of Bishop Lesley. *See Ware's Bishops*, 160.

In the mean time Colonel Reynolds, and Sir Theophilus Jones, beat back some forces that were sent to the relief of Terroghan, and disturbed a consultation that was held in Westmeath, between the Lord Lieutenant, the Lords of Clanrickard and Castlehaven, and the titular Bishop of Clogher; and they also took in Trim, Ballyhuse, and Feynagh (*Finea*). *Hib. Ang.* ii. 25.

May 20. On this day the Popish Bishop of Clogher, who had turned every man of English extraction out of his army, which he called the Victorious Catholic Army of the North, leaving none but O's and Macks in it, published, notwithstanding all this, a declaration to wheedle such of the Scots and English as opposed the parliament, stating, that all animosities should be forgotten, and all distinctions of nation and religion should be postponed and sacrificed to his Majesty's interest and service. But few or none of the Protestants were so simple as to be cajoled by that hypocritical declaration; for though many, upon the principles of loyalty, did still continue their desires to serve the King, yet they would by no means join with those who had purged their army even of such Papists as were of English extraction. And that the reader may know that *confidence*, in Ireland, is no certain symptom of success, he will hear, in the sequel, of the total defeat of this Confident Victorious Catholic Army of the North, at the battle of Skirfolas, near Letterkenny, in the county of Donegal. *Ibid*, 23.

May 29. From Clonmell Cromwell returned to Youghall, and on this day embarked for England, leaving his son-in-law, Ireton, to command the army, who was also appointed Lord President of Munster. When Cromwell saw the improvements made in this part of Ireland, by the first Earl of Cork, as the erecting of towns, churches, alms-houses, schools, bridges, &c. he said, that if there had been such a nobleman in each province of the kingdom, the Irish could never have rebelled. *Smith's History of the County and City of Cork*, vol. ii. p. 171.

June 21. Sir Charles Coote, who was aware of the titular Bishop of Clogher's passing over the river Tinn, which divides the counties of Tyrone and Donegal at Cladyford, had provided another retreat at Breaghdough, behind that river, which runs into Lough Swilly, and though the Irish strove hard for that pass, yet it was in vain, for Coote maintained the pass; and by this means, Venables had an opportunity to march

from Colrain to Derry, and thence to ferry over *(from Fahan to Rathmullen)* to the parliamentary camp. The Bishop, who was a man of great parts, soon perceived his error, and saw there was no way to remedy it, but either to fight or return over the river before Venables could come up, and accordingly he put his army in Battalia, and faced the English; but Coote had with him his own regiment of horse, and four troops of Colonel Richard Coote's, and three hundred country horse under Colonel Sanderson, and about two thousand foot. He, therefore, had no reason to fight if he could avoid it, until Venables should arrive; however, they continued picquering many hours, and, in the evening, the Bishop drew towards the pass, but being disturbed by Coote's horse, and having lost sixty men, he posted himself at Letterkenny, having before sent a party to take in Castledoe, and to bring in provisions. Whereupon Coote, being now reinforced with a thousand of Venables' foot, wafted over from Derry, took advantage of that opportunity, faced the Bishop, and resolved to fight. In short, it came to a battle at Skirfolas, two miles above Letterkenny, on the 21st of June, 1650, the English being eight hundred horse, and three thousand foot; and the Irish four hundred horse, and four thousand foot, but the ground was so rough, that the horse could do little service on either side, but the foot fought stoutly, even to club musquet and push of pike. The issue was, that *the Confident Victorious Catholic Army of the North* was totally routed, and then the horse did great execution in the pursuit, which was continued farther than ever was heard of before, viz. about thirty miles, for at Omagh Major King, with his three troops, began the pursuit afresh, and gleaned up what had escaped from the battle, so that it was believed, that of all this army five hundred did not escape. The Bishop himself was taken prisoner by Major King *(afterwards Lord Kingston)*, and, by order of the Lord President, was the next day hanged. Nor is it amiss to observe the variety and vicissitude of the Irish affairs, for this very Bishop, and those officers whose heads were now placed on the walls of Derry, were, within less than a year before, confederated against their king with Sir Charles Coote, raised the siege of that city for him, and were jovially merry at his table in the quality of friends. *Hib. Ang. Car. II.* p. 27.

June 28. The King having ratified the peace of 1649 at the Hague, expressed his determination to reanimate his Irish subjects by his presence; but his fluctuating counsels afterwards gave to Scotland the preference, and he landed there on this day, having, before he disembarked, signed the covenant,

amounting to a solemn engagement to extirpate popery and prelacy. His most faithful adherents were removed from him, and amongst others, Daniel O'Neill, nephew to Owen Roe, whose birth in Ireland, and connection with the (Roman) "*Catholics,*" exposed him, though a Protestant, to the peril of an ignominious death. After some deliberation whether he should not be executed, puritanical cruelty relented to the milder sentence of perpetual exile, with the annexation of death, only in case he should be ever after found in the country. *See O'Connor's History of the Irish Catholics,* p. 77, *and Lord Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion,* iii. 214.

On that fatal day, at Letterkenny, when the Bishop of Clogher was routed by Sir Charles Coote, we lost, after quarters given, Colonel Henry Roe O'Neill, Colonel Hugh Maguire, Colonel Hugh Mac Mahon Art, Oge O'Neill, Mac Shane Deemis, and Colonel Phelim, Mac Tuoll O'Neill (all O's or Macs), quarters were made good to none but George Sexton, Quarter-Master-General, who was put to death afterwards at Carrickfergus, by order of the High Court of Justice. Major-General O'Cahan was killed on the spot, with a great many prime officers, and about fifteen hundred private men. The Bishop was taken two days afterwards by Major King, near Enniskellen, and executed in that town (from which his head was sent to Sir Charles Coote, at Derry). When quarters were given to the other officers, my grandfather, Colonel Phelem Mac Tuoll O'Neill, whose commission from the Marquis of Ormond bore the date of November 12th, 1649, came to terms with Sir Charles Coote about his ransom, and it was agreed that my grandfather, on procuring one hundred beeves from his friends, to be delivered to Sir Charles, should have his life spared and be set at liberty; and for that purpose he was drawing articles to be executed between him and Sir Charles, when a serjeant came into Sir Charles's tent the next day after the action (June 22d, 1650), with an account of his having brought Colonel Henry Roe O'Neill, General Owen O'Neill's son, prisoner. Without more ado, Sir Charles reprimanded the serjeant for not bringing his head, and commanded him to go and dispatch him immediately, whereupon the pen dropped out of my grandfather's hand, and accosting Sir Charles in favour of his relation, pleaded in his behalf, his being a Spaniard born, and that he came to Ireland as a soldier of fortune, and hoped, for those considerations, he would not suffer his orders to be put into execution. But all would not do, the orders were executed; and Sir Charles telling my grandfather, that if he began to prate he would

be served the same way, my grandfather, being touched with the usage his kinsman received, replied, that "*he would rather be served so, than to owe his life to such a monstrous villain as he was;*" whereupon Sir Charles Coote ordered him forthwith to be carried out and knocked on the head with tent-poles. The soldiers being observed by one of the officers executing this order, he asked them what they meant by using the gentleman so, and they replying that it was by the General's orders, the officer, in compassion to him, and to put him out of pain, drew his sword and ran him through the heart, and both his and Henry Roe O'Neill's heads were cut off and put up in Derry; so far had they the honour to imitate the death of their king, who was most barbarously murdered the year before. *Journal of the Transactions of General Owen O'Neill, from the year* 1641 *to* 1650, *by Colonel Henry Mac Tully O'Neill, in the Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica,* p. 526.

Sir Charles Coote's cruelty in Derry was not confined to the unfortunate Papists who fell into his hands, against many of whom the High Court of Justice enabled him to proceed at this time with dreadful retaliation for the butcheries they had at different times committed during the nine preceding years; he proceeded to extremities against loyal Protestants also, whose only crime was their steady adherence to the cause of their lawful king, among these were Captain Gerrard Irvine, and one Mr. Stuart, of whose intended fate, and accomplished rescue, the following curious account is given by the celebrated Captain John Creighton, in his Memoirs written by himself, and revised by Dean Swift.

Alexander Creighton, my father, was about eighteen years old in the year 1641. The Irish Rebellion then breaking out, he went to Captain Gerrard Irvine, his relation, who was then captain of horse, and afterwards knighted by King Charles the Second. This gentleman having a party for the king, soon after joined with Sir Robert Stuart, in the county of Donegal, where, in the course of those troubles, they continued skirmishing sometimes with the Irish rebels, and sometimes with those of the English Parliament, after the rebellion in England began; till at length Captain Irvine, and a Mr. Stuart, were taken prisoners, and put in gaol in Derry; which city was kept for the parliament against the king by Sir Charles Coote. Here my father (then resident with a young family in the town of Castlefen,) performed a very memorable and gallant action, in rescuing his relation, Captain Irvine and Mr. Stuart. Having received information that Sir Charles Coote, Governor of Derry, had publicly declared that Captain Irvine and his com-

panion should be put to death, within two or three days, he communicated this intelligence to seven trusty friends, who all engaged to assist him with the hazard of their lives, in delivering the two gentlemen from the danger that threatened them. They all agreed that my father, and three more, at the hour of six in the morning, when the west gate stood open, and the draw-bridge was let down, for the governor's horses to go out to water, should ride in one by one, after a manner as if they belonged to the town, and there conceal themselves in a friend's house till night; at which time, my father was to acquaint Captain Irvine, and his fellow prisoner, with their design, which was to this purpose, that after concerting measures at the prison, my father should repair to a certain place on the city wall, and give instructions to the four without, at twelve at night; accordingly, next morning, as soon as the gate was open, my father, with his three comrades, got into the town, and the same night, having settled matters with the two gentlemen, that they should be ready at six next morning, at which hour he and his three friends should call upon them. He then went to the wall, and directed the four who were without, that as soon as they should see the gate open and the bridge drawn, one of them should walk up to the sentry and secure him from making any noise by holding a pistol to his breast; after which, the other three should ride up and secure the room where the guard lay, to prevent them from coming out. Most of the garrison were in their beds, which encouraged my father and his friends, and much facilitated the enterprise. Therefore, precisely at six o'clock, when the by-guard and sentry at the western gate were secured by the four without, my father, and the other three within being mounted on horseback, with one spare horse, in the habit of townspeople, with cudgels in their hands, called at the gaol door on pretence to speak to Captain Irvine and Mr. Stuart. They were both walking in a large room in the gaol, with the gaoler, and three soldiers attending them; but these not suspecting the persons on horseback before the door, whom they took to be inhabitants of the town; my father asked Captain Irvine whether he had any commands to a certain place, where he pretended to be going; the Captain made some answer, but said they should not go before they had drank with him; then giving a piece of money to one of the soldiers to buy a bottle of sack at a tavern a good way off, and pretending likewise some errand for another soldier, sent him also out of the way. There being now none left to guard the prisoners but the gaoler and the third soldier, Captain Irvine leaped over the hatch-door,

and as the gaoler leaped after him, my father knocked him down with his cudgel. While this was doing Mr. Stuart tripped up the soldier's heels, and immediately leaped over the hatch. They both mounted, Stuart on the horse behind my father, and Irvine on the spare one, and, in a few minutes, came up with their companions at the gate, before the main guard could arrive, although it were within twenty yards of the gaol door. I should have observed that, as soon as Captain Irvine and his friend got over the hatch, my father and his comrades put a couple of broad swords in their hands, which they had concealed under their cloaks, and, at the same time, drawing their own, were all six determined to force their way against any who offered to obstruct them in their passage, but the dispatch was so sudden, that they got clear out of the gate before the least opposition could be made. They were no sooner gone than Coote, the Governor, got out of his bed, and ran into the streets in his shirt, to know what the hubbub meant, and was in great rage at the accident. The adventurers met the Governor's groom coming back with his master's horses from watering; they seized the horses and got safe to Sir Robert Stuart's, about four miles off, without losing one drop of blood in this hazardous enterprize. *Memoirs of Captain John Creighton*, p. 8, *Dublin*, 1752.

No. XXXVI.

Honesta ab deterioribus, utilia ab noxiis, historiâ decernuntur. Plures aliorum eventis docentur. Tacitus.

1650. *July* 2. General Preston having obtained from the king property to the amount of eight hundred pounds per annum out of the forfeited estates, and being created Viscount Tara this day, passed patent for the honour conferred upon him. *Hib. Ang. Car. II.* 9.

About this time the plague raging in Dublin, carried off, among others, Anthony Martin, Bishop of Meath, who, for his steady adherence to the crown and the church, had been so persecuted, that he died oppressed with poverty. Notwithstanding a severe order to the contrary, issued in 1647, this worthy prelate continued to read the liturgy in the College Chapel, and to preach against the heresies of the times with an apostolic liberty. *See Ware's Bishops*, p. 158.

July 25th. General Preston, now Governor of Waterford, wrote to the Lord Lieutenant on the day of his being created Viscount Tara, most earnestly importuning him for greater supplies than his Excellency could send, or for leave to sur-

render the city, since the wants were so great within it, that it was impossible to keep it. However, Ireton, who commanded the besieging army, did not summon the city until this day (25th July), and then the Popish Clergy, who had been such great incendiaries, and such violent and obstinate promoters of the war, when they found themselves in danger, were the most forward of all others to capitulate, and, accordingly, after a treaty drawn out at length, General Preston did surrender Waterford on the 10th of August, which was followed by the rendition of the fort of Duncannon, on the 14th of the same month. Nor had Sir Charles Coote and Colonel Venables less success in Ulster, for they took the strong fort of Charlemont, and the castles and garrisons of Enniskillen, Culmore, Cloghoughter, Castlejordan, Carlingford, and Menaghan. In Munster, Sir Henry Ingoldsby went with a party to block up Limerick, in the month of July, where they routed four thousand Irish that came to relieve it, whereof nine hundred were slain, and many taken prisoners; and Colonel Phair, in the month of August, not only disturbed Lord Inchiquin's levies in Kerry, but also took the castle of Kilmurry, and was very troublesome to the Lords Roche and Muskerry. *Hib. Ang.* ii. 57.

About this time the Earl of Castlehaven, an English nobleman of the Romish persuasion, wrote a letter to one of his friends, complaining of the Marquis of Antrim's defection, and observed, that the Irish were so false, that none of them was to be trusted, for in every family of them, either the husband or the wife was treating with the enemy. And what is more wonderful (considering the manner in which Cromwell's fanatical army was now treating their Romish prisoners), the Popish Archbishop of Armagh issued precepts to pray for the success of Cromwell's forces, while Dominick Dempsy, a Franciscan friar, and one Long, a Jesuit, asserted, that the king being out of the Catholic Church, it was not lawful to pray for him in particular, or in general, publicly, except on *Good Friday*, as comprehended among Infidels, Jews, Mahometans, Pagans, and Heretics; and even then, that it was lawful to pray but for the welfare of his soul, and not for his temporal prosperity. But this will be less admired, when it is known that the same Popish Archbishop of Armagh pleaded for favour from the Parliament to the Ulster Irish, because, said he, "*they never had affection towards the king or his family, and as for me, I never was a friend or well-wisher to any of the four—the King, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, or the Marquis of Ormond.*" And, indeed, the Irish began this correspondence very early, for in September, 1649, Colonel Dunfan wrote to

the Lord Lieutenant, informing him that Kelly, the Marquis of Antrim, a priest, was in Dublin with Cromwell. It was not the Popish clergy alone that entertained these disloyal sentiments, but even some of the nobility, and greatest men among the laity, and such as had received both honour and estate from the king, did ungratefully plunge themselves into the same crimes. Among these were General Preston, and his son, Sir James Preston. The General being at Lord Glenmalisas's, was heard to say, when discoursing about the Clergy's excommunication of the Lord Lieutenant, I wish a plague had taken the clergy that did not first seize on Ormond's person, and then they might go through with their first design. Sir James Preston corresponded with the Popish Bishop in Galway, lent them copies of the orders and letters he received from the Lord Lieutenant, and wrote to inform them that the King had taken the covenant, and declared against the peace. He also was known to boast, that he had credit with Ireton, and should have liberty to transport three or four thousand men, and often said, that no men in the kingdom were more for an agreement with the parliament than his father and himself. Colonel Grace was imprisoned on the 7th of September, 1650, for holding a correspondence with Ireton. *Ibid*, 54.

This year and the following season the plague raged violently in Ireland. Ireton not daring, for fear of it, to go to Dublin, kept in Kilkenny, from whence he detached parties of the army to different places. Those that came into the county of Cork drove Lord Muskerry into Kerry, where he was obliged to shelter himself in the fastnesses of that country. *Smith's History of Cork*, ii. 172.

July 25. General Ireton summoned the City of Waterford to surrender. *Smith's History of Waterford, cap.* 151. August 10th, Waterford surrendered to the parliamentary army, and in four days afterwards the fort of Duncannon. *Ibid.*

August 6. Matters still growing worse and worse, and the parliamentarians daily gaining ground, the Popish Clergy did, *propria motu*, assemble at Jamestown on this day, and gave commission to their Bishop of Ferns, and Hugh Rochford, to treat with foreign princes for the preservation of their religion in Ireland, and, to cover this proceeding, wrote a dissembling letter to the Lord Lieutenant, stating, that being in danger of losing sacred religion in Ireland, they had thus assembled for the amendment of errors, and the recovery of their afflicted people. They also invited the Lord Lieutenant

to send one or more persons to make proposals to them for the public good. *Hib. Ang. Car. II.* p. 27.

The Lord Lieutenant replied to this letter; observing, in plain terms, that the disobedience the king's government had met from these people, had been the cause of the present disastrous state of Ireland. If these errors, said his Excellency, shall be continued, the application of the people will not cease, and must, it is to be feared, end in their utter destruction. Which, if prevented by what your consultation will produce, the happy effect of your meeting will be acknowledged without questioning the authority by which you meet, or expecting proposals from us; which, other than what we have formerly and now by this letter made, we hold not necessary. *Ibid.*

The titular Clergy replied to this letter, and farther negotiations were proceeding till the twelfth of this month, when they, after appointing to meet the Lord Lieutenant at Loughrea, suffered him to attend there without any other notice of their appointment, than sending their Bishop of Dromore and a Doctor Kelly to confer with his Excellency. While, on that very day, they issued their fatal and bloody excommunication of him, which is recited at large in the Appendix to the Hibernica Anglicana, No. XLVII. wherein their Bishop of Ferns says, they were unanimous, and boasts that this rejection of the Lord Lieutenant, and consequently of the King's authority placed in him, was done by the universal consent of the Romish Clergy. Nor is this affront to be wondered at, being done with some order and formality, but it would amaze one to see the Captain of the guard at Galway, with the rabble at his heels, searching in every corner for the Lord Lieutenant as a criminal or a thief, not but that they knew he was not in the town, but they did it at the instigation of the Popish Clergy, merely to bring contempt upon his person and authority, and for the same reason as we hang fugitive traitors in effigy. *Ibid*, 30.

August 16. In the mean time the Scots having already declared against the peace with the Irish, and having the ascendant over the King, to the degree of imposing the covenant on him, prevailed with him, much against his will, to publish a declaration against the peace made with the confederates, which was proclaimed at Dunfermling on this day. *Ibid.*

September 8. Launcelot Bulkelly, Archbishop of Dublin, died at Tallagh on this day, in the 82d year of his age, being spent with grief for the calamities of the times. *Ware's Bishops*, 356.

September 9. Ireton having refreshed his army at Waterford, marched through Wicklow, and having taken a prey of sixteen hundred cows, sent Sir Hardress Waller with half of them to reinforce the blockade of Limerick, and Waller, in his march, took the strong castles of Ballilanghan, Ballycubane, and Garygaghlan, and on this day summoned Limerick, but in vain, for the same Hugh O'Neal that made the brave resistance at Clonmel, was Governor of that city. Ireton himself marched on to Sir Charles Coote, and being joined by him they went to Athlone, but the bridge being broken, and the town, on the Leinster side, being burned, Ireton left Coote there, and having in his way taken two castles in Mac Coghlan's country, together with Birr, which the Irish had deserted and burned, he came before Limerick, but finding the year too far spent, and that Limerick could not be forced, except it were attacked on both sides of the river, he endeavoured to get Killaloe pass, and so having taken Neragh, Castletown, and Dromaneer, he went into winter quarters to Kilkenny, on the 10th of November. *Hib. Ang.* ii. 57.

Ireton, this winter, continued at Kilkenny, because the plague, which had carried off seventeen thousand persons in Dublin during the summer and autumn, was not yet ceased. From this place he sent divers parties abroad, which did notable service, as in taking Ballymay, in the King's county, and chasing back the Earl of Castlehaven to Thomond. *Borlase*, 282.

Such a winter's campaign, by so inconsiderable a party against so considerable a kingdom, was never heard or read of, considering, especially, that to the support of the Irish interests from January, 1649, to January, 1650, there was raised for them 553,564l. 10s. 11d., besides meal, beeves, wheat, winter quarters, King's Customs, Excise, and enemies' estates. *Ibid, Reduction of Ireland*, 256.

Of so little avail are the greatest supplies to the most numerous army, when divisions among its members, and distrust of its principal leader, prevail in it. *Curry's Review of the Civil Wars of Ireland.*

September 15. On this day the Romish Bishops and Clergy of Ireland, assembled at Loughrea, at the command of the Lord Lieutenant, who, though he had but too much experience of the nature and temper of the people, and of the transcendant power of their clergy, to hope for any good effects from it, yet, being resolved not to leave his successor liable to the same insolence which the dignity of his royal master had received through him, he called this meeting, to make the terms on

which he would leave the Marquis of Clanrickard in the government. *Clarendon*, 180.

The Marquis of Ormond, now preparing for his departure from Ireland, every member of the General Assembly at Loughrea, not totally infatuated by religious bigotry, was alarmed at his purpose, and shuddered at the probable consequences liable to ensue upon it, and they besought him at least to delegate the Royal Authority to some person faithful to the King, and acceptable to the nation. *Leland*, iii. 390.

The time of Cromwell's departure to command the army in Scotland drew near; he moved the council of state, that since they had employed him about a work which would require all his care, they would ease him of the affairs of Ireland. This they absolutely refused, well knowing that he did not desire it. He then recommended the sending over some commissioners for the management of civil affairs, and a general officer to command the horse, as an assistant to Ireton, and to be also one of the commissioners. Upon a representation of this advice to the Parliament, it was ordered that Cromwell, Ireton, Ludlow, now made General of the Horse, Colonel Jones, Mr. Corbet, and Mr. Weaver, or any three, should be made commissioners for the administration of the civil affairs of that nation; but the principal business was to find out some means for raising large annual sums for the maintenance of the army, and the conclusion of the war in Ireland. This was all that was done relating to that kingdom this year by the English Parliament. *Warner's History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars of Ireland*, vol. iii. p. 234.

About this time Doctor Samuel Winter, an independent preacher, came over to Dublin, and was made Provost of Trinity College. The sacrament, at this time, was taken by the Presbyterians standing, but this Winter, for distinction sake, gave it to his followers sitting, for which purpose several tables were placed together in length from the choir to the altar, in Christ Church. Winter's fraternity called one another brothers and sisters. They flourished for about two years after this time, along with the Presbyterians, in Dublin. *Ware's Ronish Fox*, 223.

In the mean time the Marquis of Clanrickard's forces had retaken Birr, and the other two castles in Mac Coghlan's country, and pretended to relieve Athlone if it should be distressed. Whereupon Colonel Axtel, Governor of Kilkenny, being joined with the Wexford and Tipperary forces in Roscrea, encountered them near Mcelick Island, on the 25th of October, and gave them a sore defeat, killing fifteen hundred

men, and taking two hundred horse, with all their baggage. *Hib. Ang.* 57.

November 17. Arnold Boat wrote to Archbishop Usher, then at Lincoln's Inn, the following account of a schism in the Church of Rome, " That breach in Popery about grace groweth wider and wider every day; and whereas, hitherto, Jansenism hath contained itself within France *(where most part of the Prelates and Sorbonists are addicted to it)*, and the low countries; now it hath found entrance into Spain; and among the very Jesuits, those eager opposers of it. One of these having written a book in defence of it, the University of Salamanca gave their approbation to it, after the amplest and most solid manner, and, at the same time, caused publicly to be burned a treatise written by the Jesuits, against a little Jansenical book published here in Paris, with the title of *Catechisme de la Grace*, and having sent the Jesuit to Rome, with their letter to the Pope, in recommendation of his person and book, he hath there very boldly asserted his writing before the Pope and the Cardinals, and in the manner as they, although hitherto professed and bitter enemies of that doctrine, could find no exceptions against him. This hath made those of his order such bitter enemies to him, that they have secretly made him away; out of which fact great troubles are likely to follow, for the Pope and the King of Spain both, upon complaint made to them, have enjoined the Jesuits to produce that colleague of theirs alive or dead, upon pain of their highest displeasure. *Parr's Collection of Primate Usher's Letters*, 558.

The General Assembly of Popish Bishops and Clergy at Loughrea, published a declaration, that by their excommunication at Jamestown in the preceding month of August, they had no other aim than the preservation of the (Roman) Catholic religion and people, and did not propose to make any usurpation on his Majesty's authority, or on the liberties of the people, confessing that it belonged not to their jurisdiction to do so, and unanimously beseeching the Lord Lieutenant to leave his authority to some person faithful to his Majesty, and acceptable to the nation, to whom they promised all due obedience, and alleging, that notwithstanding the condition as at that time they were fully satisfied with the Marquis of Ormond's intention, and hearty affections to his Majesty's interests and service in Ireland. *Hib. Ang.* 51.

Whereupon his Excellency sent them word that he had sent a deputation to the Marquis of Clanrickard to govern the kingdom, provided that their declaration might be so far explained as to give the Marquis of Clanrickard full satisfaction, that in

the expressions touching the obedience they owed, and resolved to pay unto his Majesty's authority, was meant the authority placed in his Lordship, or any other governor deriving or holding his authority from his Majesty, and that they did not esteem it to be in the power of any person, congregation, or assembly whatsoever, to discharge or set the people free from obeying his Lordship, or any other such governor, during the continuance of the said authority in him. And so having given charge to the Marquis of Clanrickard not to accept the government upon other terms, and having refused a pass obtained for him without his knowledge from Ireton, and being accompanied by Lord Inchiquin and the Colonels Vaughan, Wogan, and Warren, and about twenty more in a small vessel of twenty-eight tons, and four guns, he set sail for France about the middle of December. On his departure the Marquis of Clanrickard assumed the government as Lord Deputy, though he had in vain endeavoured to make the Romish bishops and clergy consent to declare, as prescribed by Ormond, that no power existed in them, or any other assembly, to discharge the people from their allegiance to his Majesty's government in Ireland. *Ibid*, 53.

After being tossed at sea for the space of some weeks, and after his other ships, in which his servants and goods were, were lost, the Marquis of Ormond arrived in the month of January, 1651, at St. Maloes in Britanny, from whence he went to Paris, and soon after into Flanders. Thence he was employed in a service answerable to his fidelity, touching the Duke of Gloucester, then in the talons of the Jesuits, whom, with singular prudence and success, he recovered. *Borlase*, p. 278.

But now that the confederates had gotten a governor to their own mind, one of their own religion, and, in truth, a brave man, it was but reasonable to expect that they should take valiant and unanimous resolutions for a suitable defence; but experience has convinced the world, that they who are most quarrelsome, are not always most stout, and therefore it is not to be wondered that it should, within a very few days, and before any new misfortune happened) be proposed in the assembly, that they might send to treat with the enemy for the surrender of all that was left. However, the major part of the assembly rejected the motion with scorn, whereupon their Bishop of Ferns proposed to resort to their first confederacy, and so proceed in their preservation *without respect to the king's authority*. And this disloyal motion found so many abettors, especially of the clergy, that those who were zealous in opposing it were fain to reproach the assembly, by telling them that

"they now manifested that it was not their prejudice to the Marquis of Ormond, nor their zeal to religion, that had transported them, but their dislike of the king's authority." *Hib. Ang.* ii. 54.

There was then in the possession of the Roman Catholics the province of Connaught, in which they had the strong castle of Athlone, and the strong and important town and harbour of Galway, and many other lesser forts and places of strength, a good part of the province of Munster, and in it the city of Limerick, which, by the strong situation of it, and the advantages it might have from the sea, could, with the help and assistance of Galway, have maintained a war against the rebel forces in Ireland. They had many parties of horse and foot in Leinster, Munster, and Ulster, which being drawn together, would constitute a better army than the rebels were masters of. But notwithstanding all these advantages, they proposed surrendering all that was left; and in all quarters of which the rebels were possessed, the Irish not only submitted and compounded, but many of them entered into their service, and marched with them in their army, and the Marquis of Clanrickard grew as much in their disfavour as the Lord-Lieutenant had been, and his being the friend of the Marquis of Ormond destroyed all the confidence which his being a Roman Catholic had merited from them. *Earl of Carendon's Historical View*, p. 187.

In the month of February the Duke of Lorrain sent Stephen de St. Henin to Ireland, and on his arrival the Marquis of Clanrickard appointed a committee of the commissioners of trust, together with some of the prelates, to confer with the ambassador, and to receive overtures from him, and make their report to him upon them. But the proposals made on this occasion were so derogatory to the king's honour, that the Lord Deputy refused to listen to them, and declared his resolution to send an express to the Duke of Lorrain, to inform him of the circumstances, which he deemed to be without the authority of that nobleman. The assembly, however, afterwards entered into a perfidious negotiation, in which they vested the Duke of Lorrain with regal power, under the title of Protector Royal of Ireland. This agreement is preserved at large in *Borlase*, 288. The sixth article stipulated that the Duke should not fail, on his part, to expel out of Ireland heretics, enemies to the king and religion, and to recover and defend all things belonging to the faithful subjects of Ireland. The Marquis of Clanrickard very faithfully discharged his duty in protesting against these proceedings, and so they fell to the ground. *Borlase*, 192.

May 4. Friar Geoghegan, who had always adhered to the nuncio, and opposed the king's authority to the utmost of his power, wrote this day a letter to the enemy, which was intercepted, and contained these words: " If the service of God had been as deep in the hearts of our nation as the service of Dagon, a foolish loyalty, a better course would have been taken for its honour and preservation." The Marquis of Clanrickard referred the examination of this friar to the bishops, before whom he readily excused himself by pleading a commission from the Court of Rome, and this was all the satisfaction and justice the Lord Deputy could procure, though he wrote several letters of expostulation to these bishops thereupon.

The year 1651 could not be otherwise than successful to the Parliamentary forces in Ireland, for, on the one hand, the Irish were distracted and divided, and on the other the English army was supported by those constant and seasonable supplies of men and necessaries, that were sent them from England. *Hib. Ang.* ii. 56.

May 15. While the Parliamentary army was in pursuit of the Earl of Castlehaven, Lord Muskerry had burned the town and parts near Macromp, in the county of Cork ; and on this day the Irish rebels surprised two troops of horse and a company of foot belonging to Colonel Zanchy. *Borlase*, 282.

February 21. About this time Colonel Huson, with sixteen hundred foot and seven hundred horse, marched into the county of Westmeath, to reduce some garrisons, and to prevent the Irish rebels from raising forces there. When he came to Tercroghan, he heard that Colonel Preston and Sir John Dungan had besieged a castle of theirs in the King's County, to whose relief he marched as far as Tyrrels Pass, where he heard that Colonel Reynolds had dispersed them. Thence turning towards Mullingar, he took Kilbridge, where he found two hundred barrels of corn ; and the next day entered Mullingar, whereupon the enemy quitted Tuitestown, Ledwickstown, and Disert, where he heard that Colonel Reynolds had taken in Donore, in which was found five hundred barrels of corn ; and having garrisoned Ballymore, thence marched to Ballymahon, a pass upon the river Inny, and took it, and Sir Thomas Nugent's castle, in one day. Thence drawing towards Finea, he encamped against Toughs castle, which, after the third shot, was delivered to him, where hearing that Phelim Mac Hugh, with fifteen hundred foot, was marching on the other side of the river to the reinforcement of Finea, (erroneously spelled Finagh by Borlase, as he also mis-spelled the name of Ballymahon in this paragraph) he sent Sir Theophilus Jones, with

four hundred horse, and his own regiment of foot, to encounter him, who fell upon them, killing O'Cahan, and divers considerable officers, with about four hundred private soldiers, and taking prisoners Colonel Mac Donnel, his lieutenant-general, one major, twelve captains, twelve lieutenants, fifteen ensigns, the quarter-master, and about three hundred private soldiers and non-commissioned officers. Sir Theophilus in this, as in all other expeditions, rendered excellent service. In the mean time, Colonel Huson stormed Finea, but was repulsed with some loss, though it surrendered to him the next day upon conditions bearing date the 14th of March, 1650, which surrender brought in five adjacent castles. *Ibid.*

The main design of the Parliamentary army being now against Limerick, it was necessary to get into the province of Connaught, which was entirely in Irish hands; and in order to this Sir Charles Coote, with two thousand horse, and as many choice foot, marched to Sligo, and when he had amused the Irish, as though he would attempt that place, he slipped by them over the Carlew mountains, and came to Athlone, which he quickly took, as he did also Portumna soon after. So that they had two good passes over the Shannon; and in the mean time, Ireton, with the main body of the army, forced Killaloe pass, and then marched down to Limerick. Here he entrenched his army, and laid a formal and regular siege to that city. *Hib. Ang. Car. II.* 66.

About May, 1651, order was taken in England for sending over recruits of foot and money to pay and raise men in Ireland, but by reason of the numbers sent into Scotland, there could not many or much be spared, but what could be procured came over very opportunely to reinforce the army, then ready to march to the siege of Limerick. *Borlase*, 283.

During the siege of Limerick, Ireton intercepted several letters from the Romish bishop and mayor of that city, stating that unless they were effectually relieved in a short time, the commonalty would force them to surrender to the enemy. Upon which Lord Broghill, by orders from Ireton, drew all the forces of the county together, to impede Lord Muskerry, then marching out of Kerry with a considerable force, and though he made many halts, as if he had another design than the relief of Limerick, yet being narrowly watched, the scouts brought certain intelligence, about the twenty-second of June, that his body of horse marched from Dromagh towards Castleliskin, one of the fastest places in Ireland, and directly in the way to Limerick. *Ibid.*

About the first of July, Ireton took the castle on the Weare,

which the warders deserted, and betook themselves to the river, but finding they were continually shot at by the English, they came on shore in two parties, the one to the west side, where Colonel Tuthill's regiment was, a captain whereof promised them quarter; nevertheless, they were, by Tuthill's order, stripped and knocked on the head, whereat Ireton was so enraged, that he caused Tuthill to be tried by a council of war, and though he excused himself by his opinion that an inferior officer had no power to give quarter, whilst his superior was upon the place, yet both he and his ensign were cashiered. And when Ireton understood that the other party of the Irish, that landed on the east side, in Colonel Ingoldsby's quarters, had been kindly used, and not so much as stripped, he dismissed them gratis, and sent them into the city with a handsome message, expressing his detestation of breach of faith, and offering what farther satisfaction they desired; but they were very well pleased with the justice he had done them, and so that matter ended. *Hib. Ang.* 67.

July 15. Ireton pressed on the siege of Limerick with great diligence and vigour, and the governor as valiantly defended it; so that when Ireton had taken the bridge, that conquest was made useless to him by breaking down two arches at the other end, whereupon he endeavoured to possess the island, and provided eleven boats and a float for that purpose, but it did not succeed according to his design, for the float proved too short, so that all the men but seven that landed out of the first five boats, were slain or drowned before any of their companions could come to assist them. *Ibid.*

During the siege of Limerick, now straitly begirt by Ireton, Sir Walter Dugan stormed Rosstown and Castlejordan; and the notable quarter beater, Nash, killed Colonel Cook, coming with a party from Cork, but was himself slain in the onset, though his party was victorious. In the mean time, at Limerick the besieged made many fierce sallies, to the loss of the assailants, for in one of a thousand men, they killed three hundred of the besiegers, and upon Ireton's attempt upon the island, on the 15th of July, 1651, an hundred and twenty of his men were lost, with their leaders, Major Walker, Captain Graves, and Captain Whiting. Ireton, notwithstanding, resolved not to depart without it, though the governor, Hugh O'Neill, who had so gallantly defended Clonmell, refused to hearken to any conditions, in hopes that the winter would force him off, or that he himself might receive necessary supplies from without. But shortly after O'Neill perceived what he was to trust to, for before Ireton had closely besieged it a

month, and sooner than the inhabitants were pressed with wants, the commonalty began to discourse of treating with the enemy; yet it was very hard for them to treat, it being notoriously known that Ireton would except very many principal persons among them, to whom no mercy should be shewn, nor could they expect any conditions for the exercise of their religion, which they had hitherto been so jealous of. *Borlase*, p. 295.

While Ireton was besieging Limerick, Sir C. Coote encountered a party of Fitzpatrick's and O'Dwyer's forces, that had retaken Meelick, an island in the Shannon, between Banagher and Clonfert, that, though they behaved themselves so well, that they baffled his foot two or three times, yet, by the bravery of his horse, he worsted them at last, and killed and drowned three hundred of them, and made the same number accept of quarter for life. *Hib. Ang.* 68.

Ireton being resolved to take the city of Limerick, had formed an army volant under Lord Broghill, to prevent the Irish from relieving it. This army consisted of Ingoldsby's, Cromwell's, and Henry Cromwell's regiments of horse, and twenty-six companies of foot, and though Lord Broghill desired to have none but horse and dragoons, for expedition sake, yet Ireton obliged him to take foot also, because of the woods and fastnesses the enemy might lurk in. *Ibid*, 67.

July 26. Having received intelligence that a body of Lord Muskerry's horse had marched from the castle of Dromagh, near the Blackwater, towards Castleishin, on their way to Limerick, Lord Broghill hastened towards them, and on the 26th of July, 1651, coming up with them about midnight, in the midst of a dreadful storm of hail and wind, fell upon their horse guards, and beat them to their camp. *Smith's History of Cork*, vol. ii. p. 172.

Lord Broghill, in his own hand-writing, has left the following notes of this engagement.

"*Engagement at Knockbrack, alias Knocknaclashy, 26th of July*, 1651.

"Ireton lying before Limerick, formed a camp volant to hinder any relief coming to the place, out of Cromwell's, Broghill's, Harry Cromwell's, and Ingoldsby's regiments of horse, and twenty-six companies of foot, commanded by Broghill. I desired only a detachment of horse and dragoons, but he insisted on my having foot, because of the woods and fastnesses. The second night of our being absent from the camp, I discovered the enemy's fires, beat up their quarters, and

forced them to retire some miles through fastnesses where we could not follow. I then sent for twelve hundred horse instead of two thousand six hundred foot, which were to join me. Twenty of our horse bringing me a packet, we thought they were they, and so did an Irish spy, who so informed the enemy, that they were twice as many horse, and thrice as many foot. We encamped so near the enemy, that they lay three miles on the south side of the Blackwater, whilst I lay two miles on the north side, so that we could see each others fires reciprocally. In the morning early I passed the river at Clonmine, where I met with ninety Irish, who were under protection. I asked them what they were assembled for? They answered, they came out of curiosity to see the battle. Having asked them how they knew there was to be a battle, they answered, *they had a prophecy that there was one to be fought on that ground one time or other*, and they knew none more likely than the present. Upon which I again asked them, on what side the victory was to fall. They shook their heads, and said, *The English are to get the day.* Having began to march to their camp, the Irish drew out on my rear, but I marched on with eleven squadrons of horse and fifteen of foot, in order to draw them out of the wood they had taken shelter in, and to bring them into the plain. The bridge barrel was fired on either side, but the enemy did not answer our shout; upon which a soldier cried out, They are beaten already. Yes, said I, and shall be worse beaten presently. The left wing, under Wallis, and eighty musqueteers, with pistol bullets in their pieces, fired all at once in two ranks, and I did the like on the right wing. I had given orders, that each wing of horse should consist of five squadrons, three to charge and two to second. That the middle troop being in a body, should pursue, while the other two did execution; the foot I also ordered to consist of five battalions, three to charge, and two for reserve.

As the enemy outflanked us both ways, I drew to the right with the right wing; upon which the enemy advanced that way with a thousand musqueteers, and with their horse fought horse head to horse head, hacking with their swords; but at length I routed their left wing. The enemy appearing with one hundred and forty horse in my rear, I faced about, and charged through them, and charging a second time, bid my men cry out "*they run, they run,*" whereat the first rank looked back to see if their rear did run, and they, seeing the faces of their front, whom they really thought began to fly from our people, began to run in earnest, and so they all fled. The left wing having not charged, the two reserves of the right

wing were designed to help them; but they were interrupted by a stand of a thousand pikes, who, for a considerable time, stood firmly, and fought stoutly, but I ordering the angles to be attacked, they were put into disorder and broken, (their strength consisting in preserving their order and disposition) upon which most of them were cut to pieces. Then the right wing of the Irish attacked our left, and were beaten, so that the foot fled, and were pursued till night. Not an horse officer of the Irish, except one, but he or his horse was killed or wounded; all the first rank in my squadron, being thirty-three, were either killed or wounded. We resolved not to give or take quarter; however, several had quarter after the battle.

Among the baggage was found a peck full of charms, relics, &c. besides an infinite quantity taken from the dead, with a peculiar one on paper, said to be the exact measure of our Lady's foot, with these words written in it, *Whoever wears this, and repeats certain prayers, shall be free from gun-shot, sword, and pike respectively, as each desires.* Like the battle of Noseby, from being a fair day, it rained hard during the fight, with thunder and lightning, and afterwards cleared up again. My boldest horse being twice wounded, became so fearful that he was turned to the coach. On my return to Limerick, Ireton fired three volleys for joy of this victory. *Manuscript at the castle of Lismore, quoted in Smith's History of Cork,* vol. ii. p. 174.

There are many things observable of the battle of Knocknaclashy. First, that it was the last battle that was fought in this war, according to the Irishmen's prophecy. Secondly, it was as fair a day, both before and after the fight, as ever was known, but during all the time of the conflict there was a great storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, as happened in many years before. Thirdly, that among the baggage were taken a peck full of charms, some of which had it thus written upon them. "*This is the print of our Lady's foot, and whoever wears it, and says twenty Ave Marias, shall be free from gun-shot.*" And the like charms were to free them from pike or sword, as the party desired it; and lastly, that a bold horse of Lord Broghill's, being twice wounded in this battle, became afterwards so cowardly, that he was fit for nothing but the coach. *Hib. Ang.* 68.

The Irish army being routed at Knocknaclashy, and a great slaughter of them ensued, from their not being near their usual places of retreat, the bogs. Lieutenant-Colonel Magillicuddy, who headed Lord Muskerry's regiment, a man more popular than that Lord, was taken prisoner, as also Major Mac Gilla-

riagh, an old Spanish soldier. Major Mac Fineen was also taken, and several horse officers of note. In this battle Mac Donough, Lord of Duhallow, was slain as he charged at the head of a squadron of horse. The battle was at one time so favourable to the Irish, that Captain Banister, on the left wing of the English, rode off to Cork with the news of a victory gained by them. *History of Cork*, ii. 174.

Notwithstanding these successes, the Irish were not without hopes, that either the badness or scarcity of provision, or the plague, would constrain the enemy to raise the siege of Limerick. They sent great numbers of people out of the town, as useless in their defence, or to spread the contagion amongst the besiegers, but Ireton returned them, and threatened to shoot any that should attempt to come out again. He knew very well the disputes that were in the city about surrendering, and by letters and messages he endeavoured what he could to foment the division, declaring against several by name, who were the most active and obstinate in holding out, that they should have no benefit of the articles to be agreed on. *Warner*, ii. 243.

No. XXXVII.

"*Reclusis itaque Catholicis in eremo conaciæ tanquam carcere ubi nec victum habuere, nec amictum, nec domos, nec tentoria, plurimi fame perierunt, alii penuriâ et fame compulsi, violentissimis fluviis, cautibus, promontoriis, ac voraginibus, (quibus Conacia plerumque obducta est) se commisserunt, quorum aliqui aquis absorpti, et non: nulli præcipitio fracti sunt. Nullum habent refugium, auxilium nullum, fames repellit ad mare, mare ad cautes, et cautes et cruentum carnificis gladium.*" Hibernia Dominicana, p. 706.

1651. *October* 29. While Ireton was using his utmost endeavours to reduce Limerick, the Romish clergy in that city threatened to excommunicate the inhabitants if they should offer to treat with the enemy for the surrender of the place, which, in effect, was, they said, to give up the prelates in it to be slaughtered; and they did actually fix a perpetual interdict upon the church doors and other public places. But those fulminations had been too loosely and impertinently used to retain any virtue now in time of need, so that, without any regard to them, Colonel Fennel seized upon St. John's Gate, and the Mayor supplied him with powder, and countenanced him in the resolution to give up that post to the enemy, unless the garrison would consent to capitulate. In fine, they did, on

the twenty-ninth day of October, 1651, surrender that strong and important city of Limerick upon severe articles, wherein the governor, the titular bishops of Limerick and Emly, and Alderman Dominick Tanning, with nine others, were excepted by name as to life. It was computed that the Irish lost five thousand people in the city during the siege, mostly by the plague and other sickness; nevertheless, after the surrender they marched out thirteen hundred soldiers, and there still remained in the city four thousand men able to bear arms. *Hib. Ang. Car. II.* p. 69.

It cannot be believed that the unequal and severe conditions imposed by Ireton upon Limerick would have been accepted from an army not strong enough to have forced them on a people unwilling to submit to them, had not Colonel Fennel revolted to the besiegers, and received two hundred of them into St. John's Gate tower; upon which, after two days hesitation, a drum was sent through the city, commanding all manner of soldiers in pay within the town to repair to Mary's church, and there lay down their arms, which was presently obeyed, and the soldiers being bid forthwith to leave the town, Ireton marched in, and receiving the keys, was, without any contradiction, quietly possessed thereof, causing as many of the excepted persons as could be found to be committed to prison, and making Sir Hardress Waller governor of the city. In this manner was Limerick defended by the "Catholic" Irish, and this obedience did the prelates and clergy, in their need, receive from those over whom they had power enough to seduce from the duty they owed to the king, and from submitting to his authority, and this was the fruit of all their labours. The instances of severity and blood which Ireton gave, upon his being possessed of this place, were very remarkable. Edmond O'Dwyer, the titular Bishop of Limerick, had the address and good fortune to escape from his hands, either by marching out among the common soldiers, or concealing himself in the town, and afterwards died at Brussels, pursued by the malice of the nuncionist zealots; whilst Ireton manifested what his portion would have been, had he been caught in Limerick, by the treatment he gave Turlough O'Brien, the Romish Bishop of Emly, whom he took there, and without any formality of justice, and with all reproaches imaginable, he caused to be publicly hanged. This unhappy prelate had, from the beginning, opposed, with great passion, the king's authority, and most obstinately adhered to the nuncio, and to that party still which was most averse from returning to their allegiance, and was thus miserably and ignominiously put to death, even in

that city whence he had been a principal instrument to shut out his Majesty's authority. *Borlase*, 299.

In the year 1646, when the king at arms proclaimed the peace at Limerick, one Dominick Tanning, a citizen of the town, raised a mutiny, and his rabble affronted the herald, and wounded the mayor. For this service he was by the nuncio made mayor in the place of the mayor who had been wounded. This man, continuing the same bitterness of spirit against the king's authority, always opposed the receiving of a garrison from the Lord-Lieutenant. Being now one of the twenty-four persons whom Ireton had excepted in his articles, this Tanning found a way among the common soldiers to get out of the city, notwithstanding all the diligence that was used to discover him. When he was free and in safety, he returned to the town to fetch some money he had privately hid, and to make some provision for his subsistence, which he had not time to do before. But going to his own house, his wife refused to receive him, or to assist him in any thing, whereupon he departed, and after he had walked up and down the streets some time, the weather being extremely cold, he went to the main guard, where was a good fire, and being discovered to be a stranger, and asked who he was, voluntarily confessed that he was Dominick Tanning, for whom such strict search had been made. He was thereupon apprehended, and the next morning carried before the governor, and immediately hanged. The same fate had Friar Wolfe and Alderman Stritch, who, when the Lord-Lieutenant would have entered Limerick for its preservation, in 1650, raised a tumult, and shut the gates against him. And that very Colonel Fennel, who, by possessing himself of St. John's castle, and turning the cannon on it against the town, betrayed it to Ireton, though he had for the present the benefit of the articles, was, within a few months afterwards, taken and hanged, as the rest had been, without any consideration of his services. In a word, all those who had been the first causers and raisers of the rebellion, or who with malice or obstinacy opposed the return of the people to the king's obedience, were made examples in the same manner. Among these was the Romish Bishop of Ross, and Jeoffry Baron, the latter of whom kept Waterford from receiving the Lord-Lieutenant, and was on this occasion taken and hanged in Limerick, where many other examples of the same kind were made. *Borlase*, 300.

Such monuments of calamity are not frequently met with in story, and ought to be revolved on by the survivors, with a just and pious recollection of God's wonderful proceedings

against them. *Earl of Clarendon's Historical Review of the Affairs of Ireland*, p. 211.

Whilst Ireton was settling affairs at Limerick, he sent Ludlow with between three and four thousand men into the county of Clare, to take the castle of that name, and some others which were of strength, but which were surrendered to him as soon as summoned. *Warner*, ii. 248.

Ludlow has left the following account of this expedition in his memoirs.

Whilst the deputy was settling affairs at Limerick, he ordered me with a party to march into the county of Clare to reduce some places in those parts. Accordingly, I marched with about two thousand foot to Inchecroghnan, fifteen miles from Limerick, but it being very late before we could reach that place, as we were passing the bridge, one of the horses that carried my waters and medicines, fell into the river, which proved a great loss to me, as things fell out afterwards. The next day I came before Clare Castle, and summoned it; whereupon they sent out commissioners to treat, though the place was of very great strength, and, after three or four hours' delay, we came to an agreement, by which the castle was to be delivered to me next morning, the enemy leaving hostages with us for the performance of their part. That night I lay in my tent upon a hill, where the weather being very tempestuous, and the season far advanced, I took a very dangerous cold. The next morning the enemy received papers from me to return home according to the articles; after which, having appointed Colonel Foulk and a garrison to defend it, I marched towards Carrigaholt. That night my cold increased, and the next morning I found myself so much discomposed, that Adjutant-General Allen, who was then with me, pressed me to go on board one of the vessels that attended our party with ammunition, artillery, and provisions, and to appoint a person to command them in my absence. But being unwilling to quit the charge committed to my care, I clothed myself as warm as I could, putting on a fur coat over my buff, and an oiled one over that, by which means I prevented the further increase of my distemper, and so ordered our quarters that night, that I lay in my own bed, set up in an Irish cabin, where, about break of day, I fell into so violent a sweat, that I was obliged to keep with me two troops of horse for my guard after I had given orders for the rest of the men to march. In this condition I continued about two hours, and though my sweating had not ceased, I mounted, in order to overtake my party, who had a bitter day to march in, the wind and hail beating so violently

in our faces, that the horses, not being able to endure it, often turned about. Yet in this extremity of weather the poor foot were necessitated to wade through a branch of the sea near a quarter of a mile over. At night we arrived within view of Carrigaholt, my distemper being but little abated, and my body in a continual sweat. The next day I summoned the garrison to surrender the castle, in answer to which they sent out commissioners to treat, who at first insisted upon very high terms, but finding us resolved not to grant their propositions, they complied with ours, and the next day surrendered the place. Liberty was given by the articles to such as desired to go and join Lord Muskerry's party in the county of Kerry, the rest to return home with promise of protection as long as they behaved themselves peaceably, excepting only such who had been guilty of murder in the first year of the war and afterwards. Having placed a garrison in Carrigaholt, I returned towards Limerick. *Ludlow's Memoirs, published at Kinvoy, in the Canton of Bern, in* 1698.

On Ludlow's return to Limerick, it was there debated, in a council of war, whether the army should march to the siege of Galway, which had been for some time straitened by Coote and Reynolds; but most of the officers complaining of the ill condition of their men, through sickness and hard service, and the winter being at hand, it was determined only to send a summons to Preston, Governor of Galway, with offers of such conditions as were first tendered to Limerick, assuring him, at the same time, if he refused them, that he should have no better treatment than the garrison of that place had been obliged to submit to. But these conditions were then refused, and Ireton distributed his army into winter quarters. In a few days afterwards he took the plague, and died, November 26, 1651, and thus ended all operations in Ireland this year. *Warner's History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 248.

On the death of Ireton the command of the English army was conferred on General Ludlow, who summoned the principal officers to Kilkenny, in order to ascertain what was necessary to desire of the Parliament of England, so that no time might be lost, when the season of the year would permit them to take the field. Two proclamations at the same time were published, in order to prevent the country people from supplying the Irish with arms or other necessaries, and to require them to withdraw themselves and their goods within a limited time from their quarters, on pain of being treated as enemies in case of a refusal. All the armourers, smiths, and saddlers

were commanded to retire by the second proclamation, within twenty days after the date, with all their families, forges, and instruments, into some garrison of the Parliament, on pain of forfeiture of their goods and tools, and six months' imprisonment for the first offence, and for the second on pain of death. The rest of the time before spring was spent in seeing these orders observed, in preparing tents and clothing, and other necessaries for the army, and in scouring, with different parties, the passes and fortresses of the Irish. *Ibid*, 249.

1652. *February* 14. In the mean time Sir Charles Coote blocked up Galway at a distance, and when Ludlow came to him they drew so near, that the assembly which sat there did, in February, importune the Marquis of Clanrickard to permit them to treat with the enemy about conditions for the settlement of the nation, protesting that they would insist on advantageous and profitable terms; but the Lord Deputy, knowing it was more proper for him than for them to treat for the nation, did, on the fourteenth of this month, write to the commander-in-chief of the Parliament's forces, on that subject: but he had no grateful reply, the English being resolved not to admit any treaty for the nation in general, but those who would capitulate should do it only for themselves, or the town and places unto which they respectively belonged. *Hib. Ang. Car. II.* p. 69.

April 27. The towns and castles of Roscommon and Jamestown were on this day surrendered to Colonel Reynolds, and in the province of Munster there was not a garrison left to the Irish, but that of Ross, in the county of Kerry, which, being a castle in an island, was thought impregnable, and Rosscarberry, in the county of Cork. *Ibid*, 70.

May 12. The garrison of Rosscarberry surrendered to the Parliamentary forces, after which every thing remained quiet in that part of the country for some time. *Smith's History of Cork*, ii. 175.

On the same day Galway was surrendered to Sir Charles Coote before any storm or assault was attempted, and without consulting the Lord Deputy Clanrickard, who was within half a day's journey of the place. This town was exceedingly strong, and the loss thereof carried with it the fate of Ireland, and the termination of the rebellion; for what little contests happened from henceforward do hardly deserve the name of a "*tory war*." *Hib. Ang. Car. II.* 70.

May 16. The Marquis of Clanrickard did not leave Ireland for many months after the surrender of Galway, but endeavoured, by all means possible, to draw his scattered forces toge-

ther, that he might prosecute the war afresh, and to that end, on the sixteenth of May he marched with the Connaught forces to Ballyshannon, which he took by storm, and presently after Donegal Castle, where the Ulster forces, under Sir Phelim O'Neill, the O'Reilleys, and Mac Mahons, joined with him; but upon intelligence that Sir Charles Coote and Col. Venables were marched against him, he retired to Armagh, intending to go on to Raphoe; whilst Sir Charles Coote, in pursuit of him, took Ballyshannon and Donegal castle, so that the Marquis was forced to shelter himself in the isle of Carrick. *Borlase*, 303.

About this time Theophilus Buckworth, Bishop of Dromore, died at the place of his nativity, at Whitehall, in Cambridgeshire. He had expended five hundred pounds on the old episcopal palace at Dromore in the year 1641, but the Popish rebellion unexpectedly breaking out that same year, the house, with the town and church, were totally destroyed, and the Bishop, at a few hours' warning, was forced to fly, for the preservation of his life, to Lisburn, and from thence to England. *Smith's History of the county of Down*, p. 99.

The celebrated Jeremy Taylor, Bishop of Down and Connor, was buried in the choir of the cathedral church of Dromore, and a monument has been erected to his memory. But the title-page of his valuable works is a monument more durable than brass.

June 27. Ludlow being resolved to take the insulated castle of Ross, in the county of Kerry, caused a small ship to be made, had it carried over the mountains, and set it afloat in the Lough, at the sight of which the Irish were so astonished, that they yielded up the place on this day. *Hib. Ang. Car. II.* p. 70.

July 4. Colonel Charles Fleetwood, who had lately married Ireton's widow, was made general of horse, and commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland. He hastened his dispatch from London, and used great diligence to get over to his charge. *Borlase*, 302.

July 20. The Romish Bishop of Ferns being at this time in Brussels on a secret deputation from his brethren in Ireland, to the Duke of Lorrain, without the privity of the Lord Deputy, wrote a letter to prevent the Duke from sending any aid to the Lord Deputy, in which he said that Clanrickard was, for several causes, an excommunicated man, reputed at home to be a contemner of the authority and dignity of churchmen, and a persecutor of the nuncio Rinuncini, some bishops and other churchmen, and after many rude and bitter reproaches

against the Lord Deputy, he asked, "Do you think God will prosper a contract grounded upon the authority of such a man?" and added, that if the Duke of Lorrain were rightly informed of the business, he never would enter upon a bargain to preserve or restore holy religion in Ireland, with agents bringing their authority from a *cursed, withered hand*, &c. &c. In this manner did the representative of the Popish clergy of Ireland endeavour to pull down the last remains of the king's authority in Ireland, which was the only protection they could hope for, from the just and dreadful vengeance that awaited their treacherous folly. In a very short time afterwards the parliamentary rebels set the same price upon the head of a Popish ecclesiastic and that of a wolf, both of which they were resolved to extirpate from Ireland, as being equally pernicious to the peaceable inhabitants of it. The same price, *(five pounds)* says Dr. Curry, was set by the parliamentary commissioners in Ireland, in 1652, upon the head of a Romish priest, as on that of a wolf, the number of which latter was then very considerable in Ireland; and although the profession or character of a Romish priest could not, one would think, be so clearly ascertained, as the species of a wolf, by the mere inspection of their heads, thus severed from their bodies; yet the bare asseveration of the beheaders was in both cases equally credited and rewarded by these commissioners, so inveterate was their malice and hatred to that order of men. Their proclamation was signed by Charles Fleetwood, Edmund Ludlow, and John Jones, and printed by William Bladen, wherein the act of the twenty-seventh of Elizabeth was made of force in Ireland, and ordered to be most strictly put in execution. By this act every Romish priest, so found, was deemed guilty of rebellion, and sentenced to be hanged until he was half-dead, then to have his head taken off, and his body cut in quarters, his bowels to be drawn out, and burned, and his head fixed upon a pole in some public place. The punishment of those who entertained a Popish priest, was by the same act confiscation of their goods and chattels, and the ignominious death of the gallows. In the renewal of the act of Elizabeth this year, the additional cruelty was resorted to, which made even the private exercise of the Roman Catholic religion a capital crime. *Dr. Curry's Review of the Civil Wars of Ireland, p. 393, Dublin*, 1810.

The conduct and fate of the Irish Papists, at this melancholy period of their history, bear a striking resemblance to the fable of the frogs, who desiring a change of government and a new king, found, to their utter confusion and dismay, that they had fallen into the jaws of a scorpion. In the plenitude of their

insolent exultation on the success of a cruel massacre and obstinate rebellion, they scorned to tolerate the mild episcopal church of England, whose frame and constitution are founded on the basis of civil and religious liberty, in the truest sense of the word; and now, by the just and awful judgment of God, after contributing, in a great degree, to the ruin of the church, and the murder of their king, they were doomed to feel the sharpest edge of that persecuting sword which they had been so ready to raise against both in a time of profound peace and unexampled prosperity. Of the strict execution of the barbarous edicts issued by the Parliamentary commissioners, Dr. Curry alleges that many shocking examples were daily seen among these unhappy people (*Historical Review*, p. 393) and Morrison, a cotemporary writer, and an eye-witness of these brutalities, tells us, (*Thren*, p. 14) that neither the Israelites were more cruelly persecuted by Pharaoh, nor the innocent infants by Herod, nor the christians by Nero, or any of the Pagan tyrants, than were the Roman Catholics of Ireland by these savage commissioners. Is not this the case (says Dr. Curry) *at this day, of the Irish Catholics with respect to the operation of the penal laws!!!* or in other words, is not the king of England as great a persecutor as Pharaoh, Herod, Nero, or any of the Pagan tyrants, because his conscience does not allow him to re-establish Popery, or sanction the ascendancy of Papists in his Protestant state?

August 1. On this day the castle of Inchylough was surrendered to Colonel Zanchy, and about the same time the Lords of Muskerry and Westmeath, O'Connor, Roe, Sir William Dungan, Sir Francis Talbot, and others, submitted upon these conditions, that they should abide a trial for the murders committed in the beginning of the rebellion, and those that only assisted in the war, were to forfeit two-thirds of their estates, and be banished. The Lord Deputy, Clanrickard, being now forced to shelter himself in an obscure island, and having no party to whom he could trust himself, also submitted upon very honourable conditions, not having any oath imposed upon him, and having liberty to transport three thousand men into the service of any prince in amity with England. In the mean time, Colonel Charles Fleetwood landed in the latter end of August, and found the military service of the kingdom in a manner finished; so that what remained to manage were civil affairs, which were committed to him and the rest of the commissioners of Parliament. They began their administration of those matters, by erecting a high court of justice, to try those that were accused of the barbarous murders committed in this

rebellion. The first court of this sort that was held in Ireland, was upon the fourth of October, 1652, at Kilkenny, before Justice Donellan, President, and Commissary General Reynolds, and Justice Cook, assistants, and *it sat in the same place where the supreme council* (the Catholic Board of the day) used to sit in the year 1642. *Hibernia Anglicana, Car. II.* page 70.

December 17. The commission for erecting an high court of justice in the province of Connaught bore date this day. It was signed by Fleetwood, Ludlow, and Jones, and was directed to Sir Charles Coote, Peter Stubbers, Humphry Hurd, Francis Gore, John Desborough, Thomas Davis, Robert Ormsby, Robert Clerk, Charles Holcroft, John Eyre, Alexander Staples, and others. *Ibid.*

Colonel Fitzpatrick was the first of the Irish who compounded with the Parliamentary rebels this year, on condition of his being transported with his regiment to Spain. *Ludlow's Memoirs*, p. 403.

The clergy thundered their excommunications against Col. Fitzpatrick on this occasion in vain. This weapon, by frequent and injudicious application, was now entirely blunted. Even the vulgar and ignorant disregarded its temporal impotence. Colonel O'Dwyer, commander-in-chief in Tipperary and Waterford, followed Fitzpatrick's example. Clanrickard, deserted and surrounded, could obtain no terms for the nation, nor indeed any for himself or his troops, except the sad liberty of transportation to any other country in amity with the commonwealth. *History of the Irish "Catholics," by Matthew O'Connor, Esq.* p. 86, Dublin, 1813.

In this year the celebrated Doctor, afterwards Sir William Petty, was appointed physician to the army, and being state physician to three successive chief governors, his general practice soon became great, and placed him in a state of affluence. *British Plutarch*, ii. 398.

December 30. The trial of Burke, Lord Mayo, for the murder of many Protestants at Shrule, in that county, on the 13th of February, 1642, began on this day before the above-named commissioners for the province of Connaught. It appeared upon this trial that, upon the surrender of the town of Castlebar, which was besieged by the old Lord of Mayo, and his son, the prisoner, then Sir Tibbot Burke, it was agreed, by articles, that the English should march away with their arms, and be safely convoyed to Galway. They were, however, deprived of their arms contrary to the articles, but the Lord of Mayo, and his son, the prisoner, with their followers, conveyed the unfor-

tunate Protestants safely to Ballinacarrow the first day, and the next to Ballinrobe. The third day they came to a place called the *Neal*, where they left Sir Henry Bingham on pretence of his being sick, but, as was suspected, to preserve him from the subsequent massacre; the fourth day they came to Kinlagh, and the next day to Shrule, two miles out of the road from Castlebar to Galway: there they lodged that night, and the next morning, being the thirteenth day of February, an ambush was la'd on the other side of the bridge, which, as soon as the Protestants got over the bridge, fell upon them, and, by the help of the convoy, murdered about four score of them, the Protestant bishop of Killala, and a few others only escaping. The matter of fact was thus proved—Four witnesses swore that the prisoner was present at this massacre, and did not oppose it, and that the convoy were the murderers, and that the Lord of Mayo's fosterers, servants, and followers, were of that number; and it was proved that the old Lord Mayo, Father of the prisoner, engaged by capitulation to convey the English safe to Galway, and that they were disarmed by his command, and some of them stripped and plundered on the way by the convoy, and could get no redress from the prisoner or his father. That the convoy pricked forward the English over the bridge towards the murderers, and the old Lord Mayo went to a hill hard by, to look on; that the prisoner was seen to come over the bridge, from the murderers, after several of the Protestants had been killed, and had been actually among them with his sword drawn. That the father refused to convoy them any farther than Shrule, and that the prisoner was the first man that entered Castlebar after the capitulation. The prisoner's defence was, that he had no command of the party, but with two servants only came to attend his father. That on the outery he went over the bridge, and drew his sword, with design to preserve the English; but being shot at by one of the murderers, he got a horse, having lent his own to the Bishop of Killala to make his escape, and rode away before the murder was committed, and that if he had not fled, he would have been murdered himself; and that he was kind to the Protestants, and preserved many of them before and after; and that the Protestant Bishop of Killala, Dr. John Maxwell, had declared his belief that this action was done in spite to the prisoner, and by letter acknowledged the prisoner's civility to himself. The Bishop had been forced out of his palace at Killala by the rebels, plundered of his goods, and wounded. The Earl of Thomond passing by Shrule after the massacre, found this prelate left for dead among the Irish, and took care of him, and brought him with him to Dublin, where he died

on the 14th of February, 1646, being found dead in his bed after having retired to it in much affliction, on receiving some bad news concerning the King's affairs in England. *See Hib. Ang. Car. II. and Ware's Bishops*, 617.

The examination of the Rev. John Goldsmith, Vicar of Brashoule, in the county of Mayo, and ancestor of the celebrated Oliver Goldsmith, throws some light on the case of this unfortunate nobleman, and is as follows:

Depositions—Province of Connaught.

That the Lord of Mayo, being to convoy all those of Castleburne to Galway, viz. Sir Henry Bingham, with all his company, and the Bishop of Killala, with all his company, with many of the neighbouring English (Protestants) being about three score in number, whereof there were *fifteen ministers*, covenanted with one Edmond Bourk for the safe convoy of the said parties upon a certain day; and the said Lord of Mayo appointed them all to meet him at Belcharah, having first separated this deponent from them to attend his Lady, (who was a Protestant) in the work of the ministry. At which day the titulary archbishop and the Lord of Mayo meeting with their whole number, went on their journey to Shrule, at which place the Lord of Mayo left them in the custody of the last said named Edmund Bourk. But as one Master Bringhurst told deponent, the Lord of Mayo was not gone far from them, when the said Edmund Bourk drew out his sword, directing the rest what they should do, and began to massacre those Protestants. And accordingly some were shot to death, some stabbed with skeins, some run through with pikes, some cast into the water and drowned; and the women that were stripped naked, lying upon their husbands to save them, were run through with pikes, and very few of those English (Protestants) then and there escaped alive. Among the rest the Bishop of Killala escaped with his life, but was wounded in the head; and one Master Croud, a minister, was then and there so beaten with cudgels on his feet, that he died shortly after. And this deponent further saith that in the town of Sligo forty persons of the English and Scottish were by the rebels stripped and locked up in a cellar, and about midnight a butcher, which was sent unto them on purpose, with his axe knocked them all on the heads, and so murdered them; which butcher, coming afterwards to Castleburre, did there confess his bloody fact. That in Tirawly, (a Barony of the county of Mayo) about thirty or forty English, who had formerly turned Papists, had their choice given them whether they would die by the sword, or drown themselves. That they made choice

of drowning, and were brought to the sea-side by the rebels, who had their skeins drawn in their hands, and forced them to wade into the sea, the mothers with their children in their arms crying for drink, having waded to the chin, at length cast or dived themselves and children into the sea, yielding themselves to the mastery of the waves, and so perished. That the torments the rebels would use to the Protestants to make them confess their money were these—viz. Some they would take and writhe wyths about their heads until the blood sprang out of the crown of their heads; others they would hang until they were half dead, then they would cut them down, and do the same so often over until they confessed their monies. And this deponent further saith that a youth of about fifteen years of age, the son of Master Montgomery, the minister, meeting with a bloody rebel, who had been his schoolmaster, this rebel drew his skein, and began furiously to slash and cut him therewith; that the boy cried unto him, Good master, do not kill me, but whip me as much as you will. Nevertheless, the merciless and cruel rebel then and there most barbarously murdered him. That a Scotchman travelling on the highway with his wife and children, was beset by the rebels, who wounded and stabbed him with their pikes, put him alive upon a car, brought him to a ditch, and buried him alive, as his poor wife afterwards with great grief told deponent. That the Vicar of Urris turned Papist, and became Drummer to Captain Bourk, and was afterwards murdered for his pains by the rebels—and that another Scotchman, near Balleken, was hanged by the rebels.

Sworn before the Commissioners, Henry Jones and Henry Brereton, 30th of December, 1643, by JOHN GOLDSMITH.

Sir John Temple's History of the Irish Rebellion, p. 119.

1653. *January* 12. The Lord of Mayo was condemned by the vote of seven of the commissioners before whom he was tried, Gore, Clerk, Davis, and Holcroft dissenting from their opinion. *Hib. Ang. Car. II.* 71.

Commissions having issued in the several provinces of Ireland for the erection of an High Court of Justice, in order to try those who were accused of murdering the English, Lord Mayo in Connaught, and Colonel William Bagnel in Munster, were condemned, not on the clearest and most unexceptionable evidence. Lord Muskerry was charged with the assassination of several Englishmen, but honourably acquitted on his trial, and permitted to embark for Spain. *Carte's Ormond*, ii. 157; and *Leland*, iii. 407.

January 15. Lord Mayo was shot to death, according to his

sentence, for the massacre of the Protestants at Shrule. His case was variously reported. *Hib. Ang. Car. II.* p. 71.

About this time the commissioners for the parliament issued an order, that Lord Muskerry's Lady should enjoy all her husband's estate, except one thousand a year, which they granted to Lord Broghill, in pursuance to articles made by Ludlow, at Ross Castle, in Kerry, with Lord Muskerry. *MSS. of Sir Richard Cox, and Smith's History of Cork*, vol. ii. p. 175.)

O'Sullivan Beare, about this time, solicited the French King for money, to carry on his designs in Ireland. *Thurloe's Letters*, vol. i. p. 479.

Lord Inchiquin being now in France, endeavoured to procure such a commission as Preston had in the French army, but the Romish Clergy of Ireland obtained letters from the Pope's Nuncio, to Cardinal Mazarine, against him, as a murderer of priests and friars, so that all Lord Inchiquin could procure, was a grant of two Irish regiments from the King. *Ibid*, 590.

In the month of February, this year, Sir Phelim O'Neill was brought to trial for the murders he had committed in the beginning of the massacre and rebellion. From the arrival of Owen O'Neill, this barbarous conspirator had continued to act an inferior part, without honour, esteem, or notice. During the administration of the Marquis of Clanrickard, when abler commanders had been gradually removed, he emerged from his obscurity, and gave the Marquis some assistance; but was soon compelled, by repeated defeats, to shelter himself in a retired island. Hence, Lord Caulfield, heir of that Lord, whose castle and person he had seized, and whom his Popish followers had barbarously murdered, soon dragged him to justice. Posterity will scarcely believe, that the present Earl of Charlemont, the strenuous advocate for arming Papists with political power, has the honour of being a direct descendant of the Lord Caulfield, who laid down his life for his religion, in the rebellion of 1641, and of the gallant nobleman who dragged his murderer from his hiding place, and brought him to justice. *See Nalson's Collections, and Leland's History of Ireland*, vol. iii. p. 408.

On the opening of Sir Phelim O'Neill's trial, Sir Gerrard Lowther, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, made a very long speech, which is preserved in Borlase's History of the dismal effects of the Irish Insurrection. After enumerating the laws against murder before and after the flood, and stating particularly those enacted against that unnatural crime in England and Ireland, the judge adverted, in the following manner,

to the cruelties perpetrated by the Popish Rebels, for which they are now brought to justice. It appears, by a cloud of witnesses, that these execrable murderers were not satisfied with the variety of tortures and cruel deaths of the living, by stripping, starving, burning, strangling, burying alive, and by many exquisite torments, so that present dispatch by death was a great mercy; so cruel are the mercies of the wicked, but their hellish rage and fury stayed not here, but also extended itself even unto babes unborn, ripping them out of their mother's womb, and destroying even those innocent babes to satiate their savage cruelty. Nor staid it here, but extended also to the ransacking of the graves of the dead, dragging the dead bodies of Protestants out of their graves, that they might not rest in hallowed ground. Nor did their malice stay here, but became boundless, not only in the devastation and destruction of the houses, castles, and whole substance of the Protestants, and whatsoever tended to civility, but also even to the utter extirpation of all the English nation, and Protestant Religion, out of this land of Ireland, all which the murderers acted with that brutish outrage, as though infidels, or rather the wild beasts of the wilderness, wolves, and bears, and tigers, nay fiends and furies had been brought into the land. Even by the law, and rules and rights of war, quarter warrantably given ought inviolably to be observed. It is a fundamental law of war, that faith is to be kept with an enemy, *fides cum hoste servanda*. This hath been observed among the heathens, infidels have kept this faith, the Turks observed it. But, by the Pope's dispensation, the Christians once broke their articles with the Turks; whereupon the Lord gave a signal victory to the Turks against the Christians. The story is well known. The practice of the murderers in this rebellion hath been, according to the old Popish tenet, *nulla fides cum hereticis*. And so, contrary to the laws of war, many Protestants were murdered after quarter were given *(of which crime both are said to be guilty)*, but that which exceeds all that can be spoken, makes their sin exceeding sinful, and their wickedness more abominable is, that *they began this butchery and cruelty*, even then when the Protestants were in perfect amity with them, and joined to them not only in peaceable neighbourhood, but even in those bonds that they pretend to hold most inviolable, viz. *gossi, pric*, fosterage, and such like ties of friendship and alliance. At a time, too, when they enjoyed so licentious a freedom of their Romish superstition, and free use of the mass, that they had their titular archbishops (as in 1820) for every province, their titular bishop with their dean and chapter

for every diocese, and their secular priests for every parish in the land. They had their abbots, priors, monks, nuns, jesuits, friaries, monasteries, nunneries, religious-houses and convents in the principal towns and cities of the land, even in this City of Dublin, the residence of the state. So that father Harris, a secular priest of their own, published, in print, that it was as hard to find what number of Friars were in Dublin, as to count how many frogs there were in the second plague of Egypt. They did not only exercise all their superstitious rites and ceremonies, but also *(as in* 1820, *when they complain of persecution, because they are excluded from a capability of exercising a few of the higher offices in the state,)* the papal jurisdiction, as by law they had vicars-general kept their provincial courts and consistories, and excommunicated the people, delivering them to satan. When they enjoyed the benefit of the same laws with us; nay, the end and force of the law (as in 1820) was in some cases abated to them, which was not dispensed withal as to the Protestants. The Popish were *(as in* 1820, *with similar effects on the tranquillity of Ireland,)* permitted to practise, the Papists admitted to sue forth their liberties and ousterlemains, and to hear and execute the office of sheriffs, justices of the peace, &c. without taking the oaths of allegiance or supremacy, which was not permitted to the Protestants. And these Popish lawyers, priests, jesuits, and friars, have been the principal incendiaries and fire-brands of all those horrible flames which have thus consumed the land, and were the chief ringleaders of this horrid rebellion." Dr. Borlase, immediately after the speech of this judge, observes of him, that he had not, in his words, presented his readers with the froth of a fanatic, but with the weighty observations of a lawyer, who had been principally employed in the weightiest affairs at Oxford and Westminster with the King's approbation.

Sir Phelim O'Neill was now accused of exhibiting a commission from the late King for commencing the Irish insurrection; he acknowledged the charge; adding, that on seizing the fort of Charlemont, he had found a patent, with a broad seal annexed, which he directed to be taken off and affixed to a pretended commission. His judges, not satisfied with this allegation, pressed him to confess if he had received any commission from the King, with a promise of his being restored to his estate and liberty, if he could produce any material proof of such a commission. He was allowed time to consider; the offer was repeated; he still persevered in declaring that he had no commission; that his conscience was already

oppressed by the outrages of his followers, and that he could not add to the severity of his present feelings by an unjust calumny of the King. At his execution he was again tempted; when just on the point of being turned from the ladder, two marshals pressed through the crowd and whispered in his ear. He answered aloud, *I thank the Lieutenant-General for his intended mercy; but I declare, good people, before* GOD *and his holy angels, and all you that hear me, I never had any commission from the King for levying or prosecuting this war. Leland*, iii. 409.

Many at Kilkenny, Waterford, Cork, Dublin, and other places, underwent the sentence of the High Court of Justice, though the number of those that suffered did not exceed two hundred, for the sword, plague, famine, and banishment, had swept away vast numbers. Among those that were executed, was one Toole, a notable incendiary of Wicklow; Edmund Reilly, an Irish priest and vicar-general—afterwards promoted to be titular archbishop of Armagh, appeared against him as a witness. When he was himself accused of being the chief author of surprising and burning the Black Castle of Wicklow, during the cessation, and of murdering all those that were in it. Upon this, Reilly was seized and committed, but pleading his merit in betraying the Marquis of Ormond's army at Rathmines, he suffered no farther punishment; and it is no small proof that the services of this treacherous murderer were accepted by the Pope and the Irish Papists, by his being rewarded afterwards with the titular primacy of Ireland. *See Borlase*, 315.

In the month of March, this year, the Marquis of Clanrickard retired to England in a vessel belonging to the parliament, after he had borne the title of the King's Deputy in Ireland, little more than two years, not with greater submission from the "*Catholic*" Irish than had before been paid to the Lord-Lieutenant, and so retired to London, where, not long after, he died. His body was brought to Tunbridge, in Kent, and buried there in the parish church. He was a nobleman much respected for his integrity, and though of a contrary opinion to those then in usurpation, looked on as a favourer of the English, and one that no ways indulged the cruelties and pretensions of the Irish Papists. This was the fate of that unhappy nation, both under Protestant and Roman Catholic governors, neither having had the credit to be masters of the Irish temper, fomented by the insolencies of the priests, and whatsoever might instigate them against the English Government. *See Borlase*, p. 303.

Soon after the Marquis of Clanrickard's departure, the lesser concerns of Ireland were with little trouble and charge brought to an end. One of the last commanders among the Irish which bore up against the Parliament, was Murtough O'Brien, who being at last forced into his fastnesses, obtained the usual articles of transportation, by the favour of which not less than twenty-seven thousand men were sent out of the island in the year 1653; so that through the numbers that had been killed, that died of the plague and famine, and had been transported, the scarcity of people was very considerable. *Ibid*, 315.

September 26. The English Parliament declared that the rebels were subdued, and the rebellion ended in Ireland, and thereupon proceeded to the distribution of their lands. In pursuance of the act for subscriptions, 17 *Car.* I. in distributing the lands, a course was thought of how the English might enjoy them freely, without disturbance from the Irish for the future, who had been found ever ready to fall upon them, and therefore many of the natives were transplanted into the province of Connaught, and according to the extenuation of their crimes, had more or less land allotted to them, which they enjoyed freely, and in several respects was a great conveniency to them, and not less security to the English, they being now in a body, might be better watched than several, where they would have been sure, on every opportunity, (as afterwards woefully experienced) to have disturbed the peace. To supply the want of people in Ireland, Fleetwood now wrote to England, that several colonies should be sent over into this country, offering very good conditions to such families as would transport themselves; whereupon great numbers of both sexes flocked into Ireland, which Fleetwood much indulged. *Borlase*, 303 and 315.

When Charles Fleetwood came hither to rule the affairs of this nation, he brought over with him one Thomas Patience, a boddice maker, or tailor by trade, whom he made his chaplain. Fleetwood being a great Anabaptist, had no sooner usurped the government, but this Anabaptist preacher must preach in Christ Church, that being the church for the Lord-Lieutenants and Deputies of this realm; so that Dr. Winter was forced to give way for a new preacher; yet, that this new alteration might not totally expulse presbytery and independency, these were to preach as oft as they pleased in the said cathedral—but Charles Fleetwood, to increase his fraternity, and to add to Patience's congregation, at this time would prefer none to place or employment save those of this fraternity, or those who, for lucre sake, would renounce their baptism, and become of this tribe—whereupon several, both from the presbyterians and independents, fell and were dipped. *Robert*

Ware's Hunting of the Romish Fox, and Quenching of the Sectarian Firebrands, p. 228.

At this time, one Anthony Nugent, a Popish clergyman, having been one of the disciples of James Naylor, the Quaker, and having gone before him through the streets of Bristol, crying out Hosanna, for which the said Naylor was stigmatized, fled into Ireland, and came to Colonel Lawrence, under whom he became a menial servant, working as his gardener in the City of Waterford, of which place the said Colonel was governor. In this City of Waterford, Anthony Nugent became an Anabaptist in outward appearance, and preached up free-will among that sect. At the same time, this Anthony Nugent being desirous to come up to Dublin, and having set variance amongst the Anabaptists there, he obtained letters of recommendation from the Anabaptists of Waterford, unto others of Dublin; and, for his surer conduct, an order was granted unto George Wilton, quarter-master of horse, to conduct him to Kilkenny, and there to give orders for his further conveyance to Dublin, in which journey, after some discourse, Nugent confessed he was a clergyman of the Church of Rome, with a proviso that he should not be betrayed. The quarter-master having promised him to keep secret what he had confessed, conducted him to Dublin, where, under the name of Coppinger, for a while, he and his brother Patience, who had by this time got the congregation of St. Michael's Church, preached their doctrines. Afterwards, Nugent went to serve Cook, one of the regicides who was hanged for the late King's murder. This relation of Anthony Coppinger, I took verbatim from the mouth of Captain Wilton, who now liveth in the county of Westmeath. *Ibid*, 231.

The Irish now received the chastisements due to their dissensions. All the male adults, capable of bearing arms, with the exception of a sufficient number of slaves to cultivate the lands of the English, were transported to France, Spain, and the West Indies. A great number of females were transported to Virginia, Jamaica, and New England. The rest of the inhabitants, of all sexes and ages, the young, the aged, the infirm, were ordered, on pain of death, to repair by a certain day, into the province of Connaught, where, being cooped up in a district, ravaged by a war of ten years' continuance, desolated by famine and pestilence, and destitute of food or habitations, they suffered calamities such as the wrath of the Almighty had never inflicted on any other people. *O'Connor's History of the Irish "Catholics"* p. 86. Dublin, 1813.

After near a hundred thousand of the Irish were transported

into foreign parts, and after double that number was consumed by the plague and famine, and cruelties exercised upon them in their own country, the remainder of them were transplanted by Cromwell into the most barren, desolate, and mountainous parts of the province of Connaught, and it was lawful for any man to kill any of them who were found in any place out of those precincts which were assigned to them within that circuit. *See Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, v. iii. p. 434; and *Crawford's History of Ireland*, v. ii. p. 124.

Thousands of these miserable victims perished of cold and hunger, many flung themselves headlong from precipices, and into lakes and rivers, death being their last refuge from such direful calamities. A code of laws enacted for their oppression, has scarcely any parallel in the annals of legislative cruelty. Emigration from the districts assigned to them was punishable by death, without trial or any form of law—to speak disrespectfully of his Highness, Protector Cromwell, or to have arms of any kind, were made high treason. To harbour, conceal, or have intercourse with Romish priests, to meet them on the highways, or to be acquainted with their lurking holes, without informing a magistrate, were punishable with forfeiture of goods and chattels, imprisonment, and whipping. It was a capital offence for any four persons to meet together, and even in the provinces where the Cromwellians allowed Irish peasants to reside for the cultivation of their lands, these wretched slaves were chained to one spot, it being an high crime to be found out of their parishes without a pass; and the effects of these poor creatures were chargeable with treble the amount of all thefts and robberies committed, no matter by whom, on their masters. *Ibid, and Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 706; *and Clarendon's Rebellion*, vol. iii. p. 43.

All (Popish) priests were hanged without mercy by the Cromwellians; an oath of abjuration of Popery was imposed on all the inhabitants on pain of forfeiture of two-thirds of their goods and chattels, in case of refusal; by an ordinance of Parliament in 1657, all Catholic (Popish) children attaining the age of twelve years, were to be educated in England in the principles of the Protestant religion. *Clarendon*, 707, 708.

In the season of prosperity the Romish clergy had pushed their pretensions too far; in the hour of trial they rose superior to human infirmities. Twenty-eight days from the 6th of July, 1653, were allowed for their departure from the kingdom, inevitable death awaited their apprehension after that period. Sooner than abandon their flocks altogether, they fled from the

communion of men, concealed themselves in woods and caverns, from whence they issued whenever the pursuit of their enemies abated. Their excursions into the villages to instruct the children, or administer the last comforts of religion, oftentimes exposed them to detection. Their haunts were objects of indefatigable search; blood-hounds, the last device of human cruelty, were employed for the purpose, and the same price (five pounds) was set on the head of a (Popish) priest as on that of a wolf. *O'Connor's History of the Irish Catholics*, p. 88.

To this extremity of complicated misery did the Popish inhabitants of Ireland reduce themselves in the seventeenth century by their own traiterous practices against their lawful king and the true religion established amongst them; for it will be readily granted, that if they had uniformly adhered to their oaths of allegiance, and refrained from dipping their hands in the innocent blood of their unoffending Protestant fellow-subjects, no such scorpions as Cromwell and his fanatical soldiers could have acquired the power of persecuting them nearly to their utter extirpation.

I have now done my part in laying before the descendants of these people, who seem to be actuated by no small portion of the unhappy spirit of their ancestors, the foregoing tragical documents, carefully sought, regularly arranged, and duly authenticated. While others, who care less for them than I do, became popular by flattering them in their delusions, I have wilfully exposed myself to be censured as a bigot, an intolerant, &c. &c. because I spoke unto them no "smooth things, prophesied no deceit." I am not, however, their enemy, because I speak unto them the truth, and I venture to predict, with all humility, that this is the opinion which their own children and posterity will entertain of their true and faithful servant,

JOHN GRAHAM.

Δοξα τω Θεω εν υψιστοις
Πατρι υιῳ και ἁγιῳ πνευματι.

Lifford, in the County of Donegal,
October 11th, 1820.

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